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THE EVOLUTION OF HISTORY TEACHING IN BRITISH AND
FRENCH SCHOOLS IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH
CENTURIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ATTITUDES TO
RACE AND COLONIAL HISTORY IN HISTORY SCHOOLBOOKS

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of Keele by F.J.Glendenning, May 1975.

ABSTRACT

A consideration of the development of history teaching in Britain and France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries demonstrates the growing acceptability of history as a school subject. World History was only approved for schools after the Second World War, although it is mentioned in official statements from the 1920s, in both countries.

A study has been made of the vocabulary used in schoolbooks when describing other races. This shows that in contrast to British schoolbooks, French books include remarkably few examples of denigratory language about non-European races.

British and French history schoolbooks have also been examined for references to indigenous peoples and colonial history. In addition to the North American Indians, several countries have been considered: China, Vietnam, India, Algeria, South Africa, Senegal, Gold Coast and Morocco at the time of the *Entente Cordiale*. The findings are that the history of subject peoples has always been seen through European eyes and much is omitted from the record. Until very recently, writers have conveyed an attitude of Western superiority over non-European races through their selection of events from colonial history. While this is particularly true of the presentation of nineteenth century colonial history, it is noticeable that since 1945, there has been in some books from both countries an increasing questioning about the motives and practices of the colonising powers and a marked attention is now being paid to the history and culture of non-European peoples.

These developments in history teaching are discussed finally in relation to patriotism, the selection of events and historical objectivity. The unresolved question which requires an additional study is the effect that this presentation of other races and colonial history has had on the formulation of attitudes in the mind of the pupil.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank most warmly the Librarian of the University of Keele and his staff who have been continually helpful to me over a period of years. The Tutor-Librarian of the University of Keele Institute of Education and Inter-Library Loan have also been of very considerable assistance. I am indebted to the staff of the British Library Reading Room in Bloomsbury and to the staff of the Newspaper Library at Colindale; to the Librarian of the University of London Institute of Education; to the Principal of the *Lycée Français de Londres*; to the staff of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and of the *Institut National de Recherche et Documentation Pédagogiques*, in Paris. In the later stages of the project, I received a small travel grant from the Social Science Research Council, which enabled me to make additional visits to London and Paris.

I am also in the debt of numerous individuals, including especially: Dr. Francis Celoria of Keele University, who first suggested the basic theme to me and encouraged me throughout the project; Miss V.H. Dundas-Grant of Keele University, whose advice has been extremely helpful in the assessment of the French material; Professor R.S. French of George Washington University, U.S.A., who drew my attention to some North American material, which I might otherwise have ignored; Monsieur S. Moutia, former Librarian of the I.N.R.D.P. in Paris; above all, my supervisor at Keele, Dr. M.A. Cruickshank, whose generous counsel over a period of several years has been combined with continual kindness, firmness, thoroughness, ready availability and enthusiasm.

Mrs. Ruth Parker has brought her exacting standards happily to bear on the typing of the manuscript, without, it should be said, any previous familiarity with the French language.

Finally, my wife Angela, has encouraged me greatly over an extended period of research and writing and by constant judicious probing and criticism of my ideas, has identified herself with the purpose of the project, also.

F.J.G.

May 1975

INTRODUCTION

For one and a half centuries at least, in both British and French schools, the development of patriotism and the building of character has been considered a valuable by-product of history teaching. Sufficient evidence is available to substantiate this view from both British and French writers. Some of it is published (Dance, Chancellor, Freyssinet-Dominjon, Goldstrom and Semidei)¹. Some material which is valuable and helpful remains in the form of unpublished dissertations and theses (Bramwell, Cerati, Cooper, Pilsbury and Wilkins)².

Over the years, the suitability of history as a school subject has often been questioned. In nineteenth century Britain, John Stuart Mill was a formidable opponent (see p.18). In the early twentieth century, C.R.L.Fletcher was expressing strong reservations (see p.40). In mid-nineteenth century France, conservative politicians opposed history teaching on the grounds of its potential radicalism (see pp.72 and 74).

The opinion-forming aspect of history teaching is evident in all types of school in both countries, and the writers mentioned earlier have all produced studies which demonstrate the biased and misleading nature of many schoolbooks. At the present time, there is a world-wide attempt, encouraged by UNESCO, to write schoolbooks and prepare materials which present "history" as a common experience of the human race, rather than merely an exercise in patriotic loyalty.

The problems raised are of course considerable. A balance has to be struck between the presentation of history as an exercise in national self-discovery and the presentation of this national history in relation both to the rest of the geographical region (e.g. Europe or South-East Asia) and to the world as a whole. It is impossible to escape from history. Our lives are governed to a large extent by what has taken place in the past. Decisions about the future are governed by the interpretation of the past and it is the task of the historian

to discover, select and interpret the significant events of the past.

When this material is prepared for transmission to the young person at school, either through the written or the spoken word, the selection, adaptation and presentation of the material for particular age groups and levels of ability can all too easily result in false impressions. This is not because what has been read, or what has been spoken by the teacher is untrue, but because the compression of the material has left too much to the imagination. The possibility of misunderstanding and the formation of ill-considered attitudes towards peoples and events, is therefore always present.

The purpose of this present study is twofold. Firstly, it examines the development of history teaching in England and France and the growing interest in "world history". Secondly, it examines the content of history schoolbooks in both countries, since the middle of the nineteenth century, for evidence of attitudes to other races and to colonial history. (The first two chapters discuss almost exclusively the development of history teaching within the English (and Welsh) system. It was not felt appropriate to make a detailed study of the development of history teaching in Scotland³. Some of the books used in English schools were written by Scots, and books by English writers were used in Scottish schools. In this context, the word "British" has been used in the general title, on the grounds that the development was similar throughout England, Wales and Scotland and that the history taught was about Britain and the British Empire).

Over 250 schoolbooks have been examined. The choice of books has been very largely dictated by availability. Nineteenth century books are difficult to obtain in both countries. Both Chancellor and Goldstrom have commented vigorously about this⁴. Apart from the disappearance of large numbers of books, which are found in nineteenth century lists, books included in library catalogues are all too frequently unobtainable either.

This is true to some extent of the British Library Reading Room and unfortunately especially true of some twentieth century, as well as nineteenth century, books listed in the library catalogue of the Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques (I.N.R.D.P), in Paris. Inter-Library Loan and second-hand bookshops in Britain, together with the comparatively small holding of schoolbooks in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, have helped to fill some of the nineteenth century gaps.

There is no difficulty in consulting primary sources for the study of the historical development of history teaching in Britain. Parliamentary Papers and other materials are available in considerable quantity. The difficulty of obtaining comparable material in Paris was most marked. (It is of course totally unavailable in this country). Both the Bibliothèque Nationale and the I.N.R.D.P. are deficient in documentation for the nineteenth century. The I.N.R.D.P. for instance, has a catalogue reference for F.Billères, *Les programmes de l'enseignement secondaire français au XIXe siècle* (Paris 1872). This book could not be found. Neither library could supply either, *Circulaires et instructions officielles relatives à l'instruction publique, 1802-1900*. Opportunity was regrettably lacking to make searches in government libraries or at the Sorbonne, because of the pressing commitment to obtain access to schoolbooks. For the nineteenth century background, there has therefore been reliance on secondary sources (Gerbod, Ponteil, Prost and others).

In spite of these hazards, an attempt has been made to examine as varied a selection of schoolbooks as possible, over as wide a period as possible. In the survey, each decade is represented: since 1854 in Britain and since 1868 in France. In the Bibliography, the level for which each book was designed is noted at the end of each entry.

There is also in the Bibliography a preliminary note at the beginning

of both the British and French schoolbook listings which explains briefly how the age-groups and levels have been determined. Over the years, British writers have not been as explicit as the French about the precise age-group or level of ability for which they were writing. French writers have always been invariably precise because of the long history of official instructions about the school syllabus (see chapter III, note 34). In chapters V to VIII, the level of the books being discussed has been referred to in the text where it seemed to be relevant.

Each book was examined for references to North American Indians and also to China, Vietnam, India, Algeria, South Africa, Senegal, Gold Coast and Morocco at the time of the *Entente Cordiale*. These were selected (a) as being countries where both Britain and France had been active at the same time, for example, North America, China, India and Morocco; or (b) as countries which became of special significance to the two European countries, Vietnam and Algeria for France, India and South Africa for Britain; or (c) as being typical colonies, as in the case of Senegal and Gold Coast. Each book was also examined for the vocabulary used to describe non-European races.

An attempt has been made throughout to demonstrate the general developments in schoolbook presentation, at different periods. The British books have been examined in the following way: attitudes expressed in the nineteenth century; the early twentieth century; between the Wars; from the late 1940s to 1964; and from 1964 to 1971. The French books show less change in attitude. For this reason, they have been examined in two different ways: (a) attitudes expressed in the nineteenth century; from 1900 to 1945; and from 1945 to 1971 (China, Vietnam, India and Senegal); and (b), in the case of Algeria, topics to demonstrate the way in which attitudes have changed over the whole period. In the case of the North American Indians and Morocco, both the British and French material is so sparse that no subdivisions have been employed. Moreover, in contrast to the references in

schoolbooks to India, Algeria and South Africa, those which concern the North American Indians have been included almost in their entirety. References to India are so numerous that special attention has been paid to the "favourite events" recorded in each period.

In each case, the study of references in schoolbooks has been prefaced by the background history of British and/or French contact with the country concerned, the purpose being to demonstrate some of the principal developments that took place. Many of these developments have been omitted from schoolbooks, which in the past have rarely explained *why* European powers were in those countries in the first place. In setting out the background history, selection has inevitably taken place, but an attempt has been made to record the history in the light of what happened to the indigenous peoples, especially in the nineteenth century. Inevitably their history is seen through European eyes and largely through a study of European secondary sources. Given these limitations, however, it is still possible to observe the frequently misleading way in which much colonial history has been presented in schools, the sum total, until comparatively recently, being an expression of European superiority over subject peoples of other races. By being so condensed, and by employing particular nouns, adjectives and phrases to describe members of other races, especially in British schoolbooks there is clearly ground for believing that for most of the period under review, racial stereotypes have been reinforced by schoolbook writers. Of course, in assessing each book it is necessary to determine its educational objective and the age-group and ability level for which it has been designed. The simplicity of presentation required for younger children does not, however, excuse the writer from an attempt to present other races objectively.

Once a stereotype has been formed it is difficult to eradicate and therefore there is an increasing need for contemporary writers to achieve

a consistency in the language and selection of events that they employ, throughout the educational process. Of the teacher's rôle, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters wrote in 1965: "The long term consequences of what he does will not be the facts that linger, but the attitudes of mind that are formed"⁵.π

It may be worth noting, in addition, that the study of books published *after 1945* will be based in the main on those used in secondary schools, for this is where the main concentration of historical study at school now lies. The principal cause of this development is the gradual raising of the school leaving age. (In England, many children left school at 10 in 1880 and at 12 in the early years of the twentieth century. The compulsory leaving age was raised to 14 in 1921, to 15 in 1947 and to 16 in 1973. In France the leaving age was 13 in 1882, 14 in 1936 and 16 in 1959).

The development of history teaching in France has been markedly different from that in Britain as will be seen and the French practice of providing a series of schoolbooks, spanning each class in the school, under the editorial supervision of an academic historian has a great deal to commend it. Normally, there has been a strong patriotic content in the books used in French, just as in British schools. With the exception of Algeria (see chapter VIII), the amount of material about France's colonial development in particular countries is, however, substantially less than that to be found in British books. In consequence, the amount of space in the ensuing pages, devoted to the French material is correspondingly less than that given over to an examination of the British material. One feature of French schoolbooks, which distinguishes them from the British books, is the space often given to a study of the philosophy of colonialism and the relation between French colonial development and the expanding empires of other European powers.

The current international interest in the content of school history teaching centres on the provision of books and materials suitable for our time. The present study, however, attempts to assess the historical develop-

ment of the attitudes to race and colonial history, which have found expression in British and French schoolbooks and have been carried over or modified from one generation to another. It is a study which contains all the pitfalls of judging others, but nevertheless it is one worth attempting.

NOTES

Introduction

1. E.H.Dance. *History the Betrayer*. Hutchinson.1967 edn. and other books; V.E.Chancellor. *History for their Masters*. Adams and Dart. Bath.1970; J.Freyssinet-Dominjon. *Les Manuels d'Histoire de l'école libre. 1882-1957*. Colin. Paris.1969; J.M.Goldstrom. *The Social Content of Education. 1808-1870*. Irish University Press. Shannon.1972; M.Semidei. "De l'empire à la décolonisation à travers les manuels scolaires". pp.58-86. *Revue française de Science Politique*. vol.XVI, No.1.1966.
2. See Bibliography p.461. (n.b. The twentieth century section of Bramwell's thesis has been published: R.D.Bramwell. *Elementary School Work, 1900-1925*. Institute of Education, University of Durham. 1961).
3. Secondary sources, certainly, see in the development nothing worthy of comment (cp. J.Kerr. *Scottish Education*. Cambridge.1910; A.Morgan. *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*. Oliver and Boyd. Edinburgh.1927; J.M.Roxburgh. *The School Board of Glasgow 1873-1919*. University of London Press.1971; J.Scotland. *The History of Scottish Education*. 2 vols. University of London Press.1969; J.Strong. *A history of secondary education in Scotland*. Clarendon. Oxford.1909), save that traditionally in Scotland, there has been too great an emphasis on *English History* (see p.78, vol.2. Scotland. *op.cit.*).
4. p.14. Chancellor. *op.cit.*; pp.4-5. Goldstrom. *op.cit.*
5. pp.5-6. Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools. *The Teaching of History in Secondary Schools*. Cambridge. 1965 edn.

CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORY TEACHING IN ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Education^{ul} Pamphlet No.23 of the Department of Education and Science (relying perhaps on Foster Watson's *The beginning of the teaching of modern subjects in England (1909)*¹) reminds us that among the earliest history schoolbooks were a History of England from 1460 to 1509 (written in Latin verse for the sons of Lord Burleigh) and "a patriotic history of the Hundred Years' and subsequent wars down to the year 1558 entitled *Anglorum Praelia*" which (also in Latin) was ordered by the Privy Council in 1583 to be read in all schools². As C.H.K.Marten pointed out: "It was an instance of the direct interference of the Government in recommending a text-book"³.

In the sixteenth century Richard Knolles of Sandwich School wrote a History of the Turks and William Camden of Westminster School wrote "Britannia". Daniel Defoe in the seventeenth century learnt "history" at an academy in Newington Green. In the eighteenth century, Joseph Priestley taught history at Warrington Academy, while Thomas James taught biblical history and Roman and English history at Rugby, using Oliver Goldsmith's histories⁴. Samuel Butler made history a class subject at Shrewsbury⁵, but the teaching of history in schools remained the exception rather than the rule. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it certainly did not occur at Winchester, Eton or Harrow⁶.

Thomas Arnold and the teaching of History

It seems clear that history had been studied at Oxford and Cambridge Universities in some measure since the sixteenth century⁷. A chair of Ancient History was founded at Oxford in 1622, and in 1724 George I founded chairs of Modern History both at Oxford and Cambridge. But the study of history and the utterances and work of the Regius Professors were unmemorable until the appointment of Thomas Arnold at

Oxford in 1841⁸. He was fortunate. History was increasing in popularity through the influence of Sir Walter Scott's novels⁹ and Thomas Carlyle and Thomas Babington Macaulay were his contemporaries. (Carlyle visited Arnold at Rugby and described the school as a "temple of peace"¹⁰). When Thomas Arnold was three years old, his father gave him a copy of Smollett's *History of England*, and when he was eight, he was reading Priestley's lectures. When he was at Winchester, he read Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* twice, and from his undergraduate days at Oxford, he was deeply influenced by Aristotle, Thucydides and Herodotus and later by the German historian Niebuhr¹¹.

Arnold's arrival on the academic scene, both as Headmaster of Rugby and as Regius Professor of Modern History (for two short years) at Oxford, is the watershed for the teaching of history. In the Sheldonian Theatre at Oxford, hundreds came to hear his lectures. His history teaching at Rugby also was renowned for its totality. Withers commented:

"The unity of education, the unity of history are his moving ideas; and we shall fall short indeed of the true estimation of Arnold's work for the study of history if we confine it to such matters as his co-ordination of geography with history, his constant use of the Blackboard in historical instruction, his comparative method of treating ancient and modern history, or even to the admirably devised cycle of historical lessons which he embodied in his school curriculum. Infinitely more important than all these important things was the clearness with which he himself apprehended and taught others to apprehend, the bearing of literature and of history upon life, and of life, in its turn upon literature and history. He thus put upon an entirely new basis the claim of the old classical curriculum to furnish the best training for the modern Englishman"¹².

Marten added:

"With Dr. Arnold a lesson in history was also a lesson in ethics and philosophy"¹³.

Arnold, however, demonstrated in his *Lectures in Modern History* that (as far as the principal theme of this study is concerned) he was little interested in Britain's imperial history. There is a reference, in the *Lectures*, as follows:

"The great minister (Chatham) wielded the energies of the whole united nation; France and Spain were trampled in the dust; Protestant Germany saved; all North America was the dominion of the British crown; the vast foundations were laid of our empire in India. Of almost instantaneous growth, the birth of two or three years of astonishing successes, the plant of our power spread its broad and flourishing leaves east and west, and half the globe rested beneath its shade"¹⁴.

Apart from this passage, he remained silent about North America and India. But as Fitch pointed out, the lectures were "fragmentary and incomplete" because of his early death:

"The province of history, the characteristics of historical style, military ethics, military geography, national prejudices, religious and political parties in England, are among the topics rather glanced at than discussed in these lectures"¹⁵.

The systematic teaching of history in schools owes very much to Arnold, even if it did not entirely derive from him. The passage from his lectures, quoted above, demonstrates his enthusiasm. Education in his view

"was to be so truly ordered as to train its members to take afterwards an active part in the larger commonwealth of Church and State... In Arnold's conception, the English gentleman must not only learn to rule and be ruled, and to play football and speak the truth, but he must also understand the history of Christendom, and the literature of Greece and Rome..."¹⁶.

Mangnall's Questions

Taking Arnold then as the pivot in the development of history teaching in the nineteenth century, it would be inappropriate to ignore a more lowly historian, a teacher from the Ladies Academy, Crofton Hall, Wakefield. Richmal Mangnall was a pupil there and subsequently became Headmistress. She had published privately in 1800 *Historical and Miscellaneous Questions for the use of young people, with a selection of British and Foreign Biography*. In 1804, she sold the copyright to Longmans for £105. It was reprinted many times until 1891, revised and extended by F.Young in 1859¹⁷.

The answers in the book were learnt by heart and two sets of questions and answers may serve as examples:

- "Q. When was the slave trade first practised in England?
 A. In the reign of Elizabeth; it was introduced by Sir John Hawkins.
- Q. What has caused its gradual abolition in most countries?
 A. The sense which the generality of mankind have of the oppression and inhumanity its defenders have exercised on their fellow creatures¹⁸.
- Q. Enumerate the principal wars that have taken place in this reign. (Victoria's)
 A. The Afghan war; the wars in India and Burmah, including the Indian Mutiny; the Kaffir War at the Cape of Good Hope; the Chinese wars; the wars with the natives of New Zealand; the Crimean or Russian war and the Abyssinian war"¹⁹.

These quotations serve as an example of history teaching at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a method which (in spite of Arnold) continued to exist for many years. The book contained a vast array of facts about human history since the Creation (in 4004 BC). But it was an attempt to find a relationship between ancient, medieval and modern history.

Withers pointed out in 1901:

"While it is true that in 1700 history was to all appearances no more recognised as a part of the curriculum at Oxford or at Winchester than it had been in 1500, yet we must remember that at this later date our ablest scholars read, as a matter of course, the great masterpieces of Ancient History as well as the great Poets whose works illustrated - as nothing else could illustrate - the history of the age in which they wrote"²⁰

A similar view had been expressed in the middle of the nineteenth century by Dean Stanley, when writing about Thomas Arnold:

"He was the first Englishman who drew attention in our public schools to the historical, political and philosophical value... of the ancient writers, as distinguished from the more verbal criticism and elegant scholarship of the last century"²¹.

But Mangnall wrote nearly half a century before the death of Arnold, in the Preface to her *Questions*:

"Among the number, who, in public Seminaries, have opportunities of perusing the best English, Grecian, and Roman histories, few will be found who retain even the leading facts, unless those who superintend their education have sufficient leisure with

each separately, and lead them to a habit of reflection and observance for themselves... To obviate therefore, in some degree, this inconvenience, the following Questions were compiled; not as substitutes for, but as guides to history. They are intended to awaken a spirit of laudable curiosity in young minds..."²².

Over a century later, R.L.Archer commented:

"Mangnall's *Questions* probably accomplished, more completely and more distastefully than any work ever written, the task of conveying to the learner an impression of familiarity with every classical, historical, political or legal allusion, without giving a grain of real knowledge"²³.

Mangnall, nevertheless, is of considerable importance, and it is worth noting that J.L.Hammond, as an Assistant Commissioner, drew attention to the book in his evidence to the Taunton Commission:

"(Her book) has exercised in its time a great influence on the present generation of female teachers, and still retains its popularity in many schools. Girls, I believe, find the book most amusing to read, but oppressive to learn. A girl whose only knowledge of history is likely to be derived from this source gets confused by a multitude of names which have for her no individual reality or special interest. Everything recorded, be it myth or fact, is treated with the same consideration and respect"²⁴.

It is already noticeable that in both Mangnall and Arnold, there are implications concerning peoples and territories overseas, under the rule of Britain, which are unspoken. Why *were* the British in India, or China, or Abyssinia? And how did it happen that in Arnold's words:

"the plant of our power spread its broad and flourishing leaves east and west, and half the globe rested beneath its shade?"

Such questions are now seen to belong to the proper teaching of history. But in the nineteenth century, and for a good deal of the twentieth, they were not seen to be particularly relevant.

Nevertheless, after Mangnall and Arnold, the teaching of history could never be the same again. Nor was Mangnall's book the only one available. Chancellor lists some two dozen history books for teachers, published in the first half of the nineteenth century, including one entitled *English History made easy (1828)*²⁵ Like Mangnall, some of them

were to become very well-known. Mrs. Markham's *History of England*, first published in 1819, had become well established by the 1850s and according to Howat, her various *Histories* sold over 100,000 copies²⁶. J. Cooper's *A New History of England* (1830) had reached twenty editions by 1854, and Lady Callcott's *Little Arthur's History of England* (1835) continued to be published until 1962.

Unpopularity in Elementary Schools

In elementary schools, history was not a popular subject and remained so until the last years of the century. The Rev. H. Moseley reported to the Committee of Council on Education in 1845 that only one in 20 pupils, in Midlands schools which he visited, studied history²⁷. In 1846, he was encouraged by a slight increase. Now in the same schools, one pupil in 11 studied history, but he was also concerned that they began before 1066 and never got beyond the Tudors²⁸. In the same year, he also inspected Battersea Training Institution for Masters. He noted similar subject matter and commented:

"It is impossible however not to desire ... something in history better adapted to the intelligence of children, having more relations with things familiar to their observations - and to their interest - than the mere succession of sovereigns, or the detail of political events"²⁹.

In 1851, he complained that there was still no adequate text-book to put into the hands of student teachers³⁰.

Advance was gradual. The Rev. F. C. Cook after his 1851 inspection of "Female Training Schools" noted that the students were now examined in the Stuarts at "the wish of the Managers"³¹ and the three hour examination paper for that year shows a range of questions from the Roman Invasion to William of Orange³². But the teaching of more recent events in British history remained unfashionable for many years.

The Royal Commissions (1) Newcastle and Popular Education

The 1850s and 1860s were a time for taking stock, educationally. Three major commissions reported between 1861 and 1868. The Newcastle Commission "appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England" worked from 1858 to 1861. Basically, the 19 volume Report was a study of the administrative and financial questions raised by the "elementary instruction" then in existence. It is perhaps indicative of the nature of the inquiry that the only recommendation of the Commission to be adopted by the Government was "payment by results".

Some of the published evidence came from the Assistant Commissioners who visited and reported on selected districts. In these reports there were numerous observations on teaching. The Rev. James Fraser said of a 10 year old pupil:

"If he has been properly looked after in the lower classes, he shall be able to spell correctly the words that he will ordinarily have to use; he shall read a common narrative - the paragraph in the newspaper that he cares to read - with sufficient ease to be a pleasure to himself and to convey information to listeners; if gone to live at a distance from home, he shall write his mother a letter that shall be both legible and intelligible; he knows enough of ciphering to make out, or test the correctness of, a common shopbill; if he hears talk of foreign countries he has some notions as to the part of the habitable globe in which they lie, and underlying all, and not without influence, I trust, upon his life and conversations he has acquaintance enough with the Holy Scriptures to follow the allusions and the arguments of a plain Saxon sermon, and a sufficient recollection of the truths taught him in his catechism, to know what are the duties required of him towards his Mother and his fellow men ...

"... I strictly limited myself to testing their efficiency in such vital points as these; never allowing myself to stray into the regions of English Grammar, or English history, or physical science, unless I had previously found the ground under the children thoroughly firm..."³³.

The low standard of elementary education is referred to in this sentence from the Newcastle Report: "... a large proportion of the children are not satisfactorily taught that which they came to school to learn, reading, writing and arithmetic"³⁴. Although this is qualified:

"... it would be a mistake to suppose that the existing system has failed because it has hitherto educated successfully only one-fourth of the pupils"³⁵.

The aim of elementary education, as set out in another passage, underlines the difficulty of teaching history at this level:

"The duty which the trained teachers have to perform in the actual exercise of their calling, consists in preparing the children of the poor for their future life by appropriate religious and moral instruction and discipline, by teaching them to write, to read their own language with interest, and with an intelligent perception of its meaning, and to perform common arithmetical operations. It is only exceptionally that some will have to give, in other branches of knowledge, such instruction as the more advanced age of their pupils and the regularity of their attendance may fit them to receive"³⁶.

The Commissioners did, however, make certain recommendations for the training of teachers, and of history they wrote:

"In history, the first year subject is the outlines of English history. In the second year, a paper is set, composed of five sections, each of which contains at least five questions. The sections relate to periods ending with (1) the Battle of Hastings, (2) the Battle of Bosworth, (3) the death of Charles I, (4) the death of Queen Anne, (5) 1815"³⁷.

Earlier in the Report they had quoted the Minutes of the Committee of Council for Education for 1854/55, and they noticed Moseley's list of subjects for teacher training:

"Reading, arithmetic, English Grammar, English History and Geography, as usually treated of in our elementary books and taught in our schools... are mere statements of facts, suggestive, few or no conclusions and barren of interest, but these subjects may be studied in such a way as to exercise the high powers of the mind. A man, for example", they went on, "who had a really sound and deep knowledge of English history, or of geography, would be able to select for the instruction of very ignorant children, matter simple, interesting and important, and his power of doing so would be increased by the depth and width of his knowledge, because he would thus get a wide field for the selection of his materials, and a more intelligent view of the importance and connexion of different events"³⁸.

This encouragement of the teacher was to become a perennial endeavour, but it remained difficult to find teachers who were equipped to teach history in this way, a problem that was reflected in the time-table. Birchenough,

for instance, quotes a British and Foreign School Society Handbook in 1856: "Three quarters of an hour of English History each week seems to have been the customary allotment" ³⁹. In the elementary school, this was confined to the older pupils in the three senior standards.

The problems encountered by the inspectorate were summed up by J.S.Laurie after he had inspected West Country Schools in 1861. He reported to the Committee of Council that in geography and history, little more was done than learning by rote "an assemblage of names and statistics". He was extremely critical of the lack of reason and imagination brought to bear in history teaching. He strongly encouraged the use of pictures, maps and anecdotes and commented:

"It is truly lamentable to witness the prodigal manner in which time and labour are wasted every day in a vast number of schools with what are called history and geography lessons"⁴⁰.

With the emphasis in the Newcastle Report on the three Rs, history remained a peripheral subject in elementary schools under the system of "payment by results". Where it was taught, catechisms were used, because they made few demands on the teacher's knowledge. Apart from Mangnall, there were several such books in use, including W.Hardcastle's *The Genealogical Textbook of British History* (which had reached its seventh edition by 1856), and later, E.M.Sewell's *A Catechism of English History* (1872). In addition, and of considerable importance, there were the Readers, now researched in some detail by J.M.Goldstrom ⁴¹.

The Royal Commissions (2) Clarendon and Public Schools

The teaching of history in secondary schools in the mid-nineteenth century is referred to on numerous occasions in both the Clarendon and Taunton Reports. Lord Clarendon's Commission of Inquiry into nine public schools reported in 1864. It is teaching method rather than content, that it discussed. The Commissioners wrote:

"On the whole, and with the exceptions of Rugby, and perhaps Harrow, it does not appear that much is systematically done either to awaken an intelligent interest in the subject (history), or to secure the acquisition of that moderate knowledge of it

which every young man leaving school may fairly be expected to possess." However, "...The importance of some attention to history and geography is recognised, more or less at all schools... In the lower forms, it is common to give lessons in the outlines of history and in geography; but as a boy advances in the school, it appears to be generally considered that all which can be done for him in this particular is to set him a portion of history to get up by himself, to examine him in it, and to encourage more extended study of the subject by means of prize essays"⁴².

Dr. Frederick Temple, the Headmaster of Rugby, noted in his evidence to the commissioners that there was an hour's teaching in history or geography each week throughout the school and history was a holiday task too. The Commissioners felt that this was a serious encroachment on "the domain which belongs naturally to the cultivation of health of body and mind"⁴³. At Harrow, English history was a holiday task also, over a period of three years, based on *The Student's Hume*⁴⁴.

The Headmaster of Winchester (Dr. Moberley) told the Commission:

"I wish we could teach more history. But as to teaching it in set lessons I should not know how to do it. All I can do is to say: 'We will examine in such a period at such an examination'".

"Is that not sufficient?" asked a commissioner.

"I think it is", said Moberley⁴⁵.

Lord Morley gave evidence to the Clarendon Commission as to his learning of history at Eton. Lord Clarendon asked him: "Did you acquire the history and geography you possess, in the pupil-room or by private reading?". Morley replied: "Certainly not from anything I did at Eton, either in the pupil-room or school-room"⁴⁶.

The Commissioners found that, at Eton, the subject was "neither regularly taught nor strongly encouraged," but (*pace* Lord Morley) "not neglected"⁴⁷. But they were not enthusiastic about history:

"History, it is true, can never occupy, as a distinct study, a large space in the course of instruction at a great classical school. To gain an elementary knowledge of history little more is required than some sustained but not very laborious efforts of memory"⁴⁸.

This view was echoed by John Stuart Mill in his Inaugural Lecture at St. Andrew's University in 1867:

"It has always seemed to me a great absurdity that History and Geography should be taught in schools. Whoever really learned history and geography except by private reading... Besides, such history and geography as can be taught in schools exercise none of the faculties of the intelligence except the memory"⁴⁹.

But the Commissioners qualified their observations:

"A good teacher who is likewise a good historian will always, we believe, be able to make the acquisition of even the elements of historical knowledge something more than a mere exertion of memory, - to make it, with the more advanced boys, a real introduction to the method of historical study, and a vehicle for imparting some true insight into history and interest in it"⁵⁰.

The Royal Commissions (3) Taunton and other Secondary Schools

A similar debate took place at the Schools Inquiry Commission under the chairmanship of Baron Taunton. It reported in 1868 on the education given in those schools which had not been discussed in the Newcastle and Clarendon Reports. Its Report ran to 21 volumes and reviewed 800 endowed grammar and other secondary schools and 122 "proprietary" schools maintained by joint-stock companies.

The Rev. J.M. Brackenbury, Headmaster of Wimbledon School in giving evidence was asked:

"Have you any suggestions to offer us as to the best method of teaching history to boys?" He answered: "The method we pursue is by taking a book like Hume's *History of England*, making that the textbook, and then giving examinations orally and on paper from it... I do not know whether devoting such a large amount of time to history, as we are obliged to do, is altogether very profitable for a boy. He certainly accumulates a number of facts, but how far those facts may tend to educate his mind is a matter about which I have very great doubt"⁵¹.

This statement is similar to that offered to the Clarendon Commission by the Headmaster of Winchester, noted above. But such views were not shared by some of the Commissioners.

The Assistant Commissioner for Yorkshire was J.G. Fitch. Reporting

on girls' schools in the West Riding he wrote: "In the best schools, I found the higher classes reading Macaulay and Hume with much intelligence and relish and making very clever abstracts or paraphrases of the most notable passages..."⁵².

James Bryce (author of *The Holy Roman Empire*, later to become Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford and in 1894, Chairman of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education) was also an Assistant Commissioner. Reporting on senior boys in Lancashire, he said that "Sometimes (he had) exceedingly good answering in English history". This was from "boys of 15 and upwards who might read Macaulay's *Essays* and whose minds were opening to an interest in the news of the day". But he qualified this by saying:

"Examining orally in English History, which I did in almost all the schools where it was taught, I found that there was usually some knowledge of the common facts... While knowing these things, however, which the book told them directly, they might happen to be ignorant of simple and more important facts, things which the book had assumed, or which they had not been made to notice... The common text books, those especially of a more elementary kind are most unsatisfactory. Some are prejudiced if not dishonest and give views of men and events which require constant correction from the teacher"⁵³.

"Competent teachers", he said, "are wanting. Even were the textbooks good, there is no subject in which it is so necessary to supplement and explain the textbook by digressions and familiar illustrations and references to passing events. As the textbooks are dull and dry, such amplification is all the more needed, but the teachers can seldom give it, even when they are able men. History stands almost alone among the common branches of instruction, in that it is not a thing which every good teacher can teach by dint of a little previous study... To teach history one must have made history a study, and must know something about things which are not to be found in any school-books, perhaps not even in Lingard and Hallam"⁵⁴.

"In most cases, the boys while showing a tolerable, though often confused, knowledge of the surface facts, have no comprehension of their meaning and bearing"⁵⁵. (Unhappily, Bryce was not specific in his criticisms)".

This is a common picture in the evidence given to the Taunton Commission. J.L.Hammond reported on Norfolk schools that history was the subject least taught and worst learnt⁵⁶. The teaching of history

suffered from the limitations of schoolbooks in use, on the one hand, and untrained teachers on the other.

C.H.K.Marten, however, suggested in 1938 that there was some danger in exaggerating the deficiencies of the past, and accused Bryce and others of doing so. The "best boys" must have learnt some ancient history through their classics, and after Arnold, there were schoolmasters who kindled an interest in history in their pupils⁵⁷. Indeed there is evidence of this, A.F.Leach wrote:

"I remember the Head Master coming into school the morning on which war was declared between Austria and Prussia in 1866, and saying, 'Well boys, the first shot is being fired today in a war that will, perhaps, last half your lifetimes'. It was a singularly bad prophecy for the Seven Weeks' War; but it led to a most interesting morning.. Another time, when something about India was before the world, after asking a few questions, he said, 'Shut up your books boys', and took us on a voyage round India, stirring us up to interest in a subject of which we had before known nothing and cared less. Such days were red-letter days"⁵⁸.

(This was only a few years after the Head Master in question (Moberley) had told the Clarendon Commissioners that he did not know how to teach history).

There must have been other exceptions to the rule (for 79% of grammar schools covered by the Taunton Commission were teaching *some* history as a regular part of the curriculum⁵⁹) but the Taunton Report still claimed that:

"The study of history in the full sense belongs to a still later age; for till the learner is old enough to have some appreciation of politics, he is not capable of grasping the meaning of what he studies"⁶⁰.

After the Commissions (1) Elementary Education

Teaching in the elementary schools suffered as a result of the Revised Code of 1862. Matthew Arnold, in his Report to the Committee of Council in 1867 complained that the ratio of pupil-teachers to scholars had fallen dramatically from one to 36 in 1861, to one to 54 in 1866⁶¹, with a consequent falling off in educational quality. Salaries had

fallen, under the new grant system, causing the reduction in staff which had been foreseen by the Rev.D.J.Stewart during his inspection of schools in Bedford, Cambridge and Huntingdon in 1864⁶².

In an attempt to come to terms with the allied problems of reduced grants and shortage of staff, history (a "higher" subject) became a "specific" subject, under the new grant regulations of 1867⁶³ and then later, in 1875 it became a "class" subject⁶⁴. But although it became a subject for grant-earning examinations, and by 1875, one of several subjects designed to liberalise the curriculum in the lower part of the school, history remained peripheral, along with language and geography.

The Rev.T.W.Sharpe regretted the tendency in Surrey schools in 1870 to regard geography, grammar and history as "extra subjects"⁶⁵, and he foresaw an examination for Standard III on "an easy history of England"⁶⁶. In the same year, the Rev.H.B.Barry noted that in schools in Gloucestershire and Somerset, the number of schools in which history was taught had fallen from 22 to 13 in three years. He criticised the syllabus which ended at the Norman Conquest and urged that it would be "more useful" to teach history up to "the most recent events"⁶⁷. But Mr.John Gordon and Dr.James Gunning reporting on Scottish schools, saw that a "considerable amount of history was taught in primary (as well as in secondary) schools"⁶⁸.

In the February of that year, W.E.Forster steered through the House of Commons, the Elementary Education Bill. A son-in-law of Thomas Arnold, he recognised the relation between knowledge and power:

"I am one of those who would not wait until the people were educated before I would trust them with political power... now that we have given them political power, we must not wait any longer to give them education. There are questions demanding answers, problems which must be solved, which ignorant constituencies are ill-fitted to solve,... if we are to hold our position among men of our own race or among the nations of the world, we must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual"⁶⁹.

As Chancellor points out: "Of all school subjects, history is most

obviously a vehicle for the opinions of the teacher and of the section of society which he represents". There were "suspicions that the growth of the state system of education in England was closely connected with the desire to mould working-class opinions"⁷⁰.

It is clear from a study of the Codes from, say, 1871, that attention was being paid to the content of the history syllabus. The New Code of 1871 urged that teachers should "select some chief event of importance in the history of England since the Conquest and let the children of Standard IV know something about it in detail"⁷¹. This was repeated with slight amendments in the New Code of 1873⁷².

The New Code of 1875 required Standard IV to study the period up to the Norman Conquest; Standard V, from the Norman Conquest to the accession of Henry VII; Standard VI, from Henry VII to George III⁷³. The results were still not encouraging, and when the Royal Commission on the Elementary Education Acts, under the chairmanship of Lord Cross, reported in 1888, the Commissioners noted that:

"While geography as a class subject is taught in the majority of our elementary schools with increased skill, and by methods which interest as well as inform the mind of the learners, history has dropped out of the timetable in all but a few schools"⁷⁴.

This statement confirmed the view of H.E.Oakley when he reported on Durham schools in 1876, and found that history was taught in only a few schools, by teachers who, because of their limited training, rarely had a sufficiently wide knowledge to teach it well⁷⁵. Again, W.Scott Coward inspected schools in Wigan in 1877 and found that out of 24,696 children, only 45 were examined in English history⁷⁶. The Rev W.T.Kennedy said of examinations that the percentage of passes was "fallacious as a test of relative merit of schools" and reported that history was rarely taken as an examination subject⁷⁷.

This evidence then suggests that in the years immediately following the Forster Act, history teaching was not helping "to mould working-class opinions". Its development was still too slow. This conclusion is

similar to Chancellor's who goes on to suggest that while the rôle of history teaching was in the mould of ruling-class opinion, the mode of expression "would not be likely to lead to a gathering momentum of ideas in society". She draws attention also to the great "onus on the hard pressed teacher" to interpret what the schoolbooks were saying about the nature of British society⁷⁸.

The Cross Commission, however, certainly saw the significance of teaching history as *tradition*:

"In the earlier standards, it may be expedient not to attempt more than the general outline of English history and in fuller detail, a few of its more interesting epochs, or the lives of its more eminent men... Scholars acquainted with the outlines of English history should devote all the time allotted to that subject in Standards VI or VII to acquiring a knowledge of our constitution and some of our national institutions, such, for instance, as parliamentary and municipal government, the poor law, trial by jury, and the constitution and powers of the principal courts by which the laws are administered... In such a course, the patriotic efforts and sacrifices made by our forefathers to secure the rights we now enjoy would find their appropriate place"⁷⁹.

After Cross, there are clear indications which support Chancellor's thesis. The New Code of 1890, for instance, ruled that history must be available throughout the school⁸⁰ and once again a detailed syllabus was laid down. Up to Standard VI emphasis was placed on biographies of famous people, and the constitution and functions of Parliament. By Standard VII, the Hanoverians were to be studied with special reference to "the acquisition and growth of the colonies and foreign possessions of Great Britain". With the growth of the Imperial Idea, this emphasis is understandable. It is notable that the stress on parliamentary government and colonial development was at the expense of any mention of the economic and social changes which were characteristic of nineteenth century Britain⁸¹. The necessity for studying the growth of the British Empire was further enjoined in the Codes of 1895 and 1896⁸². All this was in line with the 1877 *Instructions to Inspectors* which required that

pupils should be taught about "incidents which (developed) a patriotic feeling of regard for their country and its position in the world"⁸³.

The Readers were to provide this.

The Inspectors however still reported a comparative lack of interest in history, in elementary schools. The Rev.H.B.Barry noted, in 1891, that in the West Central Division of England, the number of Departments taking up history had increased from 18½ in 1889 to 39¼⁸⁴. This should be compared with the number of Departments taking other subjects in 1891: English, 1488; Geography, 872¼, Needlework, 293½⁸⁵. And while the Rev.C.F.Johnstone noted that in the South Eastern Division "History is being adopted, and its many tales and incidents make it distinctly popular with boys"⁸⁶, T.King reported to the Committee of Council in 1895, that in the West Central Division, history "appears to be a general substitute for grammar; children learn it as they might a collection of fairy tales"⁸⁷. Nevertheless, in 1898, the Committee received reports which confirmed their view that history teaching was on the advance. In 1883, history was taught in 834 Departments⁸⁸. By 1898, it had increased to 5,780⁸⁹.

After the Commissions (2) Secondary Education and Higher Education

After the Clarendon and Taunton Reports, attitudes towards history as a school subject, changed also. Questions about history teaching had been raised publicly, and gradually in all schools, history became part of the regular school curriculum. The effect of this public discussion may be judged by the gradual development of examinations.

The first public examination offered in modern history was by London University as early as 1838. History became compulsory for London matriculation right from the beginning⁹⁰. When the College of Preceptors began examining in 1853, and when after 1855, history was included in the

Home (and after 1858, in the Indian) Civil Service examinations, it was becoming clear that a knowledge of history was required from, at any rate, the educated middle class. Apart from English, Mathematics, Natural and Moral Sciences, Sanskrit and Arabic, postulants for the Indian Civil Service were examined in the history of Greece, Rome, France, Italy and Britain⁹¹.

In 1854, Viscount Ebrington, under the influence of J.L.Brereton, "offered a prize of £20 for the best examination passed by a young man between 18 and 23 years old, the son or relative of a Devonshire farmer"⁹². The examination included "the History and Geography of the British Empire".

Examinations developed further in the West Country under the influence of T.D.Acland, who did not think that the County Boards of Examination were adequate to the task. He sought the aid of the Committee of Council on Education to persuade Oxford and Cambridge Universities to appoint Boards of Examiners. By 1857, Oxford had agreed to assuming responsibility for examining, through the Delegacy of Oxford Local Examinations and in 1858 Cambridge followed suit with the Syndicate of Cambridge Local Examinations. In 1873, the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examinations Board was set up, concerned with examinations in public schools. History was examined now by London, the College of Preceptors, the Oxford Delegacy, the Cambridge Syndicate, the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board, and from 1903 by the Northern Universities Joint Matriculation Board. Some examination centres were established overseas and in 1898, the Cambridge Syndicate examined 1,220 colonial candidates⁹³.

It has been estimated that by 1890, about 75,000 candidates sat for London Matriculation, Oxford and Cambridge locals and the examination of the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board. Of these candidates, 91% sat a paper in History, primarily in English History after 1485, and in Oxford locals that year, more candidates sat for the History paper than for any

other subject⁹⁴. This is a reasonable indication of the growth of history teaching at a secondary level, even though surprisingly, because Bryce was chairman, the 1895 Report on secondary education made no reference to history teaching⁹⁵.

As for the Universities, the School of Modern History in Oxford was created in 1872. In 1874, the History Tripos was established at Cambridge. History scholarships and Exhibitions were created. An important consequence of this development was that in future an increasing number of history teachers in secondary schools were to be university trained. Such was the wealth of scholarship that C.H.K.Marten recalled that in his undergraduate days he was able to attend lectures by A.L.Smith, Edmund Armstrong, C.R.L.Fletcher, H.A.L.Fisher, Charles Oman, Charles Grant Robertson, J.A.Froude, among others. "Without them", he said, "the recent development of history teaching would have been impossible"⁹⁶.

The Need for History Schoolbooks

The developing interest in history as a school subject, necessarily resulted in the publication of an increasing number of schoolbooks. The Committee of Council issued its schedule of books for elementary schools in the 1850s, History was among the seven subjects listed⁹⁷. In 1867, the Committee (see p.21) had allowed additional grant to be paid for the satisfactory teaching of at least one "higher" subject (history being recognised as one)⁹⁸. The New Code of 1882 required a History Reader to be used for Standard III and above⁹⁹. In 1890, history was to be made available throughout the school and in 1904, the Elementary Code spoke of bringing pupils "to some familiarity with the literature and history of their own country"¹⁰⁰, while the Regulations for Secondary Schools of the same year decreed that "not less than 4½ hours per week must be allotted to English, Geography and History"¹⁰¹.

The teaching of history on such a developing scale necessarily required the provision of suitable schoolbooks. Some of the implications

of this have already been touched upon. It was still too early to expect a "whole" or "world" view of history, though Matthew Arnold had encouraged this as early as 1868 and Oscar Browning had done so in 1889¹⁰². When W.F. Collier wrote his *History of the British Empire* in 1875, he wrote almost entirely about England, still using the word "Empire" in the sense of "a sovereign state". But the impact of Dilke and Seeley, together with the Jubilee celebrations of 1887 and 1897 and the convictions of the Liberal Imperialists accelerated the development of the "Imperial Idea". The new emphasis on the overseas Empire in the Codes, created a demand in the Elementary Schools, particularly, for anecdotal material, and this emphasis is reflected in books for secondary schools also, at the turn of the century.

NOTES

Chapter I

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2. pp.7-8. *Teaching History*. Education^{al} Pamphlet No.23. HMSO.1952.
3. pp.6-7. C.H.K.Marten. *On the teaching of History and other Addresses*. Blackwell.1938.
4. p.137. W.H.D.Rouse. *History of Rugby School*. Duckworth.1898.
5. pp.25 and 196. S.Butler. *The Life and Letters of Dr.Samuel Butler*. vol.1. Murray.1896; pp.8-9. Marten. *op.cit*.
6. p.111. H.L.Withers. "The Teaching of history in England in the nineteenth century". *Education in the nineteenth century*. R.D.Roberts (ed.). Cambridge.1901; p.10. Marten. *op.cit*.
7. pp.5-6. Bishop W. Stubbs. *Seventeen Lectures on Medieval and Modern History*. Oxford.1900.
8. pp.110-12. Withers. *op.cit.*; pp.11-13. Marten. *op.cit*.
9. p.6. J.G.Fitch. *Thomas and Matthew Arnold and their influence on English Education*. Heinemann.1899.
10. p.107, *ibid*.
11. pp.13-14. Marten. *op.cit*.
12. p.115. Withers. *op.cit*.
13. p.15. Marten. *op.cit*.
14. p.263. T.Arnold. *Lectures in Modern History*. London.1843. (2nd edn).
15. p.148. Fitch. *op.cit*.
16. pp.114-15. Withers. *op.cit.*; cp. pp.54-66. Fitch. *op.cit*.
17. p.152. G.M.D.Howat. "The nineteenth century history text-book". *British Journal of Educational Studies*. vol.XII. No.2. Faber.1965; cp. p.2. Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools. *The Teaching of history in secondary schools*. Cambridge. 1965. (3rd edn). (Howat claims the authorship of this section of the text in a footnote, p.11. Howat. *Notes on Teaching Empire and Commonwealth History*. Historical Association (H.A.) Pamphlet.T.H.25 1967). The last edition of Mangnall noted in the British Museum catalogue is 1875.
18. p.118. R.Mangnall. *Historical and Miscellaneous Questions*. Longmans. 1869 edn.
19. p.133. *ibid*.

20. p.112. Withers. *op.cit.*
21. pp.136-42. A.P.Stanley. *Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold*. London.1844.
22. Preface. Mangnall. *op.cit.*
23. p.87. R.L.Archer. *Secondary Education in the nineteenth century*. Cambridge.1921.
24. p.518. vol.8. *Report of the Royal Commission Known as the Schools Inquiry Commission*. 1868 (Taunton Report).(J.L.Hammond, the Social Historian, was not born until 1872),
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26. p.149. Howat. "The Nineteenth Century History Text-book".
27. p.171. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education*. 1845.
28. p.91. *ibid.* 1846.
29. pp.405-06. *ibid.* 1846.
30. p.286. *ibid.* 1851-52.
31. p.335. *ibid.* 1851-52.
32. pp.343-44. *ibid.* 1851-52.
33. p.243. vol.1. pt.1. cap.4. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of Popular Education in England 1861*. (Newcastle Report).
34. p.168. vol.1. pt.1. cap.2. *ibid.*
35. p.274. vol.1. pt.1. cap.4. *ibid.*
36. p.133. vol.1. pt.1. cap.2. *ibid.*
37. p.122. vol.1. pt.1. cap.2. *ibid.*
38. p.110. vol.1. pt.1. cap.2. *ibid.* (cp. p.16. *Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education*. 1854-55. Moseley's list is slightly different: "Religious Knowledge, Reading, Penmanship, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, English History, Physical Science, Vocal Music").
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41. Goldstrom. *op.cit.*
42. p.17. vol.1. pt.1. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the revenues and management of certain Colleges and Schools, and the studies pursued and instruction given therein*. 1864. (Clarendon Report).

43. pp.256-57. vol.1. pt.2. *Clarendon Report*.
44. p.216. vol.1. pt.2. *ibid*.
45. p.144. vol.1. pt.2. *ibid*.
46. p.256. vol.3. Q.7731-33. *ibid*.
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52. p.291. vol.9. *ibid*.
53. p.613. vol.9. *ibid*.
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56. p.415. vol.8. *ibid*.
57. p.28. Marten. *op.cit*.
58. p.470. A.F.Leach. *History of Winchester College*. Duckworth.1899.
59. pp.129-41. J.L.Dobson. "The Teaching of History in English grammar schools and private schools: 1830-70. *Durham Research Review*. September. 1957.
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61. pp.104,112. General Report for 1867. Matthew Arnold. *Reports on Elementary Schools. 1852-1882*. HMSO.1910.
62. p.149. *R.C.C.E*. 1864-65.
63. p.xcix. Additional grants to Elementary Schools. *R.C.C.E*. 1866-67; cp. p.cii. Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools upon the administration of the Minute of 20 February 1867. *R.C.C.E*. 1867-68.
64. p.cxlix. *ibid*. 1874-75. (A "higher" subject was a subject additional to the three Rs. A "specific" subject was a "higher" subject recognised by the Minute of 20 February 1867 as being grant-earning, when passed by at least one fifth of the average number of scholars in a class from Standard IV to Standard VI. A "class" subject, from 1875, was one taught throughout the school above Standard I (grammar, geography, history and needlework).
65. p.232. *R.C.C.E*. 1869-70. "I have always regarded them as part of ordinary Schoolwork", Sharpe said.

66. p.231. *ibid.* 1869-70.
67. pp.71-72. *ibid.* 1869-70.
68. pp.376,379,401. *ibid.* 1869-70
69. pp.465-66. Debate of the Elementary Education Bill (17 February).
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70. p.8. Chancellor. *op.cit.*
71. p.cxxiv. *R.C.C.E.* 1870-71.
72. pp.cii-ciii. *ibid.* 1872-73.
73. p.cxlix. *ibid.* 1874-75.
74. p.139. pt.4. cap.2. *Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales.* 1888 (Cross Report).
75. p.517. *R.C.C.E.* 1876-77.
76. p.447. *ibid.* 1877-78. (Reports from Inspectors were individual in presentation. Some reports were lengthy, some were brief. Findings were not presented in a systematic and complementary way).
77. p.463. *ibid.* 1877-78
78. pp.139-42. Chancellor. *op.cit.*
79. pp.139-40. *Cross Report.*
80. p.5. *New Code of Regulations.* Education Department.1890.
81. pp.146-47. *R.C.C.E.* 1889-90.
82. pp.346-47. *ibid.* 1894-95; pp.378-79. *ibid.* 1895-96.
83. p.335. Instructions to Inspectors. *ibid.* 1877-78.
84. p.335. *R.C.C.E.* 1891-92.
85. pp.333-36. *ibid.* 1891-92.
86. p.406. *ibid.* 1891-92.
87. p.106 *ibid.* 1895-96.
88. pp.xvi-xvii. *ibid.* 1883.
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90. London University. *Regulations of the Matriculation Examination.* 1838. (quoted p.147. Howat. *op.cit.*).
91. p.196. J.Roach. *Public Examinations in England.1850-1900.* Cambridge. 1971.

92. p.187. J.Roach. "Middle-class education and examinations: some early Victorian problems". *British Journal of Educational Studies*. vol.10. No.2. 1962.
93. p.172. Roach. *Public Examinations in England. 1850-1900*.
94. p.2. Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters. *op.cit.*
95. *Report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education. 1895.* (Bryce Report)
96. pp.35-36. Marten. *op.cit.*
97. *Books and Maps. Explanatory Circular. Minutes of C.C.E. 185-*.
98. p.xcix. Additional grants to Elementary Schools. *R.C.C.E. 1866-67*. cp. p.cii. *ibid.* 1867-68 (note 63 above).
99. p.5. *New Code of Regulations. Education Department.1882*.
100. p.viii. Introduction. *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools. Board of Education.1904*.
101. p.18. *Regulations for Secondary Schools. Board of Education.1904*.
102. pp.259. *seq.* M.Arnold. (1868 Report) *op.cit.*; cp. p.69. O.Browning. "The Teaching of History in Schools". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. New Series. IV. 1889*.

CHAPTER II

ATTITUDES TO THE TEACHING OF HISTORY FROM 1881 AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORLD HISTORY AS A SUBJECT FOR SCHOOLS

Since the 1880s, many books and pamphlets have been published, which have described why history should be taught. 1881 is taken as a starting point because it was the year of publication of Sir Joshua Fitch's *Lectures on Teaching*, given in Cambridge in the previous year.

The study of history

The issue to which Fitch addressed himself was often discussed during the educational debates from the Newcastle Report onwards: "How the facts (of history) can be so taught, as to serve a real educational purpose".

"Nothing is easier", Fitch continued, "than to begin by denouncing school-books. No doubt they are all more or less unsatisfactory. Yet it is difficult to know how if they honestly fulfil their intended purpose, they could be otherwise. They must, of course, be crammed with facts; and as the style must always be more or less sacrificed to the desire for excessive condensation, they are seldom very readable or interesting"¹.

Later, he states two objectives:

"(1) To make history stimulating to the imagination, and suggestive to the thought of the scholar, and (2) To furnish a good basis of accurate and well arranged facts for future use and generalisation"².

He expanded this slightly in a speech made to Oxford Extension students in August 1899:

"The history read up from text-books and students' manuals is not inspiring. It is not formative and philosophical. It is knowledge of facts only, and appeals rather to the memory than to the imagination, the reason, or the conscience. We must not complain of this. It could not be otherwise. The student who is to enter the higher region of thought which the philosophy of history occupies must first have obtained a substratum of dates and facts"³.

This is not far from the conclusion of increasingly sophisticated writing on history teaching in the late twentieth century. W.H. Burston, for instance, summarises his *Principles of History Teaching* with these words

on "facts": "It is essential to regard history in schools as an introduction - not as a series of foundation or basic facts, but rather as an introduction to historical thinking"⁴.

This confidence in the rôle of school history has developed over the decades. But the study of history was still a source of criticism at the end of the nineteenth century. W.E.H. Lecky in his Presidential address to the Birmingham and Midland Institute on 10 October 1892 expressed his belief that to many readers of history "the study is not only useless, but even positively misleading"⁵. He went on to expound his moral approach to politics and history. He saw the need for politicians to be "men of sincere conviction, sound judgement, consistent lives, indisputable integrity"⁶ and continued, "If history has any meaning, it is such considerations that affect most vitally the permanent well-being of communities and it is by observing this moral current that you can best cast the horoscope of the nation"⁷.

History and Character Forming

W.A. Pilsbury claimed in an unpublished dissertation, in 1944⁸ that an emphasis on value-judgements in relation to historical figures and events was central to the aim of Victorian writers of history schoolbooks. (Certainly, Mrs. Markham's *History of England* (1823) (which continued to be published for over fifty years), Lady Callcott's *Little Arthur's History of England* (1834) (which continued to be published until 1962), James White's *History of England from the earliest times to the year 1858* (1860), or William Hardcastle's *The Genealogical Textbook of British History* (1851), present the view that character forming was even more important than memory training. In order to be encouraged to be a christian gentleman, readers were taught about good and bad Kings; to be loyal to the sovereign was contrasted with right and wrong actions and attitudes; and faithfulness to the Protestant religion was exemplified by its genealogy and virtues).

Chancellor believes this to be too simplistic a view and points out that Victoria's England was essentially a free society, proud of its intellectual freedom, enabling a wide variety of opinions to flourish. For such reasons "it would be unrealistic to expect all of them to be reflected in history textbooks"⁹.

Indeed, G.C. Williamson criticised the character forming approach, in 1891:

"Is it not time that even in schools for smaller boys and girls, the old Mrs. Markham style of history should give place to a more intelligent method?... History is not romance, it is its very opposite. History is the statement or knowledge of the progress of a nation, with inquiries concerning facts and causes... An Englishman learns history to teach him how he has become what he is, and school history seldom aims at this result, although of late, thanks to Green's History and his great work on 'The Making of England', the improvement shows signs of existence"¹⁰.

J.R. Green's Criticisms

Green set himself a task in *A Short History of the English People* which he described in the Preface to the first edition (1874):

"It is the reproach of historians that they have too often turned history into a mere record of the butchery of men by their fellow-men. But wars play a small part in the real story of European nations, and in that of England its part is smaller than in any"¹¹.

Green commends himself to the modern reader with such an expression of intent, but his recording of nineteenth century events is misleading. The only mention, for instance, of "Queen Victoria's Little Wars" was of the China (Opium War), Afghan, Sikh and Punjab wars and the Indian Mutiny¹². He wrote of course, prior to the Boer War and prior to the World Wars of the twentieth century. But while this omission of the past and ignorance of the future helps to throw into relief the central concern of this study, it is not difficult to sympathise with the atmosphere for which Green so obviously strove. Many years elapsed before the writers of histories were able to counteract the poor features of history books which Green criticised.

The purpose of teaching History

More and more books were being written by the end of the nineteenth century and the 1899 *Guide to the Cambridge Higher Local Examination*¹³ recommended the following:

"Gardiner's *Students' History of England*. 3 vols. Longmans.
 Green's *Short History of the English People*. Macmillan.
 Tait's *Synopsis*. Macmillan.
 Fearenside's *Intermediate Textbook of English History*. 4 vols. Burlington Press.
 Ransome and Acland's *Political Handbook of English History*. Longmans.
 Powell and Tout's *History of England*. 3 vols. Longmans.
 Bright's *History of England*. 4 vols. Good for reference.
 Seeley's *Expansion of England*. Macmillan"

In spite of the availability of such a booklist, history teaching had, in the words of D.J.Medley (1899):

"not yet won its way to a recognised place alongside the older studies in the University course. Even in Oxford, where it seems to have made its special home, it is still regarded by many in the light of a 'soft option', though useful for the journalist and the politician, or a part of the equipment of a man of letters"¹⁴.

C.R.Long, however, pursued the question "What is history?" in his book, *The Aim and Method in History and Civics* (1900). He quoted from M.S.Barnes (*Studies in Historical Method*) and from T.L.Papillon (*Public Schools and Citizenship*):

"Strange today, our teachers of history, even college professors, never seem to sit down thoughtfully for an hour and ask themselves such fundamental questions as, What is history? Why do I teach it? and how can I attain my aim?"

"We need to remember that education is the preparation for citizenship - the preparation of man in all his thoughts and activities, in intellect and in character, not only for his life as an individual, but for his life as a citizen"¹⁵.

The value of history as a school subject, Long wrote, was that it gave the pupil historical knowledge¹⁶ and mental training¹⁷ was character forming¹⁸ and developed patriotism¹⁹ and citizenship²⁰. C.H.K.Marten, later to be Vice-Provost of Eton and the doyen of history teachers in

public schools, was less sure in 1901:

"The claims of history are still a matter of debate, but the present writer has no doubt that history will fill a larger place in education in the future than it does now. For history in schools may not only provide boys with information 'which is part of the apparatus of a cultivated life', but should do something to stimulate the imagination of the young, to develop the reason of those who are older, possibly to train the judgement of the few in the Highest Forms. It may extend the mental horizon of all"²¹.

The significance of history for the future leaders of "church and state" had been discussed years before by Arnold (see p.10), and it continued to find exponents who declared it a proper subject for the public schools. Bishop Stubbs, writing in 1900, discussed some of the problems of writing books for use in such schools:

"It seems to me that the great schools are awake to the necessity, and the publishers of school books are vying with one another in the production of manuals which will combine the conclusions of the most advanced students with simplicity of plan, and we may hope, attractiveness in treatment... We must not expect manuals that like the old grammars, will keep their places for two or three centuries. Every few years great discoveries are made; the use of the comparative method, long ago applied superficially and partially to history, has now become, owing to its employment in other fields of work, far more valuable and remunerative..."²²

C.H.Firth, as Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, was also hopeful and positive. In 1904 he reported that the Modern History School was flourishing. In the summer of that year, there had been 215 examination candidates, both men and women, and in the Michaelmas Term, there were between four and five hundred undergraduates reading history. Firth, however, believed that the teaching of history at Oxford had one great defect. "It does not train men capable of adding to knowledge". Undergraduates received merely a general education in history. Trained historians were an accidental by-product of the system rather than "one of the natural results of our elaborate system of teaching"²³. Nevertheless progress could be discerned. The *English Historical Review* had been founded in 1886. 1 November 1902 saw the publication of the first edition of the *Cambridge Modern History* and in 1906, the Historical Association was founded.

Twenty years later, the 1923 Report on the Teaching of History was to praise the Association. It "has worked steadily to increase the opportunities for historical research, to assist and stimulate teachers, and to spread in a wide circle among the general public a sense of the profound and increasing importance of history in national life"²⁴.

Suggestions and Circular 599

The growth of history teaching in elementary schools up to the end of the nineteenth century has already been discussed, and R.D.Bramwell has documented development in the history curriculum for the first quarter of the twentieth century²⁵, a good deal of which stems from the Board of Education's 1905 edition of *Suggestions for the consideration of teachers*. While *Suggestions* saw that difficulties were created by the "whole scope of the subject"²⁶, it insisted also that there should be "a connected knowledge"²⁷ ("a tolerable connected view" in the 1918 edition²⁸) of English political history. *Suggestions* also declared that "the broad facts" of the history of the Empire "ought to form a stirring theme, full of interest to every young citizen"²⁹.

Empire Day had been observed in some schools since 1904 (see Appendix) and the New Code of 1890 had encouraged the teaching of imperial history and responsibility³⁰. Alongside this growing interest in the history of the Empire, was the growth of interest in European history, the pressure for this increasing after 1914³¹. But *Suggestions* in 1918 claimed that there was insufficient time available for "the systematic teaching of foreign history (though) frequent reference to it (would) be necessary for a fair understanding of the story of our own country and Empire"³², a point to be taken up again in the 1927 edition of *Suggestions* which will be referred to later.

Meanwhile, in 1908, the first Circular (599) on *The Teaching of History in Secondary Schools* had been published. Such was its

significance that it was included in Education^{al} Pamphlet No.37, in 1923³³. Circular 599 suggested that two history lessons a week was as much as could be spared. However, there could be an indirect increase if connections were made with English literature and composition, and in the higher forms with modern languages and geography³⁴. The influence of Arnold was clear, both here and in Pamphlet No.37³⁵. But the Circular recognised that it had a rough row to hoe. Stressing the desirability of oral teaching when text-books were inadequate, it declared:

"There are not many teachers who have so great a power of exposition and narrative that it is justifiable for them to dispense entirely with the use of the book. It is important to remember that it is impossible for any single book to contain all the information that pupils will require. Many of the most common faults would be avoided, if it were always kept in mind that the object of study is not a single book, but the events of which the book is a partial and incomplete record, and that however excellent the book is, it will need supplementing and explaining"³⁶.

This statement may seem a truism yet it remains a valid comment on teaching.

Attempts to widen the syllabus

In 1908, Blackwell published a translation of Oskar Jäger's book on history teaching which had been a success in Germany³⁷. It provided outlines for systematic teaching from Greek History to 1871 (3rd form to Lower 5th) and from Ancient History to 1871 (Upper 5th to Upper 6th). It was an example of what might be done and attracted an introduction from C.H.Firth, who noted the drawbacks of a curriculum imposed by the Government, but thought them a lesser evil than the absence of any generally accepted scheme of studies. "Whilst we criticize the rigidity of foreign systems, we sanctify the anarchy of our own by baptising its elasticity".

In his introduction, he noted with approval the developments in America, where history teachers who were dissatisfied with the treatment of history in American schools had (from 1891) formed professional associations to study history curriculum and teaching method, and as a result had been able to influence school programmes and examination boards³⁸.

The work of the Committee of Seven in the USA was much discussed at this time. Firth mentioned their enquiry into history teaching in European countries and commented: "Amongst other things they enquired into historical education in English schools and their report states that 'owing to the well-known chaotic conditions of English secondary education', they are unhappily prevented from saying what our system is"³⁹.

Marten, also, had quoted them approvingly in 1901, as saying that "the most important factor in History teaching is not the curriculum, the text, or even the method, but the teacher"⁴⁰, (Educational Pamphlet No.37 in 1923 was to be even more precise on this point: "...the teacher who has ceased to read history should cease to teach it"⁴¹) and J.W.Allen, Hulsean Professor of Modern History at Bedford College wrote in 1909:

"Properly taught (*sic*), it could hardly be dull except to the very dull. It will help to satisfy every kind of intellectual curiosity concerning the things of the social order in which we live"⁴².

The struggle for the status of history teaching in schools was joined again by M.W.Keatinge, who was Reader in Education at Oxford. In *Studies in the Teaching of History* (1910), he took two historians to task:

"In the preface to his excellent *Introductory History of England*, Mr.C.R.L.Fletcher says roundly that 'for English history as part of a school curriculum, or as a means of education, I have no regard at all. The substitution of modern history and other modern subjects in our great schools for Greek and Latin, I regard as nothing short of an irretrievable calamity'. ...It is open to question whether the mischievousness of this statement coming from a writer of merit is aggravated or palliated by the excellence of the history which follows... Mr.A.Hassall follows in a similar strain: 'It is doubtful if many schoolmasters have yet discovered the best methods of training boys in history. In far too many instances, Greek and Latin history is displaced for mediaeval and modern history'"⁴³.

(It is notable that both Fletcher and Hassall wrote books on modern history for schools). Keatinge went on to reflect that the functions of history had gone through three stages. First, it had been narrative, conditioned by aesthetic interest and imagination. Second, it was instructive and reflective, actuated by patriotic and moral aims.

And thirdly, it was now busying itself with notions of causation, seeking the origins of individual events and their subsequent development⁴⁴.

This widening of the understanding through history became the task of some writers and gradually the pendulum swung. R.L.Archer, for instance, collaborated in 1916 with L.V.D.Owen and A.E.Chapman in *The Teaching of History in elementary schools*. At the beginning of the book, they noted that one of the mid-nineteenth century commissions (presumably the Clarendon Commission) had reported that history was not deserving of too large a place in the curriculum because it was concerned only with the memorising of facts. Since the beginning of the century, however, there had been a considerable change in approach⁴⁵, and the book bears witness to this change.

It is significant for the purposes of this study because it appears to be the first book on history teaching which attempts to place English history within a wider world context. In the section devoted to the content of teaching there is only passing reference to India and China⁴⁶, but there is a passage where we see the beginning of an national conscience:

"Exploration interests children greatly. The nineteenth century stands next to the sixteenth in the extent of its geographical discoveries, principally in Africa. The early records of European relations with backward races were a disgrace to civilisation. The Spaniards exceeded other races in their infamies because they were first on the scene. But Great Britain fully partook in the horrors of the slave trade and in its profits. In the nineteenth century, though there were doubtless many dark episodes, British rule has a tolerably clean record, the traditions of the Civil Service are the highest in the world, the nation at large would not tolerate any approach to the Congo or Putumayo atrocities and the tradition that Britain must always take the leading share in suppressing the slave trade should on no account be lost. Inter-course with backward races is inevitable and as we cannot stand in the same relations to them as towards organised political communities, the only alternatives are just rule or unjust rule. Thus a right national attitude towards these races becomes necessary; and teachers of history and geography can do much to foster it"⁴⁷.

This statement would require modification today, with an intense period of research behind us and with more objective attitudes to nineteenth and early twentieth century policies towards other races. The smugness too,

(as it seems now), can still be paralleled in books written for schools. The reference to the "atrocities" needs to be seen in context also, for the book was written during the 1914-18 War. Nevertheless, it was an important statement and foreshadowed the work of C.H.Jarvis.

In 1917, Jarvis wrote *The Teaching of History* and saw the necessity of including the history of the Empire in normal school work. In these lectures to students and teachers in Leeds, he saw history "as the study of social development"⁴⁸, as "the study of great characters and types"⁴⁹ and he believed in "the development of the mind by the study of history"⁵⁰ and "the moral value of history teaching"⁵¹.

In discussing the content of the history syllabus he recommended that the history of the Empire should be included in the scheme. Jarvis maintained that it was useless to give pupils a bare summary of the facts about India, Canada, Australia or South Africa. There were, however, "many stirring episodes which will appeal to the young mind". He believed that the history of the Empire was best taught when dealing with wider subjects. The expansion of England should be illustrated by the "settlements" in West Africa and the West Indies, in this century, for instance. Topics, like this, would suffer if they were removed from their historical setting and seen solely as part of the history of the Empire⁵². For the fifth year of study he recommended a comparative study of colonial history, contrasting the policy of Spain, France and England in America⁵³.

Jarvis is important because over half a century ago, with history teaching emerging from its inward looking and its national self-congratulatory tone, he raised new issues by proposing new material. He was a "teacher of teachers" reminding them that the history of the Empire was important. His selection of events was conventional after the nineteenth century pattern.

He recommended the teaching of Indian history (i.e. the British

impact on Indian history) since 1763. His main themes were Clive; the 1778-82 war with France; Warren Hastings; Wellesley; the last war against Mysore; Tipu Sultan and Seringapatam; the Mahratha wars; consolidation under Lord Hastings (1813-23); the first Afghan War (1837-43); the Sikh Wars (1845-9); the Mutiny; the North-West Frontier troubles; the Afghan War of 1878-90 etc. And he said, teach "What England has done for India".

For Africa, he proposed a considerable number of themes and events, relating to the Partitions from the 1880s to 1914; South Africa from the early settlement to the creation of the Union; the West Coast settlements (we would not describe them as settlements today):

"The historical details need not be remembered, but the class should know the nature of these possessions. They are valuable from a commercial, but not from a colonising point of view".

He recommended the study of the explorer Mungo Park; the Ashanti Wars; British East Africa and relations with Germany; Egypt and Soudan from Mehemet Ali to Lord Cromer⁵⁴.

Jarvis was teaching as a patriot and among the books that he recommended were W.H.Fitchett's *Deeds that won the Empire and Fights for the Flag*⁵⁵. He also had advanced ideas about examinations saying that they were a reason for poor history teaching⁵⁶. He even included an appendix on the Culture-Epoch theory⁵⁷.

Of lesser significance is a pamphlet by F.J.Gould, published at the end of the war in 1918 evoking the feelings of the country:

"The aim of education should be the service of family and commonwealth, based on industry, inspired by history and perpetually responsive to the claims of the whole circle of humanity" .

And he added

"No sympathetic study of our fellow-citizens (*sic*) in Asiatic and African regions of the British Commonwealth is possible

unless respectful views are taken of Hindu, Moslem, Buddhist and other cults. The splendid cooperation of people of all faiths and modes of thought in the organization of the British Commonwealth during the war, 1914-18, supplies a powerful motive for this attitude of sympathy and respectful interest" ⁵⁹.

The same writer repeated these ideas at greater length in a book *History the Teacher*, published in 1921, but he did not provide a universal framework, as Jarvis had done.

In 1919, A.P. Newton published as a pamphlet *An Introduction to the study of colonial history*. It was an indication of his interest and authority in this field, becoming as he did the Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London. "Colonial history is but a continuation of the history of folk wanderings"⁶⁰, he wrote, and he insisted that before a profitable study of colonial history could be undertaken the student or the teacher must have a general knowledge of the history of the nations concerned. (Writers of schoolbooks have been conspicuously deficient in this regard). On the other hand, he noted that colonial history was only concerned with the events of overseas communities when they had "some direct bearing upon the common life of the empires concerned or upon the general history of the maritime nations". The main concern of colonial history, as a subject for study, was to trace the development of European activity (in his special phrase) "beyond the sea" and to examine "the interaction of the European with the less civilised races"⁶¹. The language is not for our time, but the historical aim was exemplary.

In 1923, J.J. Findlay, perhaps reacting to a continued uneasiness about the purpose of history teaching in schools, responded to the violence of recent international events. He saw history as knowledge of human affairs and as "essential to the cultivation of the civic spirit, patriotism, citizenship, devotion to public service"⁶². Findlay pleaded for a widening of the syllabus also:

"To leave our children as ignorant as their fathers were of the state of Europe and Asia, lulled in pride of the past and a conceited security of our exalted power, is to invite disaster...

The revision... of our history syllabus so as to include a comprehensive and just survey of the whole course of world history, this seems to me to be the first and most obvious lesson that the events of the last ten years should bring home to those who organise our schools and colleges"⁶³.

The 1923 Report

The same year, 1923, saw the Board of Education's *Report on the Teaching of History* (Educational Pamphlet No.37). In his introductory note, H.A.L.Fisher (as former President of the Board of Education and the originator of the committee of investigators) commented:

"It is greatly to be desired that young people should be given some general notion of World History and that they should throughout be invited to consider the history of their native country, which will naturally claim the prerogative share of attention, as part of a larger whole"⁶⁴.

A comparison of the uneasy comments on text-books in Circular 599 and the observations of the 1923 Report shows that there was a shift of emphasis. Circular 599 noted the limitations of the text-book. The 1923 Report recommended that more thought should be given to the best correlation between the words of the teacher and the words of the author⁶⁵, and noted also that there was a general improvement in history text-book writing. "It is probably greater than in any other class of school book"⁶⁶. At the beginning of the Report, the investigators complained that history was memorised, two or three pages at a time, and that during examinations, questions could be answered by monosyllables, on a brief period of history, which was mainly English History. Other countries were mentioned only insofar as England had been at war with them.

The Report went on to note the development of specialist history teaching⁶⁷, stimulated by the Great War and "the recent public desire to study the history of other countries". More attention was being paid to modern developments and especially to nineteenth century European history. "It is a wholesome relief from the old days, when it was rare in schools to find any history studied subsequent to 1815; for history should be

realised as a living thing, in touch with problems of today" ⁶⁸.

The importance of J.R.Green's *Short History of the English People* was especially mentioned. Since its publication, "the scope of the popular teaching and unity of history has been widened in a two-fold way; it is more international in spirit and it is less exclusively political in subject matter"⁶⁹. Referring to examinations, the investigators proposed that "in papers on the later periods of English history, there should always be one question on the British Empire, and one as a rule on Military (including Naval) history"⁷⁰. Pupils who had passed this exam

"would benefit by a course of lectures in world history, which would delineate in broad outline, the successive stages of human civilisation, this supplying a sort of framework or background to the periods of English and European history which are selected for more intensive study"⁷¹.

The Hadow Report (1926)

The *Consultative Committee's Report on the Education of the Adolescent* (the Hadow Report: 1926) extended the views of the 1923 Report and assumed that there was general agreement about placing the teaching of British history in a world setting, particularly for older pupils. It commented: "The preliminary training in British history gives a concrete background which ensures some understanding of the wider generalisations in world history..."⁷². The Report noted also that "good training in history is impossible where the work is confined to the text book"⁷³, thus confirming the recommendations of Circular 599.

Further Suggestions

In 1927, the Board of Education published a *Handbook of Suggestions for the consideration of Teachers and others concerned in the work of public elementary schools*. This carried a section on history which declared:

"The history of the Overseas Dominions is a feature of British history which is too often neglected. The story of our kith and kin beyond the seas, of their settlements and struggles, of the

great deeds they have accomplished, of the development of the lands in which they have settled, or which they have administered, is an important and integral part of the story of the British peoples as a whole. But even this stage only becomes intelligible when the pupil realises its place in the story of the world"⁷⁴.

There is a section headed "British history a part of World history". The writer suggested the kind of topics which should be included in class teaching (the Northmen; the Crusades; exploration; scientific discovery; European expansion overseas; India under the Moguls; Spain, France and Germany; the birth of the United States of America; international relations in the modern industrial world). He believed that in this way it would be possible to remove "the ignorance of any history except that of Britain" ("which is now too common"), and to develop the study of "general history". His statement, however, that "there is seldom time for the systematic teaching of foreign or world history"⁷⁵ suggests that this discussion had little effect on the work of elementary schools. History teaching as a whole was experiencing disappointment.

History teaching in London Elementary Schools

In the *General Report on the Teaching of History in London Elementary Schools* (1927) there are some passages which recall the debates on history teaching during the Commissions of the 1860s.

"The results of the tests in chronology show that the average elementary school child in London has acquired some sense of time sequence, though it cannot of course be considered satisfactory that only 88 children out of 1,305 can assign with accuracy three names to each of four consecutive centuries in British history. On the other hand it is unlikely that ten or fifteen years ago the average child of 13 would have scored 50% in a test of this character. The fact that the average mark rises as the four centuries chosen approach the present day suggests weakness in the arrangements for revision.

"It is disquieting in the extreme to find that 28% of the children in the top classes of the schools visited were unable to write a reasonably accurate account of any two persons and events chosen by themselves out of a given period of 400 years.

"The general standard of written expression shown in the papers was so unsatisfactory as to be a serious reflection upon the teaching of English, as well as upon the teaching of history...

"Contrary to what might have been expected, the success of the history teaching as measured either by the results of the test or by the general inspection bears no relation to the length of time allotted to the subject on the time-table, and bears little or no relation to the social environment of the child..."⁷⁶.

The occasional pleas in the past for the scholarship of teachers have been mentioned previously. *The Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* (1927) commented: "In history, perhaps more than in most studies, the teacher's own reading and his power to make judicious use of it are of the first importance"⁷⁷. The London Report added:

"We can in the not too distant future, look for such a division of responsibility in the upper sections of schools that the history teacher no longer having to teach so many subjects, will be able to keep up that constant and assiduous reading without which no one can hope to continue to teach history adequately"⁷⁸.

This hope sprang from the increasing conviction that the schoolbook should have a less central place in the learning situation.

Deficiencies in Schoolbooks

The danger of slavish attachment to the schoolbook was hinted at also by the *Committee on Books in Public Elementary Schools* (1928) which recommended that history books should be reviewed from time to time", so as to ensure that they are in line with the results of modern research"⁷⁹. The Committee on Books suggested that during the last ten or fifteen years there had been an improvement in the technical production of history books for young people as well as an improvement in content. The objections to history books of "the older type" were that they were too much confined to political history. The generalisations which they included, however just, presumed a background of knowledge and experience which children did not possess. The arrangement of the subject matter under reigns destroyed the sense of historical continuity. Illustrations were crude and inaccurate and vocabulary and diction were often too difficult for children⁸⁰. Some movements of history, (for example, the Renaissance), were occasionally described without reference to their wider implications. A few persons

and incidents only were mentioned. The same criticism could be levelled at "the descriptions of the developments of the Dominions"⁸¹.

Books on history teaching, however, continued to be published. F.C.Happold claimed that it was possible "to give boys of twelve an understandable outline of the general course of world history"⁸². Influenced by the increasing understanding of the psychology of learning he criticised much history teaching as being too abstract, "not only in that it is concerned with conceptions that are beyond his experience and power of appreciation," but because "an appeal is made to (the pupil) through his brain only". Happold pleaded for "the concrete presentation of characters and events"⁸³. (In relation to "world history", *This Modern Age* (1938) had more to commend it than Happold's earlier schoolbook, *The Adventure of Man* (1926)).

In 1929, Fred Clarke (writing at the end of his long period of service in South Africa) made a specific attack on *Little Arthur's History of England*, by Lady Callcott, which after nearly a century, was still being used:

"Economic forces have done their work, and Little Arthur's real neighbours, that is, those with whose actions his own interests are most intimately bound up, may now be living a thousand miles away. If his father is an unemployed Welsh miner or a Lancashire spinner, it should not be difficult to make Arthur understand this. It may be a little more difficult to make Arthur's teacher understand; that some little knowledge of the history of India or the U.S.A. may be of far more use and significance to him than may highly patriotic details of the medieval history of England"⁸⁴.

"Of war there is usually enough and to spare in the history course; of Dominions, Arthur hears a good deal in his geography lessons, if not so much in his history"⁸⁵.

"All the sequences that we follow up in teaching Little Arthur history, issue from his present world and the aim of teaching is always the same - to fill his present world with the maximum degree of *significance*"⁸⁶.

C.B.Firth noted also wider implications for the history syllabus, proposing that much of the material for the Commonwealth section "must be obtained from the teacher's general reading"⁸⁷.

Pleas for internationalism

In the same year, 1929, H.A.Drummond wrote a chapter on Internationalism in his book *History in School*. He paid special attention to the work of the League of Nations⁸⁸. In *A Handbook for history teachers*, edited by D.Dymond (1929), there is also an imperial perspective:

"The English teacher is in less danger than any other to ignore the world outside Europe. He cannot help going far afield: Imperial history takes him there. He has first to consider the development of the colonies, their self-government under the "new colonial theory", and the ties that bind them to England; secondly, he has to deal with the dependencies, especially Egypt and India, and prepare the way for an adult understanding of their problems; thirdly, he has to explain the position and character of the mandated territories"⁸⁹.

The Handbook included a useful bibliography to assist the teacher in this particular task.

In 1931 a *Memorandum on the Teaching of History* was published by the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary schools. In discussing the syllabus, the *Memorandum* raised what is by now a familiar question. "Is it to be National history, European History or World History?" And the writer commented that for those who favoured national history, nothing could take the place of the story of Britain and the Commonwealth, "whose future citizens we are training". The Commonwealth, however, had problems, peculiarly its own, insight into which could only be obtained from a knowledge of Commonwealth history⁹⁰.

M.V.C.Jeffreys wrote two books in 1936 and 1939, the first, *A History course for the senior school* and the second, *History in Schools: the study of Development*. In the first, he wrote

"On the one hand is the belief that since all aspects of social experience are fit matter for historical study, the historian's business is to present a broad and comprehensive survey of the period under review. The consequence of this is that text book writers have been over-anxious to include some reference to as many "important" things as possible, and extremely reluctant to leave out things which, though "important", are too difficult for young pupils.

"On the other hand is the traditional primacy of political affairs, which are still felt by many to be *par excellence* the subject matter of history. Since the attempt to present a comprehensive survey of human life is practically doomed to failure, it is natural to resort to some principle of selection... But in point of fact the historian has deceived himself and others. The traditional primacy of political history has proved a device for 'having it both ways'; it has been possible to maintain the principle of the comprehensive survey (i.e. including something about everything that matters) by means of the fiction that it is only political affairs that really do matter.

"So long as this fiction held undisputed sway, the history taught in schools was a manageable body of material...

"But of recent years, the principle of the comprehensive survey has reasserted itself. The teacher today is in the midst of a reaction against purely political history, and he finds himself in a most awkward dilemma. For on the one hand, he feels bound to introduce many topics which never found their way into the history lessons of our youth; and on the other hand, he can find no organizing principle, except the old political framework..."⁹¹.

This quotation presents, in the most succinct way so far, the issues involved in writing schoolbooks and in establishing a syllabus. The argument crystallised in Jeffrey's proposals for a secondary school syllabus for 16 to 18 year olds: (1) a study of the modern world, (2) a brief review of general world history, (3) a special subject relating either to the modern world or a particular line of development followed throughout world history. He saw the necessity of studying the causes of enmity between peoples and proposed as an example of this a study of colonial expansion, especially in nineteenth century Africa⁹².

The second book published in 1939, gave Jeffreys an opportunity to expand his notion of Development, which today perhaps we would call the "topic" approach. His contribution has been considerable and at least two other authors quote approvingly his phrase about development:

"a central theme for which subsidiary investigations can radiate as far as time and the pupils' intelligence allow"⁹³.

Jeffreys recognised the burden on the teacher who is to supervise this kind of advanced work:

"J.R.Green taught us that history is the story of the whole people and now Mr.H.G.Wells teaches us that history is the story of the whole world. These revelations are true, but immensely embarrassing to the teacher"⁹⁴.

(Wells, incidentally, did not, in his books *Outline of World History* (1919) and *A Short History of the World* (1922) penetrate the reasons for and the practice of colonial expansion. In the *Short History*, for instance, he wrote "We cannot tell here in any detail how the British Commonwealth made its way to supremacy... Here we have no space to tell the amazing story of the explorers and adventurers..."⁹⁵.)

The 1930s ended, as far as history teaching was concerned, with new ideas and increased confidence. A.C.F.Beales had written hopefully in 1937:

"Ten years ago there were all too few books in English on the teaching of history, and many of those that existed were at best conventional and at worst antiquated. The politico-militaro-dynastic tradition was dying hard and no single compelling idea had yet been worked out to help to take its place. Today all is changed"⁹⁶.

In the same year, the Board of Education produced a revised edition of its *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers*, reprinted again in 1944. The revisions from the 1927 edition were largely editorial, though there were amplifications on teaching method. In some respects the genesis of the League of Nations affected the attitudes of the writer in 1927 and while the League still received special mention in 1937, the wording, in spite of the League's vicissitudes, was precisely the same. Both the 1927 and 1937 editions carried a long Appendix on the League⁹⁷. But by 1944, the Appendix had been omitted although there was still a page reference for it (presumably left uncorrected when the Index was repaginated) in the 1944 reprint⁹⁸. There were also two items of relevance to this study. In the 1937 section on World History, there was an addition, which was perhaps over-optimistic:

"A respect for other civilisations than that of Western Europe will best grow out of a knowledge, however small, of their history. Even to hear once that the Chinese were a cultured

people when our ancestors were savages may exercise a lasting effect on the outlook of a child" ⁹⁹.

There was also a withdrawal from the 1927 text. The 1927 edition noted a problem in the writing of Indian history for schoolbooks. It was this that was omitted from the 1937 (and 1944) edition:

"It would be clearly undesirable that children, because they are taught, as they should be taught, to admire such personalities as the Lawrences, Nicholson, Havelock and Outram, should acquire the idea that Indian history ends with the Sikh Wars and the Indian Mutiny" ¹⁰⁰.

It will be seen, when the schoolbook treatment of Indian history is considered in detail later, that this omission was quite justified.

The Spens and Norwood Reports (1938 and 1943)

The Spens Report (1938) mentioned the importance of history briefly:

"Not only does it supply the necessary information, but it can be taught so as to induce a balanced attitude which recognises differing points of view and sees the good on both sides" ¹⁰¹.

This view was taken further in the Norwood Report (1943). Democracy was being reviewed with some intensity at this time (during the War) and the role of the school came in for its fair share of attention. Answering some of the traditional objections to history as a subject ("History demands an adult mind"; "some pupils have no interest in process and development"), Norwood maintained that "democracy can only work if its members have enough political and social sense to make it work". The Report saw History

"as a main instrument in the education of democracy... It has increasingly been recognised that, whatever its other purposes the record (of the past) should be related at suitable points to the present. The war has accelerated that process of recognition and the obligations of teachers of history have become increasingly apparent" ¹⁰².

A History Syllabus (1944)

The following year, 1944, R.R.Reid and S.M.Toyne published a theoretical essay on *The Planning of a history syllabus for schools*. With the end of World War II in sight, the pamphlet was a disappointment. The precise implication of the new world situation for the development of the

history curriculum was ignored. The authors believed that the history syllabus should train pupils to think accurately about human affairs, that inertia stemming from familiarity, should be overcome, along with "the influence of habit, prejudice and passion". They wrote of the relativity of truth, responsibility and civic duty. They believed (like some of the Victorians) that history could assist character training, through examples of individual conduct in the past:

"The attainment of these aims depends largely on the manner of presentation, but they cannot be ignored in planning the syllabus itself"¹⁰³.

Although the authors believed that the syllabus must be cast in a world context, the practical opportunity of proposing how such a syllabus should be formulated was missed. Not until the Department of Education and Science published *Teaching History* in 1952, was there a major attempt to reassess the teaching of history.

Education Pamphlet No.23 (1952) and developments in the 1950s

The title of the opening chapter of *Teaching History* was *Why have we been teaching history?* In discussing the motives for teaching history, the pamphlet drew attention to two. First, there was the moral motive, with character forming through a study of the great men and women of the past. Second, history introduced pupils to their heritage, through a study of "the way things have come about", enabling them to consider their environment, "in which they will have to live and to act"¹⁰⁴.

The pamphlet recommended especially the "patch" method of study, a method associated with the name of Dr.Marjorie Reeves. Dr.Reeves had attempted to obviate the superficiality of the general historical sweeps by employing the "patch" method, which permitted a study in depth of certain short periods of history¹⁰⁵. It referred also to "lines of development", "topics", "periods"¹⁰⁶, and went on to describe a third motive for teaching history, the "imaginative experience"¹⁰⁷, which could be

experienced particularly through the "patch" method.

In discussing the secondary school syllabus, the Pamphlet spoke of the need for history teaching to be placed within a world context, and commented:

"The divorce between current affairs and history, so that they are regarded as two different subjects, gravely weakens both. It accentuates the natural tendency of children to regard history as something remote and irrelevant instead of something which has formed the world around them and which is continuously being formed by that world... If modern history is to give those who are leaving school their practical bearings in our contemporary world... it looks as though it ought to come up to date. Thus twentieth century history teaching cannot evade the great countries of Asia, the Soviet Union, India, Pakistan, China, or, indeed the lesser countries of that continent... .. It is easy to pay too much attention to constitutional, and even to economic evolution, when teaching the history of the British Commonwealth and Empire. It is a history very rich in colourful story, and in strong personality, and the achievements of our forefathers, whether in Canada, or in Australasia, in Africa or in India, are part of our tradition, and also part of the tradition of those countries"¹⁰⁸.

In 1954, E.H.Dance wrote a pamphlet for the Council of Christians and Jews, *History without Bias?* It raised sharply the question of stereotypes in relation to Christians and Jews in schoolbooks¹⁰⁹ and foreshadowed his later work in the field of schoolbook writing.

1956 saw the Jubilee meetings of the Historical Association and the tone of the congratulatory addresses, celebrating fifty years of the Association, was one of eager confidence¹¹⁰. History was now established as a major field of research and as a subject proper for study in schools.

In 1958, C.F.Strong wrote *History in the Secondary School*. He quoted Pamphlet No.23 favourably and explained the study methods encouraged there¹¹¹. He also discussed the teaching of World History:

"The advocates of a direct 'international' approach agree that the traditional methods of history teaching encourage the perpetuation of nationalist feeling and hence militate against the growth of international understanding"¹¹².

He underlined the plea in Pamphlet No.23 for current affairs to be related

to history¹¹³, and concluded that the study of history should encourage a concern for truth. It was necessary to discriminate between fact and opinion, and the mind should always be open to new ideas. Strong emphasised the need for creating an awareness of the world's common humanity. This could be achieved by stimulating "a larger tolerance in our attitude towards other social groups, classes and occupations and towards other peoples, civilisations and races"¹¹⁴.

Earlier he had quoted E.H.Carr:

"An historically minded generation is one which looks back, not indeed for solutions which cannot be found in the past, but for those critical insights which are necessary both to the understanding of its existing situation and to the realisation of the values which it holds"¹¹⁵.

In 1959, a new edition of *Suggestions* was published (*Primary Education*). It bears the marks of a greater sensitivity towards the child, both in the content and method of teaching, than its predecessors¹¹⁶. Discussion about the world as a whole and "international cooperation" is less marked than in the 1937 edition. The inference however, is that good history teaching at primary level should not be confined to the history of the British Isles, but should include material about other peoples. One recommendation (see the 1968 printing also) is that stories should be used about "nineteenth and twentieth century contacts between missionaries and natives"¹¹⁷. (The use of the word "native" will be discussed in chapter IV).

World Perspectives

Certainly, from the point of view of this study as a whole significant developments are now to be seen in the quickening emphasis on world perspectives. E.H.Dance's work has already been mentioned in this respect and in 1960, he published a further book, *History the Betrayer: a study in bias*. Dance has worked indefatigably over the years to uncover the

stereotypes and national presuppositions that have been, and still are, current in history schoolbooks.

"If there is no record" he has written "there is no history; if there is a record, it has a recorder, whose views and prejudices enter into his record and colour it... History books and history teaching, and indeed all education, are at present vitiated by prejudices of many kinds. They will continue to be so vitiated unless the prejudices are removed, not merely now, but constantly"¹¹⁸.

The Ministry of Education published Pamphlet No.40 in 1961 on *Schools and the Commonwealth*. Designed, in the year after Harold Macmillan's "wind of change" speech, to present the Commonwealth as a "unique achievement in human history" it encouraged the view "that young people in our schools should have some knowledge of how it came into being and of its present significance"¹¹⁹. This presented "a challenge to schools which no thoughtful teacher can afford to ignore"¹²⁰. Refusing to pronounce on specific modifications in the curriculum throughout the educational spectrum, it made some suggestions which were designed to enable the future citizens of the country "to discharge their duties to the Commonwealth and indeed to the rest of the world in the second half of the twentieth century"¹²¹.

In 1962, Stanley Smith produced a valuable bibliography, *Towards World Understanding: bias in history text books and teaching*. He reinforced his concern by inviting Professor J.A.Lauwerys to write a foreword in which Lauwerys said:

"There is nothing new in saying that school textbooks ought to help rather than hinder good understanding and mutual respect between nations, and that those who do not should be either improved or left unused"¹²².

Smith demonstrated the growing international interest in history schoolbook writing by listing numbers of seminars after 1945, under the auspices of UNESCO and the Council of Europe, together with meetings between historians from neighbouring countries, which sought to reconstruct the accounts of historical events in an impartial and objective way¹²³.

It is notable, however, that Africa is missing from his schoolbook survey¹²⁴.

In 1962 also, A.Lyall produced for the Parliamentary Group for World Government "a comparative survey of examination syllabuses in Britain and overseas", *History Syllabuses and a World Perspective*. Her conclusion was that compared with some other countries Britain offered her more able adolescents far less world history and, indeed, recent history, than their contemporaries elsewhere received¹²⁵.

In 1963, the Examination Bulletin No.1 of the Department of Education and Science, on the *Certificate of Secondary Education* commented:

"Since the study of history gives cohesion and deeper meaning to the rest of the curriculum, providing the context, in time, for all that the pupil sees around him, it is to be hoped that it may remain an essential element in the education of pupils in secondary schools"¹²⁶.

In the light of all this, it is therefore singular that W.H.Burston in *Principles of History Teaching* (1963 and subsequently in the 1972 edition) does not mention "colonial history" or "world history". (The *Handbook for History Teachers*, however, edited by Burston and C.W.Green, includes in the 1972 edition, sections on *World History* by J.L.Henderson and D.B.Heater)¹²⁷. Peter Carpenter, similarly, in *History Teaching: The Era Approach* (1964) included only one paragraph on colonial history:

"At a time when one after another of Britain's former colonies is reaching the goal of independence, there is of necessity much preoccupation with the reorientation of the British Empire and Commonwealth and hence a renewed interest in its evolution. It is not unreasonable to suppose that when the old ties with the mother country have been severed, the present interest will lessen and that Imperialism, much maligned today, will be regarded in retrospect as a necessary and even beneficial stage on the road to national maturity. By then the focus of attention will be on other problems relating to the contemporary world, with a corresponding adjustment as to what aspects of the past receive closer consideration"¹²⁸.

Nevertheless, in 1965, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, holding a wider view published the 3rd edition of *The Teaching of History in Secondary Schools*. In it they referred to the growing body of opinion in English schools which was

concerned that the study of overseas history should be extended to include more history lying outside the main trends of Western civilisation¹²⁹ because

"Today the history of America, Africa, Russia and the Far East make claims for inclusion, and must be weighed against the essential needs of the pupils whose traditions are a part of Western Europe" and

"To have studied the 'scramble' for nineteenth century Africa and be in ignorance of emergent nationalism in the twentieth century is to be incomplete"¹³⁰.

They also added significantly, the sentence already mentioned on page 6:

"The long term consequences of what (the teacher) does will not be the facts that linger but the attitudes of mind that are formed"¹³¹.

In 1966, J.L.Henderson edited a volume of lectures, *Since 1945: Aspects of Contemporary World History*¹³². Like E.H.Dance, he has been involved in research programmes in world studies for many years. Also in 1966, Education Pamphlet No.51 was published on *The Commonwealth in Education*¹³³. The cover carried a photograph of Caribbean and English school girls (although there is no reference to the multi-racial school population of Britain until four-fifths of the way through the pamphlet). The pamphlet traced the development of "the Commonwealth Idea", encouraged the teacher to be "free from prejudice about colour, race and religion"¹³⁴ and made some suggestions for further study. There was also a warning about the shortcomings of schoolbooks ("prejudiced stereotypes fashioned by a picture of Moslem and Hindu at loggerheads over grease for cartridges")¹³⁵. The writers stated firmly their agenda for the teaching of history in a world context and expressed their urgent hopes for schoolbook revision¹³⁶.

Towards World History

The year 1967 saw the publication of Education Pamphlet No.52, *Towards World History*. The Department of Education and Science now gave to "World History" an official publication of its own and in doing so echoed the trends which had been becoming evident in schoolbooks published during the 1960s.

"A generation so deeply concerned to encourage a wider international understanding in the future will look to the work in history, as well as in other subjects, to sow the seeds of it, by explaining, as history alone can, something of the traditions which give to other peoples the feelings and the aspirations which animate them"¹³⁷.

The central problem raised in this study finds an echo in this passage:

"Of course there were periods of European history for study in many grammar schools; there was often something about Greece and Rome for everybody; and there was even a little about the winning of India, Canada and, occasionally, about South Africa. But before the Second World War there was seldom much else. It would be most exceptional to find any American history later than the American revolution; and it would be still rare to find any Russian history, though the Russian revolution and the five year plans might appear in current affairs lessons, where also the League of Nations would find a place, and perhaps, after the seizure of Manchuria, China and Japan.

"It is this general pattern which has seemed to a growing number of teachers, since the Second World War, to provide an inadequate framework, at bottom because it has not seemed sufficiently relevant to the proper understanding of the kind of society in which we live today"¹³⁸.

The pamphlet went on to propose an outline for a CSE syllabus, including such headings as "Shrinking World, War, Clash of Nationalisms, Clash of Races, Colonialism and Emerging Nations, Clash of Political Ideologies, Clash of Religions, Imbalance of World Wealth..."¹³⁹. It went further when it suggested that the aim was to "change the emphasis in Junior and Middle School history so that European and world history become central";¹⁴⁰ and later urged that "any syllabus in twentieth century world history is bound to devote some attention to China"¹⁴¹. In the light of such recommendations, it is not surprising that since the mid-1960s there has been an increasing flow of books and materials, designed to meet these needs, pioneered by Geoffrey Williams' *Portrait of World History* series (published by Arnold between 1961 and 1966) and Margaret Bryant's *World Outlook* series (published by Faber in 1968).

The Historical Association has over the last decade or so also produced a number of relevant pamphlets, for example, *The American Empire: its*

*historical pattern and evolution, The Rise of Modern China, Notes on the Teaching of Far Eastern History, European Rule in Africa, Notes on Teaching Empire and Commonwealth History, The Teaching of African History, The New Imperialism, and a select bibliography, The Teaching of History in the United Kingdom*¹⁴².

Courses for teachers in world studies, arranged by the Department of Education and Science and Institutes and Schools of Education are now common. Lecturers in Education in both Universities and Colleges increasingly specialise in the history of particular regions and countries. Some schools, through the influence of their teachers, concentrate in the senior forms on World History or British and Commonwealth History in a world context. Others include World History topics in their general studies programme¹⁴³. Young school leavers, whose teachers participate in the Schools' Council's *Humanities Project*, study aspects of World History similarly¹⁴⁴.

Examinations Boards now include papers on World Affairs and Commonwealth History¹⁴⁵, as a matter of course. Statistics from the Examining Boards for 1974 show that a considerable percentage of History candidates now take papers in World or Commonwealth History, for example: Associated Examination Board, 33.45% (O level), 19.6% (A level); Joint Matriculation Board, 38.95% (O level), 5.87% (A level), University of London Schools Examination Department, 28% (O level), 16% (A level)¹⁴⁶.

All this goes some way towards realising the hopes of Geoffrey Barraclough, in his Presidential Address to the Diamond Jubilee Conference of the Historical Association on 12 April 1966. He quoted E.H.Dance:

"In a world which can be circumnavigated in a week, it is quite as important for British children to learn the history of Europe as the history of Britain, and quite as important to learn the history of Asia as the history of Europe"¹⁴⁷.

He added:

"The change is coming, as anyone who puts his ear to the ground and listens will know; and unless this Association puts itself

in the van of the movement - in a way it has certainly not done so far-it will fall behind"¹⁴⁸.

Barraclough, perhaps more than any other British historian in recent years, has urged a broader reading of history¹⁴⁹. The structure of world politics has changed. The widening of historical perspectives is, in consequence, necessary, if the world of today is to be understood. There can be no doubt that such an approach to history teaching is now a possibility, and in many cases a fact, for history teaching is more confident in its rôle than it was a century ago.

NOTES

Chapter II

1. p.371. J.G.Fitch. *Lectures on Teaching*. Cambridge.1881. (The book had been reprinted 18 times by 1905).
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5. p.12. W.E.H.Lecky. *The Political Value of History*. Arnold.1892.
6. p.56. *ibid*.
7. p.57. *ibid*.
8. W.A.Pilsbury. *A consideration of some of the textbooks on modern history used in Secondary Schools since 1860, illustrating the development in the theory and practice of history teaching*. (unpublished dissertation, Reading University.1944).
9. p.16. Chancellor. *op.cit*.
10. pp.243-44. G.C.Williamson. "On learning and teaching history in schools and on the results obtained by such teaching". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. vol.5. 1891.
11. p.xvii. J.R.Green. *A short history of the English people*. Macmillan. 1898 edn.
12. pp.840-42. *ibid*.
13. *Guide to the Cambridge Higher Local Examination*. London.1899.
14. p.19. D.J.Medley. *The educational value of the study of history*. London.1899.
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16. pp.12-14. *ibid*.
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20. pp.19-20. *ibid*.
21. p.91. C.H.K.Marten. "The teaching of history in schools-practice" *Essays on the teaching of History*. ed. F.W.Maitland. Cambridge.1901.
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23. pp.14-15. C.H.Firth. *A plea for the historical teaching of history*. Oxford.1904.
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25. pp.39-51. R.D.Bramwell. *Elementary School Work.1900-1925*. Institute of Education. University of Durham.1961.
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27. p.64. *ibid*.
28. p.92. *ibid*. 1918 edn.
29. p.61. *ibid*. 1905 edn.
30. pp.146-47 *RCCE*. 1889-90.
31. p.40. Bramwell. *op.cit*.
32. p.92. *Suggestions*. 1918 edn.
33. p.15. *The teaching of History*. Educational Pamphlet No.37. (Appendix IV, pp.61-68, contains verbatim, *Circular 599*, and quotations are made from this edition of the text).
34. p.61. *ibid*.
35. pp.5 *seq. ibid*.
36. p.67. *ibid*.
37. O.Jäger. *The teaching of History*. trans. H.J.Chaytor. Introd. by C.H.Firth. Blackwell.1908.
38. p.xvii. *ibid*.
39. p.xix. *ibid*.
40. p .50. Marten. *op.cit*.
41. p.9. *Educational Pamphlet No.37*.
42. p.169. J.W.Allen. *The place of History in education*. Edinburgh.1909.
43. p.17. M.W.Keatinge. *Studies in the teaching of History*. Black.1927 edn.
44. p.25. *ibid*.
45. p.1. R.L.Archer, L.V.D.Owen, A.E.Chapman. *The teaching of History in elementary schools*. Black.1916.

46. see pp.108-257. *ibid.*
47. p.241. *ibid.*
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50. p.14. *ibid.*
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53. p.81. *ibid.*
54. pp.116 *seq. ibid.*
55. p.203. *ibid.*
56. p.227. *ibid.*
57. p.229. *ibid.*
58. p.3. F.J.Gould. *History the supreme subject in the instruction of the young*. London.1918.
59. pp.11-12. *ibid.*
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61. p.7. *ibid.*
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63. p.178. *ibid.*
64. p.iii. *Educational Pamphlet No.37*.
65. p.31. *ibid.*
66. p.40. *ibid.*
67. p.7. *ibid.*
68. p.15. *ibid.*
69. p.47. *ibid.*; cp. p.22 also.
70. p.56. Appendix III. C.3. *ibid.*
71. p.60. *ibid.*
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80. p.33. *ibid.*
81. p.35. *ibid.*
82. p.20. F.C.Happold. *The Approach to History.* London.1928.
83. p.23. *ibid.*
84. p.4. F.Clark. *Foundations of History teaching.* Oxford.1929. (Clarke was in South Africa from 1911-29 and in Canada from 1929-34).
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86. p.106. *ibid.*
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99. p.416. *Handbook of Suggestions.*1937.
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113. p.77. *ibid.*
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115. p.45. *ibid.*
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132. publ. Methuen.1966.
133. p.39. *The Commonwealth in Education*. Department of Education and Science pamphlet No.51. HMSO.1966.
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135. p.16. *ibid*.
136. p.17. *ibid*.
137. p.6. *Towards World History*. Department of Education and Science pamphlet No.52. HMSO.1967.
138. p.10. *ibid*. (The phrase "even a little about the winning of India Canada and occasionally about South Africa" requires revision. There is a great deal in schoolbooks about India and South Africa).
139. pp.26-27. *ibid*.
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141. p.31. *ibid*.

142. R.W.van Alstyne. *The American Empire: its historical pattern and evolution*. G.43.1960; V.Purcell. *The rise of modern China*, G.49. 1962; W.G.Beasley. *Notes on the teaching of Far Eastern History*. T.H.20.1962; A.J.Hanna. *European rule in Africa*. G.46.1965 edn.; G.M.H.Howat. *Notes on the teaching of Empire and Commonwealth History*. T.H.25.1967; Z.Marsh and P.Collister. *The teaching of African history*. T.H.26.1968, M.E.Chamberlain. *The new imperialism*. G.73.1970; J.D.Fines. *The teaching of History in the United Kingdom*. H.77.1969.
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145. for example: *Associated Examination Board* (1974), "The Growth of the Commonwealth and English speaking peoples" (O level), A level options on "The History of the British Empire", "Britain and World Affairs", "Africa South of the Sahara; *Joint Matriculation Board* (1974), "The British Empire and Commonwealth" (O level), "Europe and the Modern World since 1870" (O and A level); *University of London Schools Examination Department* (1974), "World Affairs since 1919" (O level), "International Problems since 1931", "The World since 1945" (A level); *Oxford Locals Delegacy* (1973), "British Empire and Commonwealth" (O level).
- Metropolitan Regional Examinations Board* (1974), Britain and the World (CSE); *North Regional Examinations Board* (1974), "World History since 1900" (CSE); *West Midlands Examinations Board* (1974), "The British Commonwealth since 1500", "Modern History since 1870" (CSE).
146. The number of history candidates in 1974, expressed as a percentage of all candidates is as follows: *Associated Examinations Board*, 6.26% (O), 5.2% (A); *Joint Matriculation Board*, 23.9% (O), 22.8% (A), *University of London Schools Examinations Department*, 8.42% (O), 13.09% (A); *Oxford Locals Delegacy*, 31.4% (O), (the "Empire and Commonwealth" paper being taken by only 0.41% of History candidates). The CSE Boards were unable to furnish information of this nature.
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CHAPTER III

HISTORY IN THE SCHOOL SYLLABUS IN FRANCE SINCE THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Introduction

Discussion about the place of history in the French school syllabus goes back at least as far as Louis XIV, who in a speech to the Faculty of Law in Paris in 1679 declared:

"La manière dont la jeunesse est instruite dans les collèges laisse à désirer. Les écoliers y apprennent tout au plus un peu de Latin. Mais ils ignorent l'histoire, la géographie et le plupart des sciences qui servent dans l'usage de la vie"¹.

Nine years later, the Abbé Fleury in *Traité du choix et de la méthodes des études* wrote that the pupil must be instructed in "les lois de son pays, apprendre l'histoire de France et la géographie, auxiliaire de l'histoire, recevoir un enseignement scientifique de caractère utilitaire"². This desire to liberalise the curriculum was well in advance of similar ideas in Britain.

The *Encyclopédistes*, in the eighteenth century, emphasised the importance of history in the school curriculum. D'Alambert in his article *Collège* (1753)³ and Rousseau in *Émile* (1762)⁴ both encouraged its study, although Rousseau suggested that there were difficulties:

"History in general is lacking because it only takes note of striking and clearly marked facts which may be fixed by names, places and dates; but the slow evolution of these facts, which cannot be noted in this way, still remains unknown"⁵.

Was then, history to be encouraged for its potentiality in moral instruction or for its scientific appraisal of great movements and general tendencies? Were historical heroes to be seen as moral examples or did the descriptions about them distort the events in which they were involved?⁶ The *Encyclopédistes* greatly affected the development of educational ideas in Revolutionary France, and the debate about the purpose of teaching history in schools was to continue along the lines which they had laid down, for two more centuries at least.

Popular education

For generations, the government found it impossible, for reasons of money and man-power, to put into practice the 21st Article of the 1791 Constitution:

"Il sera créé et organisé une instruction publique commune à tous les citoyens, gratuite à l'égard des parties d'enseignement indispensables à tous les hommes"⁷.

The struggle to establish state secondary education began with the *écoles centrales* in 1795. The curriculum broke away from tradition and emphasised the sciences, including also ancient and modern languages, the history of the world, political economy and law, drawing and health education. (In an attempt to discourage private schools, proof of attendance at one of these schools of the Republic became obligatory for those seeking posts in the government service). By the Law of 1 May 1802, Napoleon replaced these schools with state *lycées* and grant-aided *collèges* to be established by the municipalities. The *lycées* in particular were to prepare pupils for the university faculties of law, science and medicine, after 1808. (The *école polytechnique* had been created in 1794 to train engineers and the *école normale supérieure* which had been founded in 1794, was reestablished in 1808 to train teachers for the *lycées*). Under the same law the state gave recognition to the private sector (*l'école libre*) and continued to rely heavily upon it. Between 1810 and 1880, the number of pupils in secondary schools rose from 50-60,000 to 150,000⁸. State secondary schools for girls were not established until 1880.

At elementary (*primaire*) level, the Loi Guizot (1833) attempted to correct the failure of the 1816 regulations to implement free elementary schooling. It was still financially impossible for the government to make this policy a reality. But when in 1850, the Loi Falloux relaxed the decrees of 1808 and 1811 about state control, the contribution made by private and church schools resulted in an education explosion.

By the time of the Loi Ferry (1882) there were over 5,000,000 pupils in elementary schools⁹.

Considerable changes in the educational system took place after the defeat of France by Prussia in 1870. This event marked the end of monarchism. Bonapartism and the Second Empire assisted the gradual political revival of the Republicans who by 1877 had an elected majority in the Assembly. One effect of France's defeat had been for a reappraisal to be made of the content of secondary education. It was believed that the Prussians had outwitted the French as a result of their superior educational system. The secondary syllabus was revised in 1871 and 1872 (see p.75) and by 1879, when Ferry became Education Minister, the government was voicing for the first time for a century, the ideals of the Revolution of 1789: free, compulsory schooling for all and complete secularisation. Elementary school fees were abolished in 1881. In 1882, education was made compulsory for children from six to 13 years of age and religious teaching was forbidden in state schools. From 1886, all ecclesiastics were to be removed from teaching posts in state schools. The division between Church and State now became institutionalised in parallel systems of public and private schooling at both elementary and secondary levels.

The écoles normales

One effect of the educational policies of the 1870s was to reinforce finally the importance of the *écoles normales* for the training of both male and female school teachers. Founded for boys only in 1794, reestablished in 1808, suppressed in 1822 and reestablished again in 1826, the *écoles normales de garçons* had by the 1830s become the centre of controversy. Political conservatives feared the students' professionalism and suspected *professeurs* (trained teachers) of being incipient republicans. The Assembly voted to suppress the *écoles* in 1849, but the government

contented itself with new regulations, including a simplified syllabus, in 1851. *Écoles normales de jeunes filles* were created much later. Although one had been in existence since 1838, they were only finally accepted and established by the Law of 9 August 1879¹⁰.

The demand for schoolbooks

By the middle of the century, the demand for schoolbooks was growing. As early as 1831, a government circular had announced the setting up of a commission to examine books used at the elementary level¹¹, but provision remained slow. Freyssinet-Dominjon has described how the monitorial system, so popular in France in the middle of the nineteenth century ("l'enseignement mutuel"), with one book among 1,000 pupils¹², was a system which could not survive larger classes and "l'enseignement simultané", introduced by Duruy, the Minister of Education in 1867 heralded a demand for more books for use in schools, which was to be met increasingly by publishing houses such as Hachette, Didier, Colin and Mame¹³.

History as a school subject : 1794 to 1887

The decree of 17 November 1794 prescribed for elementary schools the study of "des recueils d'actions héroïques et des chants de triomphe"¹⁴, but this was omitted from the syllabus for the following year, an action subsequently justified for practical reasons by Roederer (as Education Minister) in 1802¹⁵. After the Law of 1 May 1802, however, history could be taught in secondary schools and *lycées*. In fact, there is little evidence that this was achieved for nearly a quarter of a century, although the appointment of teachers in history, for secondary schools, (*agrégés*) was recommended by the *commission de l'instruction publique* in 1818 and established in 1830¹⁶.

By Minutes (*arrêtés*)¹⁷ of 15 May and 9 November 1818, history was

to be taught at secondary level and must not be separated from the teaching of geography. A government circular of 4 July 1820 instituted a prize for history and geography in each class, but emphasised that history teaching must not be political¹⁸. By 1842, 33 out of 62 history specialists were *agrégés*.

In the elementary schools, the Loi Guizot (1833) provided for the teaching of history to the senior forms only and regarded it as optional lower in the school¹⁹. The Loi Falloux (1850) excluded it altogether and prescribed it only as an optional subject in the *écoles normales*²⁰. A Minute of 31 July 1851 recommended for *normaliens* a study of sacred and church history and Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*. Ponteil remarked on this development that in the *écoles normales*: "L'instruction religieuse est plus poussée"²¹.

This struggle for the recognition of history teaching was not confined to the schools and the *écoles normales*. Ponteil shows how in the Universities also: "L'histoire est enseignée par un seul professeur qui se charge également de la géographie... la zoologie, la géologie et la botanique". Not only was this unfortunate for history, but after the great flowering of the eighteenth century philosophers it was also a frittering away of resources ("un éparpillement") and a situation that was to continue in some university faculties until the twentieth century²².

Victor Duruy, as Minister of Education from 1863-69, and himself a historian, had strong views about the teaching of history. "Le trésor de l'expérience humaine" (see page 77) was for him fundamental, and in a ministerial circular of 12 October 1863, he wrote: "Voilà comment les questions d'enseignement sont devenues des questions de fortune publique". He insisted, in the same circular, on including history in a new secondary school course, *l'enseignement secondaire spécial*. This course, (designed

as broad , general education with a four year cycle) provided that history, geography, French and modern languages should be studied throughout. It became law on 21 June 1865²³. On 10 April 1867, Duruy introduced a law on elementary education making history and geography compulsory subjects also²⁴.

Duruy saw history teaching as a means of reasserting the glory of France. In a confidential circular sent to rectors of the academies of the University of France(24 November 1868) he explained why he believed the examination in French History to be so important, urging that teachers of history should encourage an impartial appreciation of famous people who, in their own times, had contributed "à la grandeur de la France et à sa prospérité"²⁵.

After the Franco-Prussian War, Jules Simon, the Minister of Education, issued circulars in 1871 and 1872 (see p. 72) which gave greater emphasis to modern language, history and geography in the secondary school syllabus. Jules Ferry who was Minister from 1879-81 and 1882-83 emphasised the importance of history at secondary level in a Minute of 2 August 1880. He also continued Duruy's insistence on history and geography being taught in elementary schools. Through the Law of 28 March 1882, which introduced moral philosophy and civics into the elementary school syllabus partly to offset the Church's criticism of the government's educational policy, Ferry hoped that each pupil might, in Ponteil's words, develop "l'amour des parents et du travail, la probité, la justice, la fraternité, le dévouement à la patrie, de façon à former des citoyens, épris de liberté et d'égalité, défenseurs des droits de la personne humaine"²⁶ . The purpose of education was to instil patriotism and good citizenship.

Article I stated that within primary education, there must be geography, especially French geography, and history, especially French

history, "jusqu'à nos jours". The Minute of 18 January 1887 specified that in every class (*élémentaire* (6-9 yrs), *moyen* (9-11 yrs) or *supérieur* (11-13 yrs)) there must be one hour of history or geography, a scheme which remained until 1923. There was now to be an indissoluble union between the two subjects, for the one could not be appreciated without the other.

In addition, the Minute of January 1887 made it obligatory to use schoolbooks. Two types of books had been used until now. The thick, heavy tomes of several hundred pages (which were the "livres du maître") had been supplemented by smaller books, characterised by anecdotal material, a question and answer text (similar to that of Mangnall and others, in England) and patriotic engravings. There were books for teachers such as the Mame edition, *Histoire de France* (about 1860; 500 pages) or later Darsy and Toussenel's *Histoire de France* (1893), with 882 pages; and for pupils Loiseau's *Petite histoire de France* (1868 edn.), Drioux's *Abrégé de l'histoire de France depuis les Gaulois jusqu'à nos jours* (1869 edn.) or Gauthier's *Leçons de chronologie et d'histoire* (1884 edn.)²⁷. These books were written by teachers or clergy.

Now it was to be the turn of distinguished historians, like Ernest Lavisse (1842-1922) to write books for schools (he had written several already)²⁸ which were to last under successive editors for more than sixty years.

Criticisms of school history

History had become established as a subject for schools by the 1880s, having been (what in England would have been called) a "class subject" at secondary level since 1818 and at elementary level since 1867. Both Duruy and Ferry had assisted in the final stages of this development, but Duruy, had used words of caution. In 1863, he had spoken out against a view of history which emphasised patriotism, by recalling the national glories of

the past in battles and victories :

"Tant que les guerres et les intrigues de cour ont été la grande affaire des sociétés, Machiavel et l'histoire - batailles suffisaient. Aujourd'hui... les faits économiques ont pris une trop grande place dans notre société pour que l'histoire puisse les négliger, si elle veut rester ce qu'elle doit être: le trésor de l'expérience humaine et la maîtresse de la vie"²⁹.

Langlois and Seignobos wrote more strongly in 1898:

"On ne demande plus guère à l'histoire des leçons du monde ni des beaux exemples de conduite, ni même des scènes dramatiques ou pittoresques. On comprend que pour ses objets, la légende serait préférable à l'histoire, car elle présente un enchaînement des causes et des effets plus conformes à notre sentiment de la justice, des personnages plus parfaits et plus héroïques, des scènes plus belles et plus émouvantes. On renonce aussi à employer l'histoire pour exalter le patriotisme ou le loyalisme"³⁰.

This attack on the misuse of history teaching was not unique. A few years before in 1875, Malapert had criticised history summaries (*abrégés*) observing that more often than not, they merely repeated the errors of their predecessors³¹. A few years later in 1914, Halphen criticised the inanity of historians who merely based their work on out of date books (*à'où la vérité historique soit plus absente*)³². He wrote also of the danger that "l'histoire est restée une mine inépuisables d'anecdotes et de contes mélodramatiques ou scabreux"³³.

Morality and patriotism

The aim of history was described in this paragraph from *Plans d'études et programmes* for 26 July 1909:

"Le but de l'enseignement de l'histoire et la géographie est la connaissance du monde actuel et de la place qu' y tient la France. L'histoire doit viser à l'intelligence des faits politiques et sociaux, la géographie à celle des faits naturels l'histoire et la géographie doivent contribuer à l'explication des faits économiques"³⁴.

But Lavissee who dominated history teaching for so long, believed, quite simply that it must lead to morality and patriotism³⁵; and on the whole it is usually Lavissee's view that has prevailed³⁶. The debate has always swayed to and fro and de Monzie, a contemporary of Lavissee, was by no

means an exception, saying in 1905:

"Au patriotisme méprisant et agressif, l'humanisme doit opposer un patriotisme généreux et compréhensif n'excluant pas le sentiment de l'unité et de la fraternité humaine"³⁷. (In this passage, de Monzie was writing simply of respect for all nations).

Just as in Britain, so in France, there was and still is, continual questioning about the rôle of history teaching and its relation both to the nation and to mankind as a whole. The development of "World History" as such, is not apparent in French schoolbooks until after the 1931 Colonial Exhibition at Vincennes (see p.109). But deep in the French tradition was the desire to see taught the history of mankind as a whole, not simply the history of the nation.

The development of world history as a school subject

Mirabeau in his *Discours sur l'éducation publique* in 1791 spoke of the need to study "universal history":

"dont l'objet principal doit être la peinture des moeurs et des gouvernements et de tous les peuples de la terre"³⁸,

while at the same time saying:

"L'espoir de la Patrie réside surtout dans la génération qui s'élève"³⁹.

The desire of the Revolutionary thinkers was to create a balance between patriotism and a knowledge of mankind as a whole. Freudenfeld wrote *L'histoire universelle* in 1848. The book was world-wide in scope, but was written principally within the context of the Church's missionary activity⁴⁰. Moeller in 1887 encouraged the historical study of the human race in a book which covered ethnography, palaeography, philology, sources, archaeology and political records⁴¹. Lavissee pressed for a clear *summary* of world history in schoolbooks, in 1875⁴². Nevertheless the reforms in secondary education of 2 August 1880 and 31 May 1902 carried no mention of colonial expansion or a world setting⁴³.

(Just as the British taught their own national history in schools in their colonies, so also the French used schoolbooks in their colonies which

were also used in French schools. The colonies were an extension of France. French history was their history. Not until 1961 was there a book, (published in Guinée) which attacked this attitude, on the grounds that Africans were being made to accept that the French were superior and that colonisation was necessary and beneficial)⁴⁴.

In the 1920s, *Instructions* and *Programmes* developed the theme of colonial expansion. A ministerial *Instruction* of 20 June 1923 suggested that:

"La France est une puissance mondiale, qu'elle possède des colonies dans toutes les parties de la terre", and "l'étude de ses colonies est inscrite au programme du cours moyen"⁴⁵,

and in the new programme for secondary school history on 13 May 1925, "la formation de l'Empire Français" was expressly mentioned⁴⁶.

In 1937, however, the emphasis was stronger. The history syllabus was to be planned more closely with geography, which, in turn, was to take more account of the colonies. A ministerial circular underlined among other things, this need:

"faire ressortir, dans l'enseignement de la géographie, la diversité des conditions physiques dans la France d'outre-mer, et par la suite la variété de ressources et d'aptitudes de la mise en valeur"⁴⁷.

The history syllabus and the colonies since 1938

The following year, in another ministerial circular (20 September 1938), Jean Zay instructed that in primary school geography, scanty references to other countries should be omitted and replaced by developments in the French colonies:

"Nous avons obéi à la nécessité de consacrer toute l'attention qu'il se doit à la France d'outre-mer qui n'a peut-être pas tenu explicitement jusqu'ici la place désirable"⁴⁸.

During the German occupation of France from 1940-44, the Vichy government seized upon colonial history as a subject for special emphasis because it underlined the greatness of France⁴⁹. Special reference to eighteenth century history in India and Canada also underlined the

treachery of the British, for this was to be built into the secondary programmes of 16 August 1941. The *Instructions* insisted on the fundamental understanding which existed between the *indigènes* of the colonies and metropolitan France:

"Le respect dont notre compréhension humaine entoure les institutions, les croyances et l'âme même des indigènes, et l'on montrera les conséquences qui en résultent pour la fidélité à la métropole des peuples de son Empire"⁵⁰.

It is, however, evident that these directions did not result in any important alterations to the contents of schoolbooks during the War⁵¹.

After 1945, the tendency was to increase admiration for the colonies, which had given such considerable support to "Free" France during the War. It is notable that in 1945, the eminent historian, Ch.-André Julien criticised those writers of colonial history who presented it as a cause for national pride, while at the same time, denouncing similar actions by other countries.

"L'esprit qui anime les recherches aggrave encore le mal. La plupart des écrivains français considèrent l'histoire coloniale comme une manifestation nationaliste. Il font des éloges éperdus de la politique expansionniste de leur pays, tout en dénonçant celle des voisins. Dans le même volume, on peut lire que la France "pacifie", tandis que l'Angleterre "conquiert". Les indigènes qui se révoltent contre nous sont les "dissidents", ou des "fanatiques", évidemment pas les résistants"⁵².

These strictures were applicable in the main to books used in the syllabus of higher education rather than in schools. But it is noticeable that university based historians turned their attention, after 1945, to the serious production of history books for secondary schools, which could cover, in a set of volumes, France's history within the context of world history. The Cours Malet-Isaac in 1930 and 1932 had been the forerunner. Now there were to follow the Cours Tapié (1947), the Cours Vallée (1948), the Cours Malet-Isaac (1950-53), the Cours Tapié in 1954, 1958 and 1962, the collection Louis Girard and the collection Jean Monnier (1962), and others. These remarkable books, so well-produced pictorially and

typographically, set a high standard. (Because of the British development of resource material to support schoolbooks, they do not form an exact comparison). But in spite of their undoubted scholarship, Reinhard could still complain in 1957 that it was impossible to write "une histoire vraiment universelle"⁵³.

The 1946 constitution had brought into existence "l'Union Française", and by 1948, a special study of the problems of "l'Union Française" had been ordered⁵⁴. In 1954, H.Deschamps, historian and former colonial governor, addressed himself to the question: "Comment incorporer l'Union Française aux programmes d'histoire de l'enseignement du second degré"⁵⁵. The dangers of such an approach were to become all too evident. The synthesising of the national history of colonial peoples with that of metropolitan France was an impossible task, and Deschamps himself commented that in the secondary programme "les pays d'outre-mer n'apparaissent qu'*in extremis* en classe de philosophie, et seulement sous l'aspect de la conquête coloniale, comme un épisode de notre histoire militaire"⁵⁶. His influence had its effect on the writing of new books for schools. In the same year (10 December 1954), there were vigorous ministerial *Instructions* about the teaching of history, how to organise the work, the conduct of the class and the use of documents for individual research⁵⁷.

The programmes since 1954

The *Instructions* of 1954 were as follows:

"L'histoire n'est pas seulement, pour les programmes officiels, comme pour les historiens, politique, diplomatique, militaire, mais qui englobe désormais l'analyse des faits économiques et sociaux, la description des civilisations et des cultures, l'examen de l'évolution des techniques"⁵⁸.

The *Programmes* of 27 November 1956 also stated that the rôle of history was not simply "maintenir une juste place à l'histoire de France, mais aussi accorder une part aussi large que possible aux faits de la

civilisation"⁵⁹. Malet and Isaac had already written for schools in the 1930s, fulfilling this canon⁶⁰, and so the 1954 *Instructions*, a quarter of a century later were a little harsh on some historians, but government approval was unequivocally given to a universal view of history. The 1954 *Instructions* stated emphatically that the study of history involved:

"en particulier, la création de l'Union Française qui nous assigne comme un devoir de plus en plus inéluctable de projeter sur le passé de ceux qui se sont associés à nous une lumière jusque-là distribuée avec trop de parcimonie"⁶¹.

The desire that French national history should be related to the general history of civilisations was further underlined in the *Instructions* of 7 May 1963⁶². But Circular No.IV, 67-468 (13 November 1967), while proclaiming enthusiasm for the study of history ("donner aux élèves, avec le goût d'histoire, celui de la culture, exercer leur réflexion et former leur jugement")⁶³, does not mention French colonial history, despite a recital of the principal political, social and economic forces in the nineteenth century. A study of colonialism and the Third World was written into the "programmes des classes", in 1970⁶⁴.

The contribution of history as a school subject

Why did the French place so much emphasis on the teaching of history in schools? René Clozier claims that it makes a singular contribution to learning. It trains pupils to respect facts, to learn that facts are relative and contingent upon one another. History teaches a spirit of criticism (geography, a sense of the concrete), and he goes on to say that the really fruitful contribution that history makes, lies in

"le souci de définir les faits, de leur conférer le caractère d'authenticité, de les localiser rigoureusement, d'en dégager toute la signification concrète".

Moreover, history (like geography) creates in the minds of pupils

"l'inquiétude de savoir qui est la base essentielle de toute pédagogie"⁶⁵.

The aims of morality, patriotism and preparation for citizenship

have been recurring themes for French historians, just as they have been for their British counterparts. Josserand, in 1957, asked if the amassing of knowledge was the only purpose of history teaching and learning. Should part of the aim be also:

"Savoir une formation de l'esprit, une culture, voire une action morale ou une préparation civique?"⁶⁶.

The history lesson was also "le témoignage de sa culture. C'est à dire de ses connaissances, mais aussi de la conscience réfléchie qu'il peut avoir du monde immense du passé"⁶⁷.

The aim of history (in *Le Contenu de l'enseignement*, 1968) was to give "Clear ideas based upon concise arguments" which would provide the pupil with a general background of knowledge⁶⁸. It was not necessary to study all knowledge, to embrace "l'encyclopédisme qui nous tue"⁶⁹. Nor continued the group of writers responsible for this study, was it any longer right to sing the praises of particular individuals who lived and died as patriots, to ignore social revolution and to present colonial history "sous la forme de l'autosatisfaction et de la bonne conscience qui ont été celles des Européens au XIXe siècle"⁷⁰.

In a paper prepared in 1969, Les Amis de Sèvres wrote:

"Comment enseigner l'histoire aujourd'hui? Entre les pesantes richesses du passé et les espoirs ambigus de l'avenir, comment donner à nos enfants cette formation vivante qui leur permettra de comprendre le monde où ils vivent d'en dominer les incohérences, d'en discipliner les forces"⁷¹.

This is in sharp contrast to the situation described by J. and M. Ozouf when looking back over the early period of the twentieth century:

"L'horreur de la guerre, l'admiration pour les héros, des guerres justes, le rêve de la paix universelle, la préparation de la guerre de défense: tel est l'équilibre que tentent de tenir ces ouvrages"⁷².

In some measure, the writing of history has remained in this tone, bringing scorn from Masset and Citron, for instance, who write of "le bagage historique de nos élèves"⁷³, a reminder of Halphen's distaste for

using history for the purposes of propaganda, though often there are "des leçons de sincérité et de droiture"⁷⁴.

Such self-criticism is typical of historians on both sides of the English Channel. Certainly in France, it has led to the publication of some remarkable schoolbooks in the last quarter of a century, even if these books have been, and still remain, a vehicle for national pride.

History teaching in Britain and France: a conclusion

In France, discussion about the place of history in secondary schools syllabuses antedated the public discussion in Britain by some forty years: 1818 in France, the 1860s in Britain. A full acceptance of history as an elementary school subject did not take place until after Duruy's Law in 1867 in France and the *Code* of 1890 in Britain.

The emphasis in all schools was to be on the value of school history in fostering patriotism and moulding character through imitating the example of great national heroes. Questioning continued about the purpose of history teaching, for many years. There was an increasing emphasis on the important rôle of the teacher.

A concern for the history of the human race as a whole was deeply embedded in the French revolutionary tradition. But in spite of the efforts of later nineteenth century historians such as Moeller and Lavisse, it was not until after the *Instructions* of 1923 and 1925 and the Vincennes Exhibition in 1931 that commitment to the exposition of world history began to become accepted in France. Official recognition for "world history" as a school subject came in the *Instructions* of 1954.

During the first World War in Britain, Archer and Jarvis both began to urge world-wide perspectives in history teaching and Educational Pamphlet No.37 in 1923 proposed "world" history as a theme for the history syllabus.

This was reinforced in the Board of Education's *Suggestions* for 1927 and 1937 and further repeated in Education Pamphlet No.23 in 1952. Education Pamphlet No.52, dealt with the theme *Towards World History*, in 1967. Since the 1950s, in both countries, rapid developments have taken place. Although the inherent difficulties of teaching history remain, the radical changes that have taken place within the international community have made inevitable an increased interest in teaching history in a world context.

NOTES

Chapter III

1. p.40. F.Ponteil. *Histoire de l'Enseignement.1789-1965.* Sirey. Paris.1966.
2. p.41. *ibid.*
3. pp.268-70. J.Lough. *The Encyclopédie.* Longmans.1971
4. pp.199-202;228-78;421-31. J-J.Rousseau. *Émile* (1762). (trans. B.Foxley) Everyman/Dent.1911; cp.pp.106-15. *The Social Contract and Discourses* (1762). (trans.G.D.H.Cole) Everyman/Dent.1913
5. p.201. *Émile.*
6. p.202. *ibid.*
7. quoted p.15. J.L.Crémieux-Brilhac. *L'Éducation Nationale.* Presses Universitaires de France. Paris.1965.
8. p.32. A.Prost. *L'enseignement en France.1800-1967.* Colin, Paris. 1968.
9. p.108. *ibid.*
10. p.140. Prost. *op.cit*; p.289. Ponteil. *op.cit.*
11. p.198. Ponteil. *op.cit.*
12. p.31. J.Freyssinet-Dominjon. *Les manuels d'histoire de l'école libre. 1882-1959.* Colin. Paris.1969.
13. p.31. *ibid.*
14. p.31. *ibid.*
15. p.97. Ponteil. *op.cit.*
16. pp.168,170. *ibid.*
17. The centralisation of the educational system dates from the setting up of the Imperial University, which was to govern French education, by the Decree of 17 March 1808.
18. p.171. Ponteil. *op.cit.*
19. p.72. P.Chevallier, B.Grosperin, J.Maillet. *L'enseignement française de la Révolution à nos jours.* Mouton. Paris.1968; p.32. Freyssinet-Dominjon. *op.cit.*; p.123. Prost. *op.cit.*
20. p.32. Freyssinet-Dominjon. *op.cit.*
21. p.242. Ponteil. *op.cit.*
22. p.248. *ibid.*

23. quoted p.263. *ibid.*; see also p.202. J.Rohr. *Victor Duruy, Ministre de Napoléon III*. Pichon and Durand-Auzias. Paris.1967.
24. p.207. Rohr. *op.cit.*
25. p.32. Freyssinet-Dominjon. *op.cit.* (quoted from O.Gréard: *Education et instruction*. Hachette. Paris.1910).
26. p.288. Ponteil. *ibid.*
27. FXXXX *Histoire de France*. Mame-Tours. n.d. (1860?); E.Darsy and T.Toussenel. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1893; L-J.Loiseau. *Petite histoire de France*. 1868 (10th edn.); Drioux. *Abrégé de l'histoire de France depuis Gaulois jusqu'à nos jours*. Belin. Paris.1869. (21st edn.); Gauthier *Leçons de chronologie et d'histoire*. Paris. 1884. (22nd edn.).
28. cp. *La première année d'histoire de France*. 7th edn. Paris.1878; *La deuxième année d'histoire de France*. Paris.1884 (26th edn.) etc; see also note 36.
29. p.663. quoted: *Encyclopédie Pratique de l'Education en France* I.N.R.D.P. Paris.1960.
30. p.288. Ch.-V.Langlois and Ch.Seignobos. *Introduction aux études historiques*. Hachette. Paris.1898.
31. p.21. F.Malapert. *De l'enseignement de l'histoire en France*. Paris. 1875.
32. p.7. L.Halphen. *L'histoire en France depuis cent ans*. Colin. Paris. 1914.
33. p.173. *ibid.*
34. p.26. *Plan d'études et programmes des écoles primaires supérieures de filles*. 26 July 1909. Paris.1909. (*Plans d'études* had existed from 10 December 1802 for *lycées*; from 4 September 1821 for secondary schools; from 25 April 1834 for primary schools).
35. pp.30-31. E.Lavisse. *L'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école primaire*. Paris.1875.
36. See P.Nora. "E.Lavisse: son rôle dans la formation du sentiment national". *Revue Historique*. CCXXVIII. pp.73-106. 1962.
37. p.663. quoted: *Encyclopédie Pratique*.
38. quoted p.54. Ponteil. *op.cit.*
39. quoted *ibid.*; also p.23. Chevallier, Groperrin, Maillet. *op.cit.*
40. B.H.Freudenberg. *L'histoire universelle*. Paris.1848.
41. J.Moeller. *Traité des études historiques*. Louvain.1887.

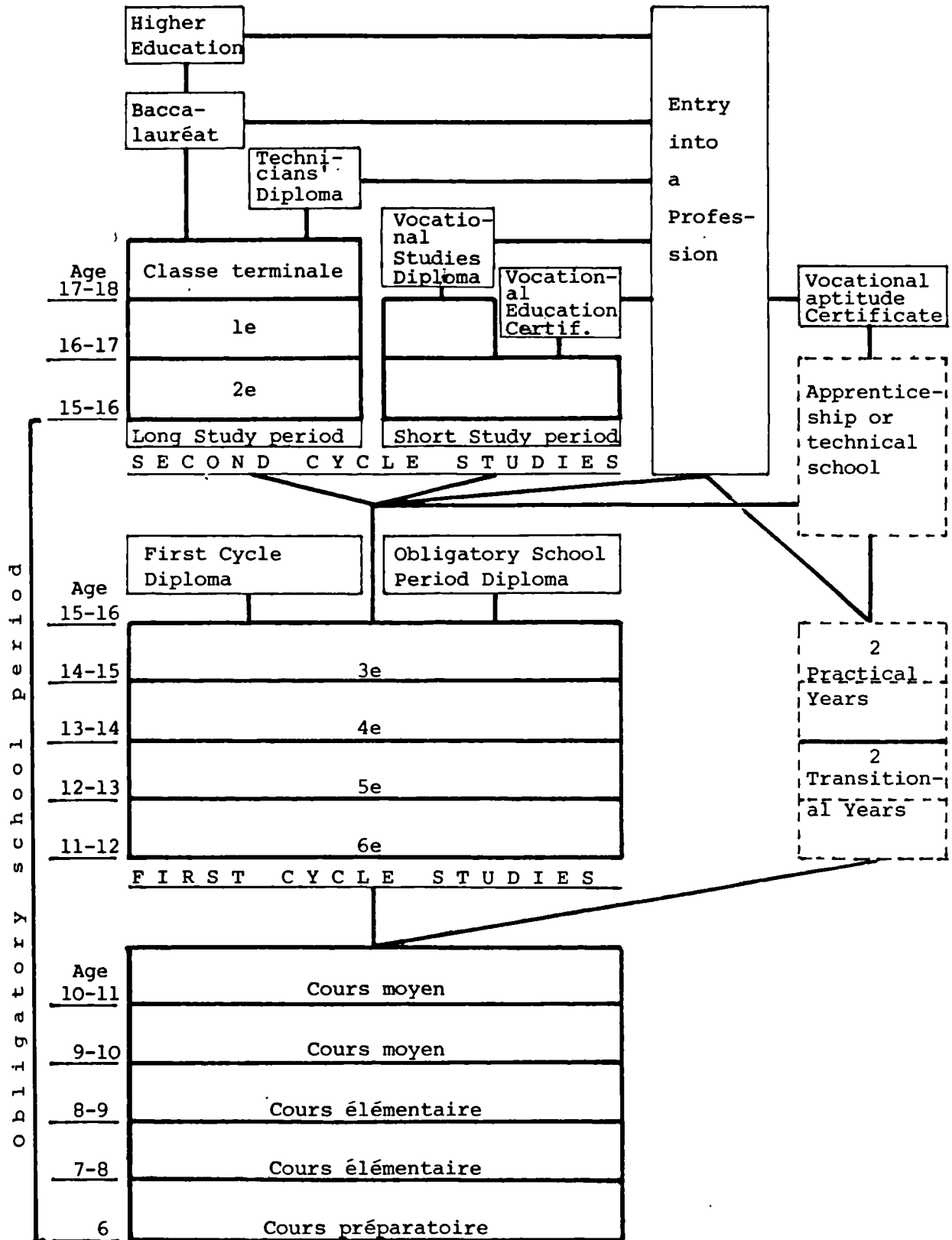
42. p.29. Lavissee. *op.cit.*
43. p.58. M.Semidei. "D l'Empire à la Décolonisation à travers les manuels scolaires français". *Revue Française de Science Politique*. vol.XVI. No.1. February 1966. Presses Universitaires de France. Paris.
44. p.141. Djibril, Tamsir Niane, J.Suret-Canale. *Histoire de l'Afrique occidentale*. Présence Africaine. Paris.1961.
45. p.15. *Programmes et instructions de l'enseignement primaire*. 1923-42. Bibliothèque pédagogique. Paris.1942.
46. see p.1090. R.Girardet. "L'Apothéose de la "Plus Grande France": L'idée coloniale devant l'opinion (1930-35)". *Revue Française de Science Politique*. vol.XVIII. No.6. December 1968.
47. *Programmes officiels de l'enseignement secondaire*. Vuibert. Paris. 1938.
48. *Programmes et instructions de l'enseignement primaire*. 1923-42.
49. p.72. Semidei. *op.cit.*
50. *Programmes et instructions de l'enseignement primaire 1923-42; Nouveaux horaires et programmes de l'enseignement du second degré 1941-42*. Vuibert. Paris.1942.
51. p.72. Semidei.
52. p.139. Ch.-André Julien. "L'enseignement de l'histoire coloniale". *Essais et études universitaires II*. 1945-46. Paris.
53. p.107. M.Reinhard. *L'enseignement de l'histoire*. Presses Universitaires de France. Paris.1957.
54. *Nouveaux horaires et programmes de l'enseignement secondaire*. 1948-49. Vuibert. Paris.1949.
55. pp.200-201 H.Deschamps. "Comment incorporer l'Union Française aux programmes d'histoire de l'enseignement du second degré". *L'information historique*. November/December 1954.Paris.
56. *ibid.*
57. pp.42-7. *Histoire et Géographie: Horaires, Programmes, Instructions*. Institut Pédagogique National Paris.1970.

The Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale publishes regularly *Horaires, Programmes, Instructions* and *Circulaires* for all subjects. These provide the official advice, instruction and changes decreed by the Ministry. The absorption and updating of new information is directed largely by the Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques in Paris. There are also ancillary centres of the I.N.R.D.P. in the regions and locally. Teachers come to these centres for research, to obtain advice on materials, to study new audio-visual techniques. They attend seminars and

conferences and use the programmes of Radio-Télévision Scolaire. There are also the usual variety of specialised agencies offering advice and expertise.

58. p.41. *ibid.*
59. p.53. *ibid.*
60. see A.Malet and J.Isaac. *Histoire Contemporaine depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle*. Hachette. Paris.1930 (pp.852).
61. p.41. *Histoire et Géographie*. 1970.
62. p.54. *ibid.*
63. p.55. *ibid.*
64. pp.18-26. *ibid*; see also Circular No.70-190, 10 April 1970. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.
65. p.674. *Encyclopédie Pratique*.
66. p.7. L.Josserand (ed.) *L'enseignement de l'histoire*. Bourrelrier. Paris.1957.
67. p.136. *ibid.*
68. p.46. R.Debou, Y.Perez, J.Portes, A.Reynaud. *Le contenu de l'enseignement; les inconvénients des programmes actuels d'histoire et géographie*. *Cahiers Pédagogiques*.79. December 1968. (C.R.A.P.) Fédérations des Cercles de Recherche et d'actions pédagogiques. Paris.
69. p.40. *ibid.*
70. *ibid.*
71. p.3. Les Amis de Sèvres. *L'enseignement de l'histoire*. No.2. 1969. (C.R.A.P.) Fédérations des Cercles de Recherche et d'action pédagogiques.
72. p.20. J. and M.Ozouf. "Le thème de patriotisme dans les manuels primaires". *Le Mouvement Social*. No.49. October/December 1964.
73. p.22. Les Amis de Sèvres. *op.cit.*
74. quoted p.720. A.Gobert. "Nouvelle Pédagogie de l'enseignement de l'histoire dans le second degré". *Pédagogie*. October.1971.

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CHAPTER IV

WORDS AND ATTITUDES: BRITISH DOMINANCE AND FRENCH REASON IN THE PRESENTATION OF COLONIAL HISTORY(1) *The British*

A.P.Thornton, in his book *The Habit of Authority: paternalism in British History*, has pointed out that after the Industrial Revolution in Britain, a "countryman" became a "labourer" on other men's property, working for wages, or else a "hand" in one of the factories. Calling a man by a part of his anatomy was an example of "the process of degradation that had already reduced the name of 'the people' to 'the population': and even 'hands' in their turn were to become 'labour'"¹. Thornton notes also a parallel found in the customs of the colonisers who spoke of African or Chinese servants (perhaps middle-aged men) as "boys" (*The Oxford English Dictionary* explains the word as a term (sometimes of abuse) for a male member of the "lower orders", for "a servant" and for "a native personal servant", the usage dating from the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is still commonly used in this way).

This chapter is concerned with attitudes to race expressed through words which have been and are used in connection with colonial history.

"Empire" and "Imperialism"

Both "empire" and "imperialism", while finding their supporters in the second half of the twentieth century, have also come to be used frequently in our time, in a derogatory sense, because they imply oppression and superiority.

Since the sixteenth century, according to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, "empire" has held the meaning of "a sovereign state". During the nineteenth century, this meaning was to change, as was the meaning of "imperialist" which had meant "the adherent of an emperor".

"Imperialism" was a nineteenth century word and its history has been

traced exhaustively by Koebner and Schmidt², who have considered the use of the word in many countries throughout the world. They trace its entry into the English language to an article in the *North British Review* in 1851 ("France since 1848")³ commenting on the "empire" of Louis Napoleon. Here "imperialism" was used to describe "a foreign system of domestic politics, the way the Emperor of the French cast the public mind in a specific mould and educated the nation to look up to his authority as the mainspring of public benefaction"⁴.

Later, under Disraeli, Salisbury, Rosebery, Chamberlain, Grey, Dilke, Seeley and others, the meaning of "imperialism" and "empire" was given a strong, positive connotation. This may be summarised in a speech by Sir Edward Grey at Berwick-on-Tweed on 31 May 1901, as reported in *The Times*:

"The idea of Empire was not the idea of one race domineering over another race. The first thing was the attachment of our self-governing colonies and the splendour of having created them. The next thing was the rule of India. That, no doubt, was the ruling power of one race, but a power which in latter years had ruled India as it had never been ruled before. In regard to uncivilised countries he thought our hand had been forced. It had been forced in Africa by the pace at which other nations had gone".

Grey, like others before him, had transformed "Empire" from its domestic meaning to that of rule over other races in other parts of the world. The Empire was first white, secondly (and an acceptable anomaly) Indian and thirdly, uncivilised⁵. The notion of the Imperial Idea, so strong at the turn of the century⁶, was to lose its potency increasingly after the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947. The words "Imperial" and "Empire" had a heart-warming appeal to the British. In spite of J.A.Hobson's famous analysis of contemporary imperialism in 1902 ("Quibbles about the modern meaning of the term Imperialism are best resolved by reference to the concrete facts of the last thirty years")⁷, the presentation of the British Empire and its colonies in schoolbooks, was one of pride, in all the books under review, until the 1960s. By that time, the concept of "imperialism" was being gravely questioned.

"Colony"

As defined by *The Oxford English Dictionary* "colony" means "a body of settlers, forming a community politically connected with their parent state" and "a number of people of one nationality residing in a foreign city or country: the quarter thus occupied". H.Hayens (a prolific writer) wrote in 1907, in a book for juniors:

"Of colonies in the real sense of the word, the only ones of importance belong to Britain. These are Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, which serve as outlets for our surplus population... Every year they are more and more becoming real "Britains" over the seas"⁸ .

This is a curious passage, for Canada had been granted Dominion status in 1867 and Australia in 1901. New Zealand and South Africa became Dominions in 1907 and 1910 respectively. Hayen's patriotism also ignored that Algeria and Indo-China were important to France. But by following J.R.Seeley and Charles Dilke (who had defined "colonies" similarly in 1869)⁹, there was a tendency to disregard those occupied regions which had not served, in Hayen's words, "as outlets for our (*sic*) surplus population". Of India, Seeley had written: "This enormous Indian population does not make part of Greater Britain in the same sense as those ten millions of Englishmen who live outside the British Islands"¹⁰. Dilke however was conscious of British responsibility in India: "While by the Queen's proclamation the natives are our fellow subjects, they are in practice not yet treated as our fellow-men"¹¹.

Interestingly, Dilke's attitude to subject peoples was not confined to India, Writing of his experiences in Jamaica, he said:

"When I asked a planter how the blacks prospered under freedom, his answer was, "Ours don't much like it. You see it necessitates monogamy. If I talk about the responsibilities of freedom, Sambo says, 'Dunno 'bout that; please mass George, me want two wife'". Another planter tells me, that the only change he can see in the condition of negroes since they have been free, is that formerly the supervision of the overseer forced them occasionally to be clean, whereas now, nothing on earth can make them wash"¹².

Then with political sensibility, Dilke looked forward to the future of the West Indies and West Africa and added: "It is by no means a question to be passed over as a joke"¹³. His greatest emphasis, nevertheless, was on "Greater Britain", which for him consisted of those countries which had been settled by the British.

This concept naturally found its way into schoolbooks. Ransome, for instance, in *Our Colonies and India* (1885), was most enthusiastic about: "The practical alliance of the English-speaking race, the first step in the direction of the union of mankind and the federation of the world"¹⁴. (This book for juniors appeared in the same year as Dilke's *Greater Britain*). Nearly twenty years later (1902), Fearenside wrote similarly for seniors:

"Mother country and colonies, instead of regarding one another as necessary evils, have come to regard one another as linked by common sentiments and common interests against the rest of the world... so far, this vast aggregation of lands and peoples gives more promise of holding together than of falling to pieces"¹⁵.

Buckley in *History of England for beginners* (1904)¹⁶ wrote of a "Greater Britain"¹⁶ and in 1919 Hughes published his *Britain and Greater Britain in the XIXth century*¹⁷. This is the last occasion on which the term "Greater Britain" has been noted in schoolbooks, but its implication of racial superiority (*pace* Dilke on India) was firmly embedded in the public imagination.

Superiority, patriotism and the Imperial Idea

Patriotism had been taken to the limit by C.R.L. Fletcher and Rudyard Kipling in *A School History of England* for juniors, in 1911. Commenting on the Treaty of Utrecht, Fletcher wrote:

"It was like a notice board:

THERE IS A BRITISH EMPIRE

FOREIGNERS

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE AND KEEP

OFF IT"¹⁸.

At the conclusion of this book, he wrote:

"I don't think there can be any doubt that the only safe thing for all of us who love our country is to learn soldiering at once, and be prepared to fight at any moment"¹⁹.

In spite of its popularity, academic scorn was poured on Fletcher in a review in the *Educational Times*:

"It is not worthwhile to gibbet his Imperialistic judgements ... He is uncontrollable and irresponsible (and) maintains his consistency in crudeness of political thought"²⁰.

Fletcher and Kipling's book (Kipling wrote verses at the end of each chapter) is an extreme example but in most schoolbooks from the nineteenth century onwards, history became a vehicle for character building. Attention has already been drawn (on page 34) to the three principal goals for pupils: to be a Christian gentleman and to be loyal to the Crown and to the Protestant religion. To these goals should be added, love of one's country and pride in her victories.

Such presuppositions led naturally enough in schoolbooks, to a selectivity of events. British contact with, say, Africa, China and India was described through victories in war, annexations, and the bravery of the British under fire and siege. Against this background, writers referred to the "savagery" of Indians and Africans, the "craftiness" of the Boers, the "perfidious" Chinese and (though they are not central to this enquiry) the "laziness" of West Indians. The North American Indians were largely neglected, appearing fitfully as "savage" or "romantic".

The Readers, used in Elementary Schools, shared this selection and descriptive language with the writers of history for middle-class schools. *The Patriotic Historical Reader* (1898), for instance, included for Standard II, this passage about slaves in the West Indian sugar plantations. The West Indies "is very hot. It is so hot, that white men cannot work there, as they do in this country. So the work had to

be done by negroes (who) were stolen from their homes in Africa and carried across the Atlantic Ocean. This was called the Slave Trade"²¹.

Fletcher and Kipling's description, however goes much further:

"The prosperity of the West Indies once our richest possession has very largely declined since slavery was abolished in 1833. The population is mainly black, descended from slaves imported in previous centuries or of mixed black and white race, lazy, vicious, and incapable of any improvement, or of work under compulsion... He is quite happy and quite useless"²².

(Dilke had written in 1885: "It is asserted that the negro will not work; but the same may be said of the European")²³.

The Patriotic Historical Reader for Standard IV discussed colonists in general:

"History teaches us that white men are more inclined to travel and enterprise than black and yellow races are; and this is specially true of those nations that live near the sea"²⁴.

By the early twentieth century then the notion of white (and British) superiority was closely related to patriotism and Empire, in the conviction of schoolbook writers. It was evident also in writing about colonial wars.

Wars

The fascination for war is nowhere better illustrated than in the later editions of Mangnall's *Questions*. Her list of the principal wars in Victoria's reign has already been mentioned (see p.11) and her account of the causes of these wars was always pro-British: The Afghan War of 1838 began "as a result of the British government in India having determined to support the claims of Shah Soojah to the Afghan throne"; in the Punjab, "the Sikhs revolted"; the Burmese "committed several aggressions and inroads on the British territories"; and in 1851, there was war again "in consequence of the ill-treatment of British sailors at Rangoon". The Mutiny was caused because "the natives" were incited "to rebellion by an old prophecy that British rule would only last 100 years from the Battle of Plassey in 1857". Also, "the sepoys, or native soldiers, declared that the British served out cartridges greased with the fat of animals

which the Hindoos were forbidden by their religion to touch, and making this an excuse for disaffection broke in open revolt in 1857". The "Kaffirs" were "a warlike and athletic race of savages inhabiting the territories on the inland borders of Cape Colony and Natal", who "frequently broke into insurrection". As for the Chinese, they were disinclined "to hold intercourse with foreign nations, which has constantly led them to disregard all treaties entered into with foreign powers"²⁵.

This was the view of the Victorians and the mixture of patriotism and racial superiority was typical of schoolbooks for many years, well into the twentieth century as will be seen especially in chapters VI, VII and VIII. Today, these views have been substantially abandoned, although there are exceptions. While many modern writers address themselves to national independence and inter-racial partnership, some still lapse into paternalism. Racial superiority, on the part of the British, can still be conveyed by the choice of events and the language used to describe other races. The selection of events from colonial history will be discussed in ensuing chapters. Consideration will be given now to the use made by nineteenth and twentieth century writers for schools of particular words to describe people and the attitudes that they conveyed. Among these words, are "natives", "Kaffirs" and "savages" used by Mangnall in the passages above.

Natives

The word "native" is, according to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, in its primary meaning, "one born in a place", or "one of the original or usual inhabitants of a country, as distinguished from strangers or foreigners: now especially one belonging to a non-European and imperfectly civilised or savage race". It may be "applied disparagingly to local residents: a coloured person, a 'black'".

Eighteenth and nineteenth century explorers, missionaries and anthropologists used the word in all these ways. There are innumerable examples in the primary sources quoted by historians, and English-speaking anthropologists used the word universally²⁶. The well-known Lévy-Bruhl published in 1910, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*. The book, when it was published in England in 1928, bore the title, *How Natives Think*.

From Richmal Mangnall to E.H.Dance in the 1960s the word "native" has been used in schoolbooks for all age-groups to describe indigenous peoples, usually those possessing a dark skin pigmentation, that is to say, usually Africans, sometimes Indians, and occasionally, North American Indians; but never the Chinese. The following examples span over a century and a half of history schoolbook writing.

Mangnall applied the word to Indians, as did the *Patriotic Historical Reader* (1898) and the *Cambridge Historical Reader* (1911)²⁷. Gleig (1879) referred to the North American Indians as "barbarous natives"²⁸. *The Graphic History of the British Empire* (1890) referred to the "natives" in the 1874 Ashanti war, as well as using phrases like "the warlike Ashantees" and "a host of these barbarians"²⁹. Fearenside (1902) and Ince and Gilbert (1906) referred to the same war, speaking of "the natives of Ashanti"³⁰. Mowat (1921), describing events in South Africa, wrote of "the native problem", but always referred to the Zulus, by their name³¹. (Since the Zulu Wars, this has been normal, probably because of the size of the Zulu nation and because of their military skill, though they were seen by their English contemporaries as "a constant menace"³² and "fierce savages"³³ and in 1967, as a "warlike and savage tribe"³⁴. The Ashanti also were given their ethnic name by the Victorians, because they were recognised as a powerful state).

Carter and Mears (1948 edition) wrote of "Zulus" and "Indians",

but like Lindsay and Washington (1960), they applied "native" both to the indigenous peoples of South Africa and to Indians³⁵. Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse (1964) used the word extensively in relation to Africa, though by 1973 in the closing essay of *The British Empire*, Fieldhouse uses it less frequently³⁶.

E.H.Dance used "native" on numerous occasions in the 1967 edition of *The Modern World*³⁷, and before him, Munro (1922), Kermack (1925), Warner and Marten (1942), Richards and Hunt (1950), Unstead (1963) with others had done the same³⁸. The chapter on the ethnic groups of Africa in G.Williams' *Portrait of World History* (1962) could, however, widen the perspective of "O" level students³⁹. But Brett (1966) wrote of "African" and "African peoples" and then lapsed into "native coloured people" and "native chiefs"⁴⁰. Newton in *A Junior History of the British Empire Oversea* (1933) referred to Indians as "Indians", Maoris as "Maoris", but Africans as "natives" and black South Africans as "Kaffirs"⁴¹.

"Kaffirs"

The word "Kaffir" (used by Mangnall, note 25) is still found in most schoolbooks, if only in the context of the "Kaffir Wars". It is used commonly by Afrikaners, just as it was in the seventeenth century by the Portuguese, to describe a black South African. "Kaffir" comes from the Arabic word "Kafir", meaning "infidel". According to Oliver and Fage and D.R.Morris, the Portuguese ports on the East coast were based on earlier Arab trading settlements and the word to describe the local Bantu was simply taken over⁴². As Morris and Segal point out, the word has now become one of opprobrium, on a par with "nigger"⁴³. *The Patriotic Historical Reader* (1900) referred to the Zulu as "a savage Kaffir race"⁴⁴, and "Kaffir" may be found as a generic word for "Bantu" also in Munro, Kermack, Richards and Hunt, and elsewhere⁴⁵. (The use of the word "Bantu" is discussed on p.339). "Kaffir" has also been used traditionally as a name for South African mining shares. This usage may be compared with Thornton's observations, which were referred to on p.90.

"Savages"

G.R.Gleig (1879), when referring to the "Kaffir Wars" remarked that "the rude courage of the savage went down before the disciplined troops"⁴⁶. The use of the word "savage" was reaction to strange cultures. Europe was the norm for European explorers and traders. How could it be otherwise? P.D.Curtin, in analysing the theories of William Cooke Taylor's *Natural History of Society* (1841), writes that "Savages... were considered physically weak, unable to visualize mentally what was not physically present, unable to think in terms of means and ends, unable to count beyond a very few numbers - often no further than three"⁴⁷, a notion that was repeated many times in the nineteenth century. Cairns for instance quotes: "(The African savage) is quite on a level with the brute and not to be compared with the noble character of the dog"⁴⁸. Even in 1932, J.H.Driberg wrote a book entitled *At home with the Savage*.

Definitions of "Savage" in *The Oxford English Dictionary* are: "a person living in the lowest state of development or cultivation; an uncivilised, wild person; a cruel or fierce person" and when used as an adjective to describe animals: "wild, undomesticated, untamed (now exclusively with implications of ferocity)". In his *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828), Noah Webster included this entry (still echoed in *Webster's New International Dictionary* (1961)):

"Savage, n. A human being in his native state of rudeness, one who is untaught, uncivilized or without cultivation of mind or manners. The *savages* of America, when uncorrupted by the vices of civilized men, are remarkable for their hospitality to strangers, and for their truth, fidelity and gratitude to their friends, but implacably cruel and revengeful toward their enemies..."⁴⁹.

Similar in scope to Curtin's study of Africa, and among many books about the "Indians" of North America, *The Savages of America* by R.H. Pearce examined at length the concept of the "noble savage".

"Emerson, Margaret Fuller and Thoreau", he wrote, "wanted to demonstrate the perfectibility of civilised man in America". They wanted to see in the Indian the possibility of perfection, in order that they might "establish the possibility of noble civilised men". But this was only "an attempt to see the savage, the ignoble savage as a European *manqué*"⁵⁰, or as J.M.Gautier has written of Chateaubriand's *Atala*: "Le fantôme sans nom né dans les landes de Combourg est devenu Atala dans les forêts américaines"⁵¹.

Mangnall, the Readers, Gleig, Fletcher and Kipling, all included "savage" in their description of black Africans. So also did Richards and Quick (see notes 25,33,34,44,46). Newton wrote of "Indian savages" in Virginia⁵², as had Mrs Markham a century before⁵³. Richards and Hunt applied it to the Pindaris of India⁵⁴. Although the frequency of use is considerably less than that of "native", the noun and the adjective still persist.

"Barbarians" and "darkness".

"Barbarian" or "barbarous", "negroes" and "blacks" also find their place⁵⁵. These words, however, are almost entirely confined to books published at the end of the nineteenth century. *The Illustrated History of Modern Britain* (1950) by Richards and Hunt is rare among mid-twentieth century books, when describing the activities of the nineteenth century explorers who "showed up the darkness of a continent whose peoples were sunk in superstition and barbarism"⁵⁶.

Fearenside, in 1902, remarked that no one could "have suspected that the Dark Continent of Africa would not only be explored, largely by British man, but also portioned out among Europeans, among whom the British would be not the least successful"⁵⁷, thus echoing the need of "Darkest Africa" for the civilising influence of Christianity and economic

development, along the European pattern. As Leopold of the Belgians affirmed in 1897: "The aim of all of us ... is to regenerate materially and morally, races whose degradation and misfortune it is hard to realise" ⁵⁸.

Skin pigmentation and subservience

The coverage of the history of "British" Africa (apart from South Africa) has been remarkably slight in schoolbooks. For one and a half centuries, it has been customary to epitomise in the Black African, the relation between dark skin pigmentation and subservience. Fletcher and Kipling's strictures on the West Indies (note 22) demonstrate that for many years there was no appreciation of the interrelation between cultural patterns, health, malnutrition, climate, economics and development. The very notion of the "native", the "kaffir", the "savage" and the "barbarian" reinforced a stereotype of the African (and the negro) which has still not been eradicated in popular consciousness. "Native" and "savage" were words applied also to the people of India. The North American Indians were substantially omitted from schoolbooks altogether, in every country.

The Chinese

The attitude to the Chinese was different in degree. Such was the Chinese conviction of their own ethnic superiority over all the "foreign barbarians", that the British developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a peculiar fear, loathing and hostility for the Chinese. H.McAleavy attributes this to the image of the Manchu dynasty: the idea of the stage Chinaman in Victorian melodrama "with his sinister drooping moustache and obscene pigtail"⁵⁹. (Ironically, the Manchu were not Chinese, having invaded from the north-east in the seventeenth century).

So, to nineteenth century schoolbook writers, the Chinese showed "disinclination to hold intercourse with foreign nations" (Mangnall)⁶⁰; behaved with "craft and perfidy" (Cooper)⁶¹; in Hong Kong, were

"a treacherous native population" (Collier)⁶²; "insulted the British Flag" at the Arrow Incident (Ince and Gilbert)⁶³ (Fletcher and Kipling ignored China altogether). A century after the event Newton described the "annoyances and dangers" to which British merchants were subject in 1842 and Southgate in the 1963 edition of *An Introduction to English History*, referred to "the Yellow Peril"⁶⁴. Not until Dance (1967) are any cogent reasons given for the Chinese attitude to foreigners⁶⁵. The fragmentary treatment of Anglo-Chinese history by schoolbook writers has contributed to the sense of distance between the West and China (see chapter VI). The conversion of China to Communism, together with the confusion resulting from the Second World War when Chinese were identified with Japanese, has according to P.Barr merely updated the nineteenth century British attitude:

"The oriental of popular twentieth century imagination became a ruthless, cunning, sabre-toothed, slant-eyed yellow devil, ready to knife anyone in the back"⁶⁶.

Words and attitudes

The words which have been discussed are, in the main, those usually found in history schoolbooks. They are found in books for all age-groups. The words clearly sprang from the Anglo-Saxon response to unfamiliarity and cultural shock, and to a sense of European superiority. While these words have continued to be used with a pejorative (perhaps, even thoughtless) meaning, it is remarkable that many other words have been omitted; for example, thugs⁶⁷, fakirs⁶⁸, apes⁶⁹, cannibals⁷⁰, nigger (niggar)⁷¹, heathen⁷². The common words are "native", "kaffir", "savage" and "barbarian". The use of these words sprang from the same uncertainty, shock, misunderstanding, and often fear. Cetewayo was described as "a black brute"⁷³; the Mashona as a "dirty, cowardly lot"⁷⁴; the Matabele as "bloodthirsty devils"⁷⁵; the Hottentots as "brutal and stinking"⁷⁶. (Edward Long, in 1774, helped to lay the foundation for these emotional descriptions. Africans for him were "brutish, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous" with

inferior "faculties of mind" and a "bestial and fetid smell")⁷⁷; some Indians were "half-civilised and barbarous"⁷⁸ and after the Mutiny they were often called "niggers"⁷⁹. The debate in the nineteenth century about evolution did lead to Africans being likened to apes and orang-outangs. Astonishingly, a 1961 schoolbook included the sentence: "The natives, in fact, seem as destructive as the baboons, but it is very difficult to get them to change their habits"⁸⁰.

"Black" and "white"

The symbolism of "black" and "white" as colours has not been discussed here, although it is clearly of fundamental importance for an understanding of the problem. Bolt has, however, written about it at length, as has Curtin⁸¹, and Mason traces the British feeling about dark-skinned people back to *Othello* in 1604, to James I's *Demonologie*, where the Devil is a black man⁸², and beyond.

Conclusion

What is clear from this study of words and attitudes, within the context of colonial and Empire history, is that many of them are still part of our common experience today. They arose from the experience of the last two and a half centuries, and from the prejudice and feeling of superiority experienced by white men when they were confronted with peoples of dark or non-white skin colour.

In the last decade, an increasing number of schoolbooks and resource books have been published, dealing objectively with race. It is however clear that throughout this period, the actual selection of events from colonial history has provided an additional reinforcement of racial stereotypes. In this, the British are no different from any other nation.



ADVERTISEMENT FOR PEARS SOAP from *The Illustrated London News*, 1887

Source: p.226. *The Nineteenth Century*. A. Briggs (ed.)

There are numerous implications in this British advertisement from the 1880s: conquest brings the benefits of civilisation; soap is for washing; washing cures smell; it might make a black man white; the Africans are very impressed.

(2) *The French*

The atmosphere created by French schoolbooks in relation to other races is altogether different. The implicit and sometimes explicit sense of disdain and obloquy reserved for dark-skinned races in British writing is directed instead by French writers towards Britain and Germany. A striking example of this is the comment by Jallifier and Vast (1886) about Clive and Hastings:

"C'est une conquête de barbares plutôt que d'hommes civilisés. Par leur témérité et leur cruauté ces anglais rappellent les conquérants espagnols du Mexique et du Pérou: Fernand Cortez et Pizarre"¹.

Patriotism and paternalism are certainly present. J. and M. Ozouf in their essay *Le thème de patriotisme dans les manuels primaires* (1964) quote, from Payot's *Cours de morale* (livre du maître: 1908), words that are reminiscent of Fletcher and Kipling:

"Supposons le moment tragique venu: la France a fait ce qu'elle devait pour résoudre le conflit par l'arbitrage. La mauvaise foi et la barbarie d'un gouvernement voisin nous acculent à la guerre: quelle énergie enthousiaste serait celle de notre armée, qui combattrait, à la fois, pour le sort de la Patrie et pour l'avenir même de la civilisation ... L'armée française, sûre que le nation, maîtresse de ses nerfs, ne s'emploiera qu'à la défense de causes sacrées, sera d'une force invincible étant la Justice et la Droit. C'est à dire la conscience humaine en lutte contre la barbarie"².

Baron, also, wrote in *Histoire de la France* (1958):

"Dans toutes les colonies françaises, il y a des écoles telle que la vôtre ou, en ce moment, des petits enfants comme vous à peau brune, jaune ou noire, apprennent à parler le français et à aimer la France"³.

There is clearly paternalism here, but on the other hand, and contrary to the practice of British schoolbook writers, French schoolbooks never appear to have embraced the sentiments of Jules Ferry in his famous speech in the Chamber of Deputies in July 1885, when he described the colonial expansion of France as being "l'égalité, la liberté, l'indépendance des races inférieures"⁴.

Ferry was criticised by the Left in this debate. (It was only

four months since he had fled from the Chamber of Deputies after the French defeat at Langson)⁵. When he said again in the same speech:

"Il faut dire ouvertement qu'en effet les races supérieures ont un droit vis à vis des races inférieures..."

the Left protested and one deputy cried:

"Oh! Vous osez dire cela dans le pays où ont été proclamés les droits de l'homme"⁶.

The language that Ferry used was not really, in the eyes of the Left, typical of a nation which had established the *Code Noir* of Colbert in 1685, had passed decrees in 1790 and 1792 which sought to ameliorate conditions in French colonies, had asserted the Napoleonic Code and whose King (Napoleon III) had written in a public letter to the Governor of Algeria in 1863:

"L'Algérie n'est pas une colonie proprement dite, mais un royaume arabe. Les indigènes ont, comme les colons, un droit égal à ma protection..."⁷.

The "Colonial Idea" in France.

Many books have been written describing the development of the "colonial idea" in France. (Among the best known French scholars on this subject are Brunshwig, Deschamps, Ganiage, Girardet, Hardy, Labouret and Suret-Canale)⁸. What emerges from these studies is the decisive difference between British and French colonialism. The British expanded to increase *trade*, bringing western philanthropy and civil and military power to bear in those areas which required security for profitable commerce. The French, especially after their humiliating defeat in 1870 at the hands of Bismarck, sought *prestige* as a nation by developing their empire in Africa and South-East Asia, and promoting "la mission civilisatrice". The socialist Jaurés (later to become an anti-colonialist) claimed, for instance, in a speech in 1884 that France's mission was to spread the gospel of French culture, liberalism

and egalitarianism: the principles of 1789. He believed that the indigenous peoples would be assisted when "by intelligence and heart they have learned a little French" ⁹.

By the turn of the century, according to Hardy, for many people, the French approach to their colonies was this:

"Dans tous les cas, la question revient à cultiver l'homme dans l'indigène, à légitimer la présence française par une amélioration de la vie locale dans tous les domaines à communiquer en somme à la colonisation le sens d'une réciprocité de services" ¹⁰.

Colonies were a source of national pride, but Hardy knew that the views he described were only formed after the bloodshed and upheaval of acquiring colonial territory. In this study, however, the concern is not so much with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century debate in France about colonialism, as with examining the way in which French schoolbook writers responded to the expansion of the French Empire and noticing that the majority of schoolbooks did not look critically at colonial policy until after 1945. (A book by Rogie and Despiques in 1908, written for pupils in the *cours moyen*, is a notable exception)¹¹.

Although there was a wide variety of opinion about other races, in France, the views handed down to pupils of all ages by schoolbook writers were clear. The racial distinctions expressed so clearly in British books are absent from their French counterparts. Subject peoples were human beings, like the French themselves. The early French explorers of North America, for example, expressed movingly in the early seventeenth century their attitude to the Indians: "Ils sont créatures raisonnables comme nous" (Hébert) and "Les sauvages sont des hommes comme nous" (Lescarbot)¹². There was a strong element, in the pre-Revolutionary French tradition, of equality between the races.

"Raisnable" and "homme"

The use of "raisonnable" and "homme" is of considerable importance. Littré¹³ defines "raison" as:

"Faculté par laquelle l'homme connaît, juge et se conduit...
 "Raison se dit de la somme de vérités que les hommes admettent uniformément...
 "Le bon usage de la faculté de raison; bon sens, justesse d'esprit, sagesse".

And "raisonnable" as:

"Qui est doué de raison...
 "Qui agit selon la raison le droit, l'équité...
 "Qui est au-dessus du médiocre".

The precision of the French attitude to the Acadian Indians is clear. Not only did they possess "la raison" and so were "raisonnables" with all that that implied, but they were also designated "les hommes" sharing in common humanity with Europeans. Littré's definition of "homme" is:

"Animal raisonnable qui occupe le premier rang parmi les êtres organisés, et qui se distingue des plus élevés d'entre eux par l'étendue de son intelligence et par la faculté d'avoir une histoire, c'est à dire la faculté de développer, d'agrandir sa nature".

The French have consistently regarded members of all races as "les hommes". This includes, in the definition of Littré, "La faculté d'avoir une histoire". (For the British this has been a much more difficult concept, African societies for instance being regarded as primitive and static, with no history)¹⁴.

The influence of Descartes, Montesquieu and Rousseau left its mark¹⁵. Deschamps quotes Montesquieu as saying: "Le droit, c'est la raison humaine en tant qu'elle gouverne les peuples de la terre"¹⁶, and he points out that at the time when the eighteenth century philosophers were writing about man, reason and society, the French empire in North America and India had collapsed. The principle target for criticism overseas then became slavery. The article in *The Encyclopédie*

on "Esclavage" began with the thesis that "tous les hommes naissent libres"¹⁷.

The Code Noir (1685)

It is clear from a study of the African slave trade across the Atlantic (which began in France during the reign of Louis XIV) that French activities were much more carefully regulated by law (after Colbert's *Code Noir*) than the arbitrary methods of British slave owners. The intention of the *Code Noir* was that slaves should be treated more humanely than in the past. There should be a fixed food ration and a fixed number of articles of clothing each year. Torture, injury and death were to be forbidden. It was unlawful to disown a slave who was old or sick. Sunday was to be a day of rest and a baptised slave must be buried in consecrated ground. On the other hand, a slave would have no civil rights, could not buy or sell, or marry, without the consent of his master. Disobedience was fiercely punished. The Trade was, after all, related to the French sugar economy.

According to Deschamps, between 1781 and 1790, the French were exporting 24,000 slaves a year from Africa. (England was exporting 35,000 a year over the same period). Curtin estimates that between them France and England exported over three and a quarter million African slaves between 1711 and 1810¹⁸. Clozier, Dépain and Guyomard described in their 1954 schoolbook the "terrible" trade whereby the slaves were "trop souvent exploités par les colons malgré le "code noir" de Colbert qui interdit les sévices (brutality) à leur égard"¹⁹.

The *Code Noir* was an important contribution to the French tradition of human rights and there has always been a strong body of opinion in France which believed also that it was necessary to have good relations with the inhabitants of the territories which they had conquered. Hardy

commented on developments during the reign of Louis XIV:

"Le refoulement et l'extermination des indigènes, si largement pratiqués par d'autres puissances, répugnent au gouvernement du roi de France"²⁰.

This attitude, then, has remained deeply embedded in the French tradition. It was evoked, characteristically, by Victor Schoelcher, the abolitionist, who ended a speech in 1880 with these words:

"Bravo, 'sauvages africains', continuez à vous éclairer... et à mépriser vos insulteurs. Vos étonnants progrès répondent pour vous"²¹.

A century later, the study of non-European cultures still continues in France and the work of Deschamps, Franz Fanon and G.Balandier²² has borne eloquent witness to this.

"Impérialisme", "Empire" and "La France d'Outre-Mer"

The British gave their own special meaning to "imperialism". "L'impérialisme" is, for Littré, simply "l'opinion des impérialistes", who were "1. Partisan d'ancien empire d'Allemagne; 2. Partisan de régime politique de l'empereur Napoléon et de sa dynastie". "Empire" is "1. commandement, autorité, puissance; 2. ascendant, influence; 3. autorité souveraine, impériale ou royale, ou dictatoriale".

To speak of a "colonial empire" was therefore, in the first part of the twentieth century, more anglo-saxon than French, and it is well to recall this when "l'empire" is used. The French used phrases like "l'idée coloniale", "l'expansion coloniale". Not until the great colonial exhibition at Vincennes in 1931 does a coherent doctrine of "imperialism" appear, although clearly they had used the phrase "l'empire colonial" before. It was a concept unpopular with the Left. Deschamps has shown that not until the 1920s, after the colonies had provided half a million men for the French army in the 1914-18 war, did phrases like "La France de 100 million habitants"; "La France des cinq parties du monde" and "la plus grande France" come to be used. Only after 1930

did "la France d'Outre-Mer" become an official title, to fall into line with the British concept of "Empire"²³. To use a theme of Girardet, France had moved from "Empire" to "Imperialism"²⁴.

"Colonie" and "Indigène"

The use of the word "colonie" gives a more precise meaning in French than that of its English equivalent: "1. Établissement fondé par une nation dans un pays étranger; 2. possession d'une nation européenne dans une autre partie du monde; 3. réunion d'individus qui ont quittés un pays pour en peupler un autre. (On désigne ainsi dans certains localités les résidents qui ne sont pas originaires de cette localité" (Littré).

As in English, therefore, "colonie" is a "settlement" with all that that implies. The nineteenth century concept of "Greater Britain" finds no equivalent in France until after the 1914-18 War, when the colonies were seen as an "extension of France".

"L'indigène" (inadequately translated into English as "native") means simply one "qui est originaire du pays". There has never been the stigma of "native" in the meaning of this word. In schoolbooks in general, it has been used of all races, from Jallifier and Vast (1886) to Sentou and Carbonell in 1965,²⁵ and beyond.

"Les nègres" and "les noirs"

Other words have been in common use also. Throughout the whole period under review, writers speak of "les nègres"²⁶ and "les noirs"²⁷. They sometimes speak of "les populations blanches, jaunes et noires"²⁸, although this has tended to be used sentimentally when describing the French colonies. The sense of "l'Afrique Noire" is quite different from that of "Darkest Africa"²⁹, and "Black Africa" has become an acceptable term in this generation.

"barbarie" and "barbaresque"

The use of "barbarie" is rare. It appeared in the Catholic *Manuel de Mame* (1901) in a reference to Africa : "la barbarie de ses habitants"³⁰. An English reader might easily be confused by the use of "barbaresque" in some French books when the conquest of Algeria is being described. Descriptions like "les pirates barbaresques"³¹ and "les corsaires barbaresques"³² are found, although Bonifacio and Maréchal (1956) wrote: "les habitants d'Alger sont des pirates"³³. Hubault in 1887 had described France's rôle in North Africa as "L'Europe chrétienne en face des barbaresques"³⁴. Those unfamiliar with the French language might fall into a semantic trap here. "Barbare" means "uncouth" or "barbaric"; "barbaresque" means "berber"; "barbarie" (with a lower case "b") means "barbarian", but "Barbarie" (with a capital "B") means "Barbary" the North African coast. Therefore, while a phrase like "the inhabitants of Algiers are pirates" is a clear stereotype for Algerians, "les pirates barbaresques" simply means "berber pirates" and there is no stereotype.

(A similar semantic error might be encountered in the English words "barbarian" and "berber". "Barbarian" (from French and Latin) in *The Oxford English Dictionary* means a "foreigner", "a rude, wild, uncivilised person". An obsolete meaning is, in fact, "a native of Barbary". "Berber" comes from Arabic, meaning "the indigenous people of west and south Egypt". It is now applied to North Africans as a whole).

South-East Asia

The general descriptions of the indigenous peoples of South-East Asia are muted and no great space is devoted to them in schoolbooks. There does exist however a stereotype which (like the description of Algerians) is used almost in the sense of self-justification, for among the reasons given at the end of the nineteenth century, for entry into Annam and Cochin-China, were the operations of "les bandits de Chine"³⁵ or "les bandits Tonkinois"³⁶. When after the defeat of the

French at Langson in 1885, the hated word "Tonkinois" was used by the French, it might just as easily have been "Britanniques" or "Allemands".

"Savage"

The words used to describe other races are then markedly different from those in British books. The persistent use in English of "savage" is absent from the French. The general, philosophical reasons for this have already been sketched, but there are semantic reasons also. Primarily, for Littré, the word "sauvage" is applied to animals. It may refer to "des hommes qui vivent en petites sociétés, dans les huttes, et qui n'ayant ni agriculture proprement dite ni troupeaux, ne s'entretiennent guère que du produit de la chasse". It refers to places: "cruel, barbare et inhabités" and is used for that which pertains "aux populations sauvages (cp. les sauvages de l'Amérique du nord)". Miles has pointed out in his English introduction to Champlain's *Voyages to New France* that in the seventeenth century, "sauvages" had the primary meaning of "wild" as in "herbes sauvages". Lescarbot and Hébert used the word in this sense also³⁷. The tradition of the Enlightenment encouraged Degérando to believe (in 1800) that "the first means to the proper knowledge of savages is to become after a fashion like one of them; and it is by learning their language that we will become their fellow citizens"³⁸. (The implications of such a view were amplified further in an article in the *Magasin Encyclopédie* (1813): "It is to be believed that the whites will be persuaded to conceive and to treat as men, beings who differ from them only by their colour")³⁹.

Criticism of other races

France was not without its anthropologists in the nineteenth century who were critical of the cultures of other races. Gobineau formulated a theory that the African had no creative drive⁴⁰. Cuvier, in assessing the physical characteristics of those living south of the Atlas mountains,

claimed that they were close to "the monkey tribe"⁴¹. Golbéry saw the negro as "gifted with a carelessness which is totally unique", and as "possessing indolence, sloth, great sobriety, the sweetest apathy and tormented neither by ambition or desire"⁴². Voltaire and Rousseau, like Hume, had argued that the negro was inferior⁴³. Brunschwig demonstrates from political debates how such views continued into the twentieth century⁴⁴.

None of this however emerges strongly from history schoolbooks. Other races, in the late nineteenth century may have been regarded by the colonialists as "inferior", but they were still "men" and as such were to be regarded as part of the history of mankind.

"Assimilation" and "Association"

Hindsight shows that the doctrine of "assimilation" into French culture, springing as it did from the heart of the French Revolution in 1795 ("La Révolution, déclare Boissy d'Anglas, n'était pas seulement pour l'Europe, mais pour l'Univers...")⁴⁵, was unable to stand the stress of time, war and discovery in the fields of geography and ethnology.

Men and their cultures were diverse. What began as a noble gesture of equality led to the suppression of indigenous political structures and the gallicising of indigenous cultures⁴⁶. At the end of the nineteenth century, it appeared more appropriate to speak of "association" which was to be founded on respect for customs, indirect administration and mutually advantageous economic development. French colonial historians are cynical about the way in which France treated her colonies and the issues are explored fully in the studies that have been mentioned.

The promulgation of "l'union française" came in the constitution of 1946. "Les indigènes" became citizens not subjects though, as Cobban points out, the crucial case for electoral representation was Algeria. There were two electoral colleges, one including about 900,000 people of mainly

European descent, the other nearly 8,000,000 indigenous Algerians; each college being represented equally⁴⁷. But the "wind of change" in the French colonial empire was already blowing. Ho Chi Minh, for example, had declared independence for Vietnam in 1945. By the end of 1946, France was at war there. By the end of 1954, the Algerian rebellion had begun also, to the perplexity, it must be said, of schoolbook writers (see chapter VIII).

Conclusion

The writers of history books for French schools have then throughout the last one and a half centuries ignored the excesses of the nineteenth century anthropologists. The French describe the inhabitants of their colonial territories very rarely. Value judgements and "language of superiority" about other races are largely absent. The explanation for this lies within the context of the French attitude to racial equality, assimilation and colonial doctrine. For this simple reason, *French schoolbooks yield comparatively few examples of denigratory language*. When writing of a country's inhabitants, invariably the words used have been "les indigènes"⁴⁸. This is in marked contrast to British practice. In Britain, schoolbook writers have tended to follow popular expressions (for example, "native") with a greater assiduity (or carelessness) than their French counterparts. The objectivity about other races demonstrated by French schoolbook writers is impressive. On the other hand, by the selection of events from colonial history and their presentation, both French and British writers have seen their task as being to present the colonial enterprise in the most favourable light. There has, however, been a change of emphasis in both countries in the last twenty years.

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28. p.243. E.Lavisse. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1921 edn.; p.250. Ozouf and Leterrier. *op.cit.*; p.437. E.Baron. *Histoire de la France*. Paris.1958.
29. cp. "The image of "darkest Africa", either as an expression of geographical ignorance or as one of cultural arrogance, was a nineteenth century invention" (p.9. Curtin. *op.cit.*)

30. p.798. Mame. *op.cit.*
31. p.211. Rogie and Despiques. *op.cit.*; p.604. Huby. *op.cit.*; p.482. H.Methivier. *Les débuts de l'époque contemporaine (1789-1851)*. Paris.1954.
32. p.339. Vitte. *op.cit.*
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34. p.4.(appendix) Hubault. *op.cit.*
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40. p.386. Curtin. *op.cit.* (reference to A.Gobineau. *L'inégalités des
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41. p.230. Curtin. *op.cit.* (reference to G.Cuvier. *The Animal Kingdom*.
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42. p.251. Curtin. *op.cit.* (reference to S.M.X.Golbéry. *Travels in Africa*
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43. p.371. *ibid.*
44. pp.173-82. Brunschwig. *op.cit.*
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46. see further pp.87-90; 142-50. Deschamps. *op.cit.*; pp.544 seq.
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48. see note 25.

CHAPTER V

*THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS : DISTORTION AND OBLITERATION**Introduction*

The earliest signs of man in North America are from about 9,500 BC, although some archaeologists have believed that migrations from North-East Asia may be dated between 25,000 and 18,000 BC¹. When Columbus arrived in the Bahamas in 1492, it is believed that about 850,000 aboriginal people lived within the present boundaries of the United States and considerably fewer in Canada². By the seventeenth century, the figure was reduced to some 600,000³ and by 1910, to 220,000⁴, rising again to some 600,000 by 1968⁵.

These were the people whom Columbus called "Indios" ⁶ (believing that he had reached Asia), at San Salvador. They have been called since then, "Indians" and "Red Indians", "redmen", "redskins" and "peaux rouges" (possibly after the Beothuks of Newfoundland who painted themselves with red ochre, as an insect repellent). Such descriptions were misleading. Their common features were black hair, brown eyes and a shade of brown skin. They had physical variations and spoke hundreds of different dialects, possibly based on six major language groups and 58 principal languages⁷. Some were primitive agriculturists, others were semi-nomadic. Through European invasion and migration, there came the discovery of the wheel, metal tools, firearms, domestic utensils and the horse, which contributed to new patterns of life, swifter movement, the more efficient hunting of buffalo and the accentuation of traditional rivalry and enmity⁸.

Beginning with Columbus, the Europeans, with rare exceptions observed and judged the indigenous peoples of America from their own point of view. It was an understandable error which Europeans committed whenever they encountered a strange culture. A.M. Josephy writes:

"It is well to begin with the realization that much of what the white man today often thinks of as peculiarly American Indian is not, in fact, exclusively Indian at all. Bows and arrows, the use of war paint, and so-called medicine men, or shamans, all existed among other peoples in the world; so did the mythical thunderbird, rain dances, and the practice of scalping"⁹.

Indian Societies

Indian societies had a deep faith in supernatural forces, which linked humans with all other living things, such as animals, trees and other manifestations of nature¹⁰. An example of this is the mythology surrounding the buffalo. Black Elk has described how, for the Sioux, the buffalo was the most important of the quadrupeds. It supplied food, clothing, hides used for the walls of houses. The buffalo was a natural symbol of the universe, "the totality of all manifested forms"¹¹.

Various groups of Indians believed in gods, ghosts, and demons or in guardian spirits or a "Supreme Being". The *shamans* or medicine men were held to have strong supernatural powers. The Sacred Pipe, known to white men as "the pipe of peace" was an object of great devotion. The ritual of smoking, for the Sioux, was symbolic of peace "within the souls of men when they realise their relationship, their oneness, with the Universe and all its powers and when they realise that at the centre of the universe dwells *Wakan-Tanka* ("the Great Spirit"), and that this center is really everywhere, it is within each of us. This is the real peace, and others are but reflections of this. The second peace is that which is made between two individuals, and the third is that which is made between two nations. But above all you should understand that there can never be peace between nations until there is first known that true peace which... is within the souls of men"¹². The Pipe, in Sioux mythology, had been brought to them "early one morning, very many winters ago" by the beautiful White Buffalo Cow Woman¹³, a myth to be compared with other religious myths and not simply to be designated as "savagery" in Noah Webster's sense (see p.99).

A fundamental Indian idea concerned the right of land ownership. It was basically different from the European concept. Land, like air and water, was free to be used by the group. It was not possible to own land as personal property and bar others from it. This concept became a cause of great friction between Indians and Europeans. Indeed, some Indian tribes regarded the earth as the mother of all life and thought it impossible to sell their mother"¹⁴.

War preoccupied some Indian societies, but while some tribes clearly behaved with brutality and excess, it is an exaggeration to see all Indians as violent and motivated by war. Many abhorred war and the misery that followed in its wake. The Hopis people were as peaceable as any, and when Europeans stigmatised the Indians (with whom they were in conflict) as savage and bestial warriors, it was for behaviour no more savage and bestial than the Europeans introduced into the Americas and waged against the indigenous peoples. There were few protracted battles and sieges and often the Indian "armies" broke off fighting as soon as they began to suffer casualties. Among many tribes of the plains, the chief goal was to attack and get away unharmed. Often this was a more honourable achievement than killing the enemy¹⁵.

These observations must be seen in terms of developing patterns and within the context of observation and research over the centuries. But in general there always were and still are misconceptions about the North American Indian. Edwin T. Denig, an American fur trader who lived among Indians of the upper Missouri River in the early nineteenth century, was perhaps nearer the truth than most when he criticized the "hastily collected and ill-digested mass of information (which) form the basis of works by which the public is deceived as to the real state of the Indians... we find two sets of writers both equally wrong, one setting forth the Indians as a noble generous, and chivalrous race far above the standard of

Europeans, the other representing them below the level of brute creation"¹⁶.

Impressions of the Early Explorers

Columbus wrote in his *Journal of the First Voyage* to the King and Queen of Spain, about the people of Hispaniola (now divided into two nations, Haiti and the Dominican Republic):

"So tractable, so peaceable are these people, that I swear to your Majesties there is not a better nation. They love their neighbours as themselves, and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy"¹⁷.

(Dee Brown incorrectly ascribes this description to the people of San Salvador on the occasion of Columbus' first landfall)¹⁸.

In contrast, the Indians of North-East Canada were described by Frobisher, in 1576:

"If they for necessities sake stand in need of the premisses, such grasse as the countrey yeeldeth they plucke up and eate, not deintily, or salletwise to allure their stomacks to appetite: but for necessities sake without either salt, oyles or washing, like brute beasts devouring the same. They neither use table, stoole, or table cloth for comliness: but when they are imbrued with blood knuckle deepe, and their knives in like sort, they use their tongues as apt instruments to lick them clean: in doing whereof they are assured to loose none of their victuals"¹⁹.

They "live in caves of earth, and hunt for their dinners or praye, even as beare or other wild beastes do"²⁰.

Cultural shock of this magnitude was to be redefined many times over. In 1620, William Bradford, the historian of the Pilgrim Fathers, considered New England to be uninhabited:

"... the vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fitt for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only savage and brutish men, which range up and downe, little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same"²¹.

The Indian was more animal than rational. Indeed on the far western frontier, in the nineteenth century, Indian flesh was eaten like game²². Moral restraint was to be thrown to the winds as history moved on.

Even as late as 1872, US Indian Commissioner Francis Walker wrote:

"With wild men, as with wild beasts, the question of whether in a given situation one shall fight, coax, or run, is a question merely of what is easiest and safest"²³.

This may be contrasted with the French experience. The French had been active in North America from early in the sixteenth century, Jacques Cartier, Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonnière being among the most famous of their explorers. Then in 1603, Samuel de Champlain made his first crossing to Canada and by 1608 had established good relations with the Indians around Quebec, which he founded in that year, setting up a profitable fur trade.

In French writing of this period, there is a compassion which surmounted the cultural shock that must have taken place. Frobisher would have agreed with Champlain who wrote in 1603 of the Indians:

"They have no manners. When their fingers get greasy" (at meals) "they wipe them on their hair or on one of their hunting dogs"²⁴.

Barbeau quotes long passages from the Canadian *Voyages de Jacques Cartier*, in which there are also many observations similar to those of Frobisher. While in 1534, Cartier had noted:

"Cette gent peut se nommer sauvage, car c'est la plus pauvre gent qu'il puisse être au monde"²⁵,

he was continually impressed by their friendliness and generosity, and wrote in 1535 of one of his journeys:

"Ainsi comme nous fûmes arrivés auprès d'icelle ville, se rendirent au devant de nous grand nombre de ses habitants, qui nous firent bon accueil"²⁶.

Georges Hardy mentions a passage by Lescarbot (a companion of Champlain) from *Dédicace à la France*:

"Je ne voudroy exterminer ces peuples ici comme a fait l'Espagnol... car nous sommes en la loi de grâce, loi de douceur, de pitié et de miséricorde... Je vous assure qu'ils ont autant d'humilité et plus d'hospitalité que nous"²⁷.

Louis Hébert said when he was dying in 1627:

"J'ai passé les mers pour secourir les sauvages plutôt que pour aucun intérêt particulier et mourrais volontiers pour leur conversion. Je vous supplie de les aimer et assister selon votre pouvoir... Ils sont créatures raisonnables comme nous"²⁸.

The use of the words "raisonnables" and "sauvages" by Hébert has already been noted (see pp.107-08). To be "raisonnable" is to be "a rational being", with all that that implies. In *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, published in 1612, Lescarbot, also, wrote of "les sauvages" in Acadia (Nova Scotia): "Les sauvages sont des hommes comme nous, ni bêtes, ni cruels, et parlent avec jugement"²⁹.

Champlain saw French influence as being based on the fur trade, the conversion of Indians to Christianity and French settlement. He saw assimilation as the goal: "Alors nos garçons se marieront à vos filles et nous ne serons plus qu'un seul peuple"³⁰. (This was a quite different approach to that of the Englishman John Rolfe in his marriage to Pocahontas in 1614: see pp.138-39).

The chief factor which emerges is that there was no unanimity in the "white" approach to the Indians. The French were concerned with the fur trade. The Spanish came for precious metals. Both were actively engaged also in the conversion of the "heathen". The English came to settle. The Dutch came to trade.

The Spanish were ruthless in their search for gold and precious stones. In the Caribbean, within less than a decade of the arrival of Columbus, villages were looted and burned, people in their hundreds were shipped to Europe as slaves, whole tribes were destroyed, Arawaks, Tainos and Caribs. Josephy estimates six million dead in the early years, but the figures are uncertain³¹. (He estimates that seven million Indians, at the end of the fifteenth century lived in the Caribbean, Mexico and Central America)³².

In the next four centuries, apart from European activity in South America and the Caribbean, several million Europeans arrived in the "New World" and set their stamp on the indigenous peoples. The barbarities of the Spanish were to find their echoes in the North, as other Europeans went to war against Indians and vice versa and as inevitably Europeans and Indians fell to war among themselves, war for the Indians being intensified by the impact of the Europeans.

The Times Literary Supplement for 14 February 1935 carried a leading article on *The Redskin Tragedy*, which is still quoted in American bibliographies on the subject. In it the anonymous author observed:

"In literature and travellers' tales the Red Indian is never off the warpath. He is the supreme homicide methodically scalping the defenceless settler. Yet if the records of the westward movement are examined the one most prominent contribution of the Red Indian to the history of the United States has lain in the hospitality and succour shown to explorers, traders, pioneers and missionaries. There is abundant evidence that the early traveller was in no fear of his life until the Indian had become embittered by ill-treatment. And if the records of the spectacular covered wagon saga are searched the curious will be struck by the infrequency of reference to those terrific onslaughts by which Hollywood has added its contribution to the carefully organised romance of the normally phlegmatic European immigrant"³³.

The Conquest of the North American Indians

The early Plymouth colonists, it is said, would probably have starved to death, in 1620, had they not been helped by Wampanoags to plant and cultivate corn and catch fish³⁴. But as the author of *The Times Literary Supplement* article inferred, the idyllic relationship did not continue. As more and more English settlers arrived, greater demands were made for land, and by the mid-seventeenth century, the Wampanoags and neighbouring tribes like the Narragansets were being pushed inland. In 1675, Metacom, who had been crowned "King Philip of Pokanoket", by the New Englanders felt his people's existence increasingly threatened and decided to go to war. He attacked fifty-two settlements and destroyed twelve.

After months of fighting, he saw his purpose frustrated. He was himself brutally killed and large numbers of his people were killed also, with women and children being sent as slaves to the Caribbean. Josephy comments laconically: "Indian power came to an end in New England" ³⁵.

It was the same in Maryland, where the settlers rapidly rid themselves of the Nanticokes, killing many and driving others inland. The Delawares lived in peace with the Swedes and English Quakers for 150 years in what is now Pennsylvania, but by 1751 they had been forced out of the Hudson River Valley. In the seventeenth century, both French and Dutch had intrigued with the Iroquois, the Hurons and the Algonquians over the fur trade. Later the main rivalry was between the French and the English initially over trade and fisheries, later over land and their national pride. By the end of the century, the French colonies stretched south to New Orleans, but in the north they were ice locked for five months in the year. The British colonies on the eastern seaboard suffered no such constraint. Moreover, they knew that their geographical position and their superiority in numbers of colonists was always a potential threat to the French. La Nouvelle France (basically the three centres of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers (Trois Rivières)) could be blockaded without too much trouble.

Economic ambition on the part of the French settlers and land hunger on the part of the British, fanned by the conflicts of European nations (and also by the Anglo-French conflict in India) led to a situation of bitter rivalry in North America which was to last for three quarters of a century. This accentuated rivalry among the Indian tribes and resulted in killings and dispersals. For a time, in the first part of the eighteenth century, the Iroquois held the balance of power on the New York - Canadian frontier, but as the competition between the English and the

French moved into the Ohio Valley in the middle of the century, their power declined.

Between 1754 and 1763, the French and the Indians fought the British for supremacy from New York to the Great Lakes and onwards, north-east to Quebec. At first successful, the French were gradually overcome in a war which became increasingly brutal. By 1759, Montcalm had been defeated by Wolfe at Quebec and in 1763, at the Treaty of Paris, France ceded Canada to Britain and withdrew from the area to the south, bordered by the Mississippi in the west. Spain ceded Florida to England and bought Louisiana from France who was later to buy it back and, in 1803, sell it to America.

Although the settlers and frontiersmen of both sides suffered miserably in these wars, the chief sufferers were the Indians. Used by both sides as "agents of terror"³⁶ they were torn from their cultural roots, decimated by European diseases and debauched by alcohol, especially rum and whisky, a situation which led to this comment by La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt in 1795:

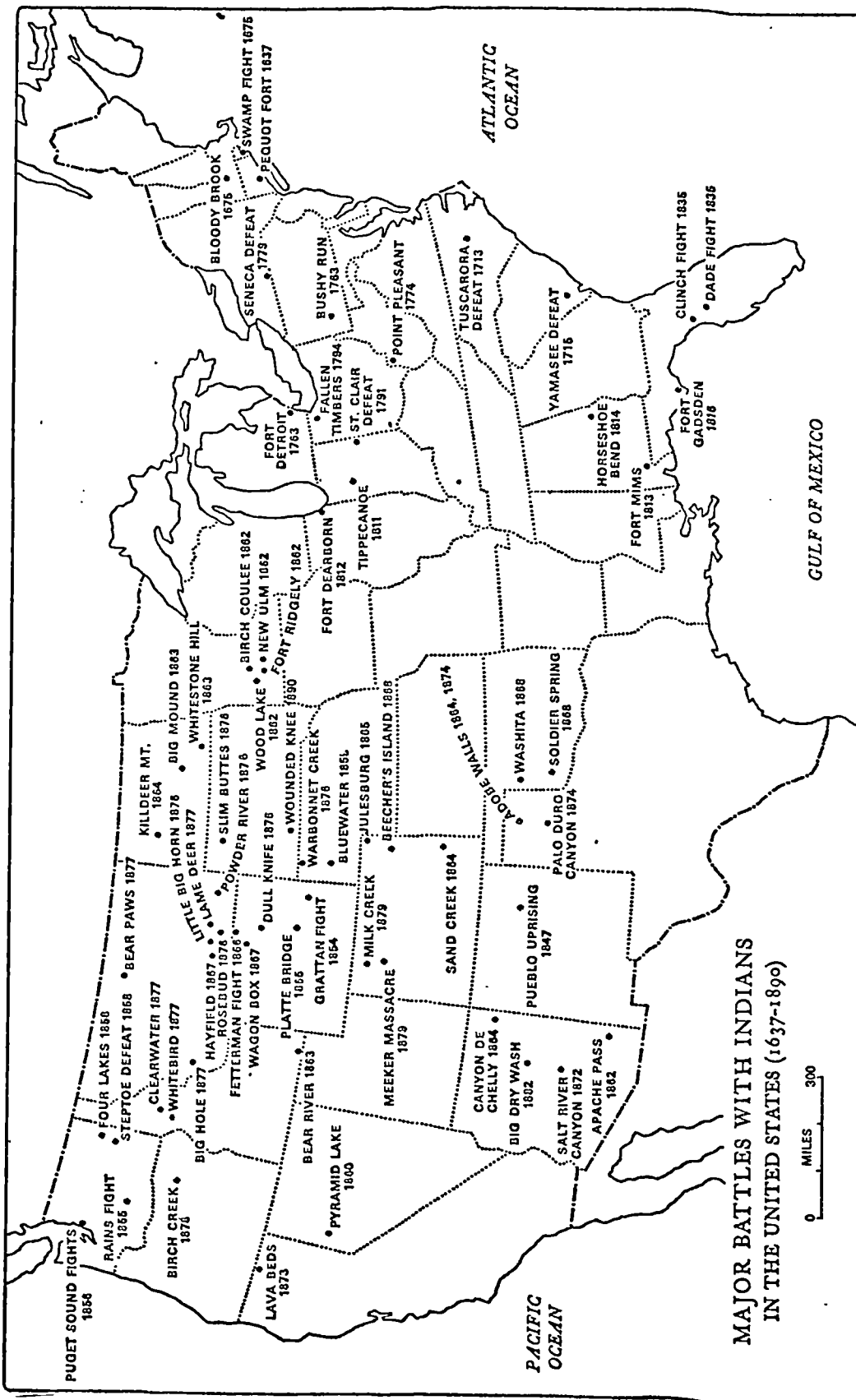
"Ces hommes me semblent dans la dernière dégradation de l'humanité, et cela est encouri la faute des peuples plus policés. Tant qu'ils n'étaient que sauvages ils étaient Guerriers, indépendants, féroces peut-être, mais ils étaient des hommes, aujourd'hui que les Blancs ont eux aussi intérêt de les capter, on les séduit avec de l'argent, on les séduit avec du whisky, on les abrutit"³⁷.

After the fall of Quebec, Lord Amherst, who was the English military commander in North America, attempted to reduce expenditure by curtailing the giving of gifts to Indians, which had become part of the incentive to trading and war, especially under the French. This caused resentment to the Indians, which was increased by the renewed movement of English settlers to the West. An uprising led by the Ottawa leader, Pontiac, broke out suddenly in 1763. In a few weeks, the Ottawas had been joined by Hurons, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis and others, and

overran every British post in the West except Fort Pitt and Fort Detroit. The Indian success was shortlived and after a few months, peace was made. Hagan has suggested that, during the siege of Fort Pitt, Amherst may have been responsible for seriously infecting the Delawares with smallpox³⁸. In October, 1763, a royal proclamation reserved as Indian land, the country west of the Appalachians. All settlers on unceded lands were to be withdrawn and all future purchases of land were prohibited, unless agreed publicly by the Indian owners and by representatives of the British government. But some speculators negotiated treaties with the Iroquois and the Cherokees and increasing numbers of settlers moved across the mountains. Once again, Indians went to war and the climax was reached in the so-called Lord Dunmore's war of 1774 (named after the British governor of Virginia), at Point Pleasant, which was but one of some seventy major battles in which the Indians were involved between 1637 and 1890, as the adjoining map of Josephy's shows³⁹.

The War of Independence resulted in little change of policy. Tension with the Indians increased further as settlers moved west again in the first years of the nineteenth century, years which were famous for the rise of Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief. Tecumseh tried to insist that the Americans should leave a large area of forest between the Ohio and the Great Lakes, for the Indians, and that land must not be taken from a tribe, unless *all* members agreed. Lack of understanding by the Americans about the Indian attitude to land led them to contest such a "democratic" procedure, asserting that a chief had authority to sign away land. Some chiefs, indeed, did just this, thus weakening Tecumseh's plea for a separate state. The affair was settled at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, when Tecumseh's army was defeated by William Henry Harrison, the Governor of Indiana Territory, and his troops.

The pattern had become established. It was to continue for the



MAJOR BATTLES WITH THE INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES: 1637-1890

Source: p.304. A.M.Josephy Jr. *The Indian Heritage of America.*

rest of the century. Not even the 1834 Act of Congress, "To regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes and to preserve peace on the frontiers" succeeded. Land west of the Mississippi, excluding Missouri, Louisiana and Arkansas was to be Indian country. Almost immediately, the pressure of settlers westwards caused this "permanent Indian frontier" to be shifted from the Mississippi to the 95th meridian. After this, the Mexican war interfered. American armies marched south through Indian country, and in 1847, the United States took possession of territory reaching from Texas to California. This land was *west* of the 95th meridian.

The Californian gold rush in 1848 caused further revision and the theory of "Manifest Destiny" was invoked to justify the claim that the immigrants from Europe and their descendants were destined to rule all America.

The 1860s saw American incursions into the Prairies as settlers struck out further towards the West Coast. It is difficult to see with hindsight how this great migration could have been avoided, but it provided a period of great tension with the Sioux. The building of railroads, the development of cattle trails from the south, the arrival of the "cowboys" and the establishment of cattle ranches created a mounting threat, from the Indians' point of view. The most serious attack on their way of life was the slaughter of the buffalo, by railway construction crews, miners and hunters. The herds upon which the Indians depended for food were reduced from forty million in 1840 to one thousand in 1890. Of the 3,700,000 buffalo destroyed between 1872 and 1874, only 150,000 were killed by Indians⁴⁰.

All these developments were deeply resented by the Sioux. During the Civil War, they massacred many settlers in the Minnesota Valley, in 1862. And then in 1864, the Southern Cheyennes became involved in raids

in the mining regions of eastern Colorado, but seeking peace withdrew to a camp at Sand Creek. Here there occurred what was called by General Nelson A. Miles, the "foulest and most unjustifiable crime in the annals of America"⁴¹, when Colonel J.M. Chivington, a former Methodist minister, ordered the massacre at Sand Creek. Of the five hundred in the group, a third, mostly women, children and old people were clubbed and disembowelled.

The Homestead Act of 1863 had paved the way for further occupation of the Plains. The Indians were to be forced into reservations. This attempt to round up the tribes of the prairies reached a climax in the 1870s. The Government had made a treaty with Red Cloud of the Oglala Sioux in 1868 at Fort Laramie. In 1871, Congress enacted a law which negated Indian claims to be regarded as independent nations, tribes or powers. Even though the Act regarded existing treaties as binding, and the 1868 agreement with the Oglala Sioux that the Black Hills of South Dakota should be a Sioux reservation, General Custer entered Black Hills in 1874, on reconnaissance. He discovered gold and the inevitable "gold rush" followed. The Indians refused to sell their land and threatened war. Fierce battles ensued. In June 1876, led by Crazy Horse of the Oglalas, Sitting Bull and other leaders, the Indians defeated and killed Custer in the valley of the Little Big Horn River. The Government was shocked. Crazy Horse was killed in the following year, while Sitting Bull and some of his people found temporary respite in Canada. (The moving story of their poverty and despair is told by Ronald Atkin in his recent book on the North West Mounted Police)⁴². Sitting Bull returned peacefully to the United States after making several attempts to determine the conditions to be laid down for him by the Americans. He was arrested in July 1881 and imprisoned for two years. Then for a time he was a star attraction in Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West Show.

For years, the Indians had suffered poverty, hunger, white men's diseases and mounting disillusionment. For a brief period in 1890, the cult of the Ghost Dance spread from the Nevada Paiutes to the Indians of the Plains. The buffalo would return, white men would disappear and the Indians would be freed from disease. The Sioux were brought this news by two Minneconjous, Kicking Bear and Short Bull, who had sought and found Wovoka, the Paiute Messiah. Wovoka had urged them not to resort to force, but to learn the dances and songs that he prescribed⁴³. The Plains Indians became obsessed with the Dance. Children from the reservations refused school, trading came to a halt, little work was done on the farms. Government agents in South Dakota were alarmed and called in Government troops in December 1890. Sitting Bull was to be arrested as "a fomenter of trouble"⁴⁴. He and Big Foot of the Minneconjous were killed, as were some 300 other Indians and about 30 Americans⁴⁵. The Americans called this event the Battle of Wounded Knee. For the Indians, it was a massacre and it became a symbol of their defeat, to last in the memory until the 1973 "siege" of Wounded Knee and beyond. Josephy writes that the episode "marked the completion of the white man's conquest of the Indian in the United States"⁴⁶. In time, all the tribes were confined to the reservations. Collier recalls that in 1868, it was estimated that the cost of each Indian killed "was running at \$1,000,000." an estimate referred to by Hagan and noted also by Artaud and Kaspi in their French history of the United States⁴⁷.

The Indians in Canada

Little mention has been made of the Indians in Canada. This is not because their history lacks importance but because the American story has always been more dramatic and demonstrates the problem being discussed more sharply. The French and the Canadians were more paternalistic than the Americans. There was less conflict and violence, partly because there

were fewer Indians. The French put few pressures on Indians in the East. (The extermination of the Beothuk Indians in Newfoundland in the eighteenth century appears to have been an exception)⁴⁸.

Clashes in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries were often for trading reasons and in the earlier years, because of imperial rivalry between England and France. Many French men married Algonquian women and assimilation took place. Land disputes were almost non-existent, but some tribes suffered severe economic hardship when the fur trade declined.

The Métis, who were half-breed French Indians revolted in 1870 and 1885, and were joined by Assiniboines, Crees and Blackfeet. Their hope for an independent Indian state in central Canada was shortlived and the famous Métis leader, Louis Riel was executed. A system of reservations gave protection to tribes in the West, but as with the Indians in the United States there was great poverty, and while over the last eighty years conditions have improved, their economic situation has continued to be hard.

A minority problem

Throughout North America, the Indians are classified as a "minority problem". In the United States, the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 expanded educational opportunities and created possibilities for local self-government and economic assistance. World War II accelerated detribalization. Programmes of relocation and industrialisation have met with varying success. Some tribes like the Mountain Utes have received large royalties from oil and natural gas, but by and large the Indians remain the most impoverished section of the community. Hagan concludes:

"that the cultural transition will take many generations is ... apparent. The easy optimism of the nineteenth century has disappeared, but so (has) the ruthlessness of the land grabbers... And only on television is the Indian still portrayed as a blood-thirsty marauder"⁴⁹.

Oliver La Farge (another American writer) has summarised the whole story:

"The arrival of the white men, and of the English in particular, set most of North America in motion. The Spaniards came to conquer, to rule new peoples and levy tribute upon them; the English came to settle empty lands, and if the lands turned out to be occupied took steps to empty them. The French were intermediate. The great stirring up, the advent of horses, metal tools, firearms, beads, wool, and other such novelties, created new cultures, a strange rapid flowering - until, as the white men pressed on across the continent, everything came to an end"⁵⁰.

The Indians' contribution to the White Man

This brief account has all the faults of selectivity and omission. It indicates the four centuries' long life and death struggle between the Indians and the White Man. Today, there is an increased awareness of the contribution of the Indian to North American civilisation. He holds his own place in White American literature and music, but apart from this, more is being learnt from his mythology and folklore. The Indian has influenced, also, art and design, and food. Corn and potatoes were first domesticated by American Indians, and white men were introduced by them to some eighty plants, including nuts, peppers, tomatoes and pineapples⁵¹. Indian inventions like the canoe, toboggan and hammock are in common use. Very many Indian words are commonly used, like wigwam, tobacco, squash, opossum, tomahawk, moose and rackoon. Woodcraft skills have inspired modern youth movements. Indian political and social institutions have made their impact. Benjamin Franklin admired the organisation of the League of the Iroquois. Notions of freedom and dignity had their effect on European philosophers for two centuries from Montaigne to Rousseau. Chateaubriand was inspired to write *Atala* in 1801 and Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha* in 1855.

In the United States, twenty-seven states, four great lakes and many mountains and rivers have Indian names, as do four provinces and two territories in Canada, itself an Indian name. It is therefore the more

surprising that in a study of history schoolbooks, Indians are almost, if not totally, consigned to oblivion.

American and Canadian Schoolbooks

This is true of American and Canadian books, as well as British and French. While it is not the purpose of this study to examine American and Canadian history schoolbooks themselves, it is worth remarking that in spite of a voluminous study of the Indian peoples, it is only recently that a few studies of their treatment in schoolbooks have begun to appear. Among the most recent, studies by J.Henry and L.H.Bowker in the United States and G.McDiarmid and D.Pratt in Canada are worth mentioning.

Henry, in a study of 43 textbooks for the American Indian Historical Society in 1968 demonstrated that:

"The American Indian is barely mentioned in connection with the colonial period of American history.
The American Indian's contribution to the economy of the Nation and the world are barely mentioned at all.
The history of the Indian in the Gold Rush is not mentioned at all or is distorted.
The description of the relationship between the Federal Government and the Indians is distorted.
Treaties with the Indian tribes are not mentioned.
The true conditions of the reservation Indians is completely ignored or misinterpreted.
The current economic situation of the Indian is ignored"⁵².

Bowker concluded in 1972 that:

"The quality and quantity of textual material about ... the American Indian (since the early 1960s) was found to have remained static, or in some cases, to have deteriorated".
"Whole periods of Indian history are 'blocked out' and never reviewed"⁵³.

McDiarmid and Pratt, discussing books used in Ontario schools in 1971, show that the extermination of the Beothuk Indians in Newfoundland in the eighteenth century was omitted from 25 out of 27 texts reviewed⁵⁴, and that in relation to Indians as a whole, 18 out of 23 texts did not mention them as "a live issue"⁵⁵.

The historical reasons for this situation provide a further study in

themselves. Why, in America (and Canada) have the Indians been consigned to distortion and obliteration? What were the steps and decisions leading to this situation? Were instructions given to early textbook writers and if so, by whom? Have these early writers been copied in their selectivity ever since? Has shame or contempt entered in?

Whatever the answers to these questions may be, the fact remains that British and French books are, understandably, even less satisfactory. (Quotations from these books are in the chronological order of the books' publication).

The Indian in British Schoolbooks

Mrs. Markham, in the 1865 edition, referred to the French and Indian War:

"The French had instigated also many of the native tribes of the Americans to join in attacks on British provinces"⁵⁶.

Later she wrote in this book for juniors:

"There arose additional difficulties and dangers from the native Indians, whose wild and savage character made them capricious and troublesome as friends, and very terrible as enemies"⁵⁷.

Collier (1864) made a brief reference to Virginia, including a popular anecdote:

"The romantic story of the Indian girl Pocahontas, who married an English settler named John Rolfe, is mixed up with the earliest history of the colony. Fighting with the Indians on the one hand and the home government on the other, Virginia continued nevertheless steadily to thrive"⁵⁸.

(This anecdote is still found a hundred years later in schoolbooks.

Pocahontas, already famous for her alleged saving of John Smith's life in 1608, was the daughter of Powhatan of the Algonquians. She married Rolfe, who was the founder of America's tobacco economy, in 1614. The marriage was expected to consolidate the alliance between the Virginia Company and the Indians. She died in England of smallpox in 1617, and inspired several eighteenth century plays on the theme of the "noble savage"⁵⁹.

David Garnett wrote a novel about her in 1933 (*Pocahontas or the Nonpareil of Virginia*). In a review article in 1966, S.Vauthier commented:

"Les motifs de Rolfe et son affection pour le princesse indienne sont singulièrement plus complexes que la légende romanesque, qui entoure cette union ne le laisse deviner"⁶⁰.

Gleig (1879 edition) described the colonisation of the New World. In a paragraph, notable for its value judgements and generalisations he wrote (for juniors):

"While Spain and Portugal took unscrupulous possession of all the territories to the south of the Mississippi, those situated to the north of the river were eagerly colonized, by England, France, Holland, Sweden and indeed by every state which possessed the means of transporting adventurers thither, and subjects not averse to embark in the enterprise. No doubt the barbarous natives were bribed to make over tracts of lands to the settlers"⁶¹.

The Graphic Infant Reader, published in 1893, sandwiched a reading on "The American Indians" between two stories called "The Tame Lioness" and "The Hedgehog and the Hare":

"Most of the tribes lived in a state of constant warfare with one another. In consequence of such wars and of disease, their numbers were already diminishing when the Europeans first visited them. They have diminished ever since, till many tribes have wholly disappeared. At first they were disposed to be friendly with the white men; but quarrels soon arose, each side being partly to blame

"The savages often burnt villages, carried away captives and laid whole regions waste. In return their villages and forts were destroyed and their tribes were driven westward, or reduced to a mere handful. To this day, some of the Western settlers of the United States live in constant fear of attack from Indian tribes; but this race is passing away and in another century, there will hardly be a roving Indian within the limits of the United States"⁶².

This is a good example of creating a stereotype. Possibly, it was the first time that the children had heard of the Indians and certainly the language and expression were hardly suitable for infant classes. But apart from this, the oversimplification of the text as it stands, is striking, in its reference to the "diminishing" Indians and to the quarrels for which each side was "partly to blame". Written shortly after the

events at Wounded Knee, the writer expressed a hope that was not to be fulfilled, but which has contributed to the view that "the only good Indian is a dead one".

This passage may be paralleled with one in *Collins Alternative Geography Reader* (1899):

"The red race... is found only in America and is gradually dying out... The red men in their native condition spend most of their time in hunting and fighting. They live in tribes under chiefs and prefer to wander about from place to place, only staying for a time where there is pasture for their animals and where they can find plenty of hunting and fishing. Most of the country once occupied by them in Canada and the United States is now in the hands of white men"⁶³.

By comparison, Buckley (1904 edition) included one sentence in her book for juniors, referring to the Anglo-French struggle of the mid-eighteenth century:

"For a long time the country of the Red Indians to the north-west had been a source of dispute"⁶⁴.

Ince and Gilbert (1906 edition) also in describing the aftermath of the Treaty of Paris wrote their solitary reference to Indians:

"The Peace of Paris had secured Canada for England, consequently the American colonists were no longer in fear of the French. The attacks of the Indians however were still a danger and Grenville was anxious to raise a colonial army, to be paid for by the Americans - an army to be used exclusively for the defence of the colonists"⁶⁵.

Fletcher and Kipling (1911) do not mention the Indians when they describe the colonisation of North America. Hughes in his *Britain and Greater Britain in the XIXth century* (1919) devoted nearly a tenth of his book to Canada, and referred only once to the Indians when mentioning the French *coureurs de bois* who roamed the Rockies and fraternised with the Indians, "partly adopting their manners"⁶⁶.

Like Ince and Gilbert, Warner and Marten (1923), writing for senior boys (*sic*), selected 1763 for their passage about the Indians:

"The British Government, anxious to prevent the frauds and abuses which had been formerly committed in obtaining lands from the Indians, issued a Proclamation forming large parts of the land of the colonies into a reserve for Indians, and forbidding all fresh grants of lands by the Red Indians except through the colonial governors appointed by the Crown"⁶⁷.

This reference to the reservation of the country west of the Appalachians ignored the bilateral nature of future agreements about land. The Indians had to agree as well as the Crown. The swift erosion of the intent of the Proclamation was not mentioned, although the authors added:

"This seemed to the colonists to be doing away with their rights of independent and indefinite expansion, and caused great suspicion and resentment".

Warner and Marten also included a footnote about Pontiac who "had invaded the colonies in 1763", thus demonstrating that "it was necessary for the defence of the American colonies, not only against the French but against the Indian tribes, to keep a small standing army in America"⁶⁸. (Carter and Mears (1948 edition) in their only reference to the Indians made this point also)⁶⁹.

Kermack, in writing his geographical history *The Expansion of Britain from the Age of the Discoveries* (1925) made two points about the early colonisation:

"North of Mexico the native races have been supplanted by the European, so that they are now in numbers quite insignificant"⁷⁰, and "The Carib races whom the Spaniards had found in Cuba and Hispaniola had died off rapidly in contact with western civilisation"⁷¹.

Southgate (1929) wrote of the early days in New England:

"The colonists had to maintain ceaseless watch against Indian attack, and, in the backwoods, lived in daily peril. The picture of the settler in a loghouse, with one hand on his gun while he read his Bible, is true to life"⁷².

A.P. Newton in *A Junior History of the British Empire Oversea* (1933) included some eight references to the Indians. He mentioned the rescue of John Smith by Pocahontas⁷³, the tobacco smoking Indians of Virginia⁷⁴ and referred to the Indians as "savages" several times⁷⁵. But he did not place the events that he described, in context; for example:

"Virginia suffered a serious blow in 1622 when the Indian savages swept down upon the settlers unawares and slew a large part of the men, women and children in the outlying farms"⁷⁶. No reason for this is given.

The Pilgrim Fathers "were not troubled by the Indians, for the tribes that had lived in that region" (Cape Cod) "had been swept away by a plague not long before"⁷⁷ (the epidemic, according to Josephy having been caused by Europeans)⁷⁸.

Or again:

"The English colonists were often in danger of the Red Indians, who would raid down from the mountains and the woods to scalp the 'pale faces', as they called the colonists, and burn their homes. The backwoodsmen who lived on the frontier had always to be prepared with their guns in their hands, and they hated the Indians so much that it was said that to an American "the only good Indian was a dead Indian"⁷⁹.

Referring to Pontiac's rebellion in 1763, Newton wrote:

"By good luck and the bravery and skill of a few British officers and their Highland soldiers, the danger from Pontiac's savages was overcome and the colonies saved"⁸⁰.

Newton had the opportunity in a book of this scope to present a fairer picture and a less emotive one, but that was not the way in which he wrote about the British Empire.

Like Southgate and Newton, Hutchins and Stephens (1938) also explained that "there was constant danger of interference from Red Indians whose methods of warfare were savage and whose distrust of "whites" was easily aroused"⁸¹. Clement also (1941) presented a similar picture for School Certificate pupils:

(John Smith) "forced the settlers to cultivate the soil and brave the dangers from the Indian tribes", while the Pilgrim Fathers "had to face many hardships: the icy winters, the poor soil, and the attacks of Indian tribes"⁸².

Rayner (1947) included a single note (about the granting of Pennsylvania to William Penn in 1680): "First principles: religious toleration, and fair play towards the Indians"⁸³

Price and Mather (1954) writing of the early days of the colonisers told how the Indians were "friendly"⁸⁴ and that Smith ("who may have been

telling a romantic story" about Pocahontas) "managed to preserve reasonably good relations with the Indian tribes in the first years" ⁸⁵. (The doubt expressed about the Smith/Pocahontas story, while in accord with research⁸⁶, does not detract from the romantic element of the anecdote. Derry and Jarman (1956) referred to the story in their sole reference to the Indians)⁸⁷.

The scarcity and brevity of these references to Indians is continued by Unstead (1962), although the purpose of his comment is to contrast the behaviour of the English with that of the French:

"The French colonies were different from the English whereas the Puritans of New England founded towns and villages, drove out the Indians and felled forests to make ploughlands and pasture, the French much less numerous, were fur traders and missionaries. They kept on good terms with the Indian trappers and tried to convert them to the Catholic faith"⁸⁸.

Later, (1963) when describing (in another book for juniors) the events in North America in the period 1748-55, he added: "Both sides sought the help of Red Indian allies"⁸⁹.

Geoffrey Williams in the broader context of his book for "O" Level students *Portrait of World History* (1962) substantially ignored the Indians of North America. A chapter on "The World discovered by Europeans" dealt entirely with the Aztecs and Incas, Spain and Brazil⁹⁰. In a reference to the French and Indian War, he commented: "Because they were originally trappers rather than settlers, the French found it easier to win the trade and support of the Indians, for unlike the English, they had taken no land from them"⁹¹. And later, in discussing the United States in the nineteenth century: "All land had been either organised into territories or states and the Red Indian and bison driven into reservations"⁹². (This juxtaposition of "Indian" and "bison" probably has its roots in the writer's unexpressed criticism of the events which he kaleidoscoped into this single sentence).



"AN INDIAN ATTACK ON A LONELY FARM"

Source: p.31. G.W.Southgate. *An Introduction to English History*. 1963 edition.

This enlarged illustration, from a book in current use, refers to a sentence on the facing page about Indian attacks on settlers in the eighteenth century. The illustration is out of proportion to the importance of the passage.

Dance included only one reference in *The Modern World* (1967):

"In the early nineteenth century there was a third America" (apart from the North and South) "growing up as well. All the original thirteen colonies were on the coast of the Atlantic. But west of all this was a wilder country, a land of great rivers like the Mississippi, the Ohio and the Missouri, where Indians had their hunting grounds and white men were not seen much at first"⁹³.

In his *History for a United World* (1971), Dance makes one oblique reference to the Indians:

"The European colonists (except a few religious men among them) seemed unaware that what they were shooting down were not hordes of savages, but civilisations of a very high standard"⁹⁴.

Edwards and Bearman in their book for senior forms (1971) have one comment also, when discussing developments in the USA in the nineteenth century:

"The obvious casualties of the Drive to the West were the Indians, swept aside in the hunger for land. For all its promises of protection and offers of 'reserved land', the Federal Government was quite unable to control distant settlers. So-called 'treaties' were often broken, and frequently skirmishes turned into widespread war in the 1870s. It was later in the century before more humane policies became effective. By then the Indians had been driven from most good land, while the mass slaughter of buffalo - three million a year were killed in 1871-4 - destroyed their main source of food and clothing. The Apache were the last tribe to offer serious resistance to the white man's invasion, in the battle of Little Big Horn (1876)"⁹⁵

(The passage contains two inaccuracies. The figure for slaughtered buffalo seems too high - 3,700,000 between 1872-4 has already been mentioned (see p.132), and the principal Indian tribes at Little Big Horn were the Sioux and the Cheyennes. The Apaches did not surrender until 1886 when 5,000 troops surrounded Geronimo and his thirty six men, women and children at Skeleton Canyon in Arizona⁹⁶, hundreds of miles South of the place of Custer's defeat).

There are several more books worth mentioning. These are solely concerned with the history of the United States of America. The Slossons (in 1949) wrote, for 15 to 17 year olds in English schools, *From Washington to Roosevelt*. Treatment by the writers of events involving the Indians is sympathetic, but references are few. The longest passage is as follows:

"The relation of the white man to the red is in the main a sad story. Each accused the other of aggression, cruelty and breach of faith. Treaties were, in fact, often broken on both sides. But in justice to both native and colonist, it should be said that many of these broken contracts were due to differences of custom or the misunderstanding of the terms of treaty agreements. Thus, English settlers, with European ideas of land ownership, often thought they were buying land outright, while the Indian thought he was merely selling the right to hunt over the land in question"⁹⁷.

Elsewhere there are brief references to the origins of the North American Indians⁹⁸, the helpfulness of Indians to immigrants from the Mayflower⁹⁹, the development of the fur trade¹⁰⁰ and Indian "fighters"¹⁰¹. In the eighteenth century, "The Indian tribes had been driven far from the coastal towns and were still a menace only to backwoodsmen of the Western frontier"¹⁰². While in the twentieth century,

"Except for a few hundred thousand native Indians, all persons in the United States are either immigrants themselves or have been descended from immigrants in the past four centuries"¹⁰³.

These are their only references, in a book devoted to American history.

A History of the American people from 1492 by A.Nevins (1965) was written for secondary schools. Although by a well-known American historian, the book ignored the causes of conflict between the Indian and the white man. References are sparse, chiefly concerned with trade¹⁰⁴ and Indian hostility¹⁰⁵. The reader first encounters the Indians as they appeared to the colonists of Virginia:

"They found that most Indians were hostile - creeping from the hills on all fours, 'like bears with their bows in their mouths'"¹⁰⁶.

They are referred to as "savages"¹⁰⁷, and while the romantic nature of Rolfe's marriage to Pocahontas is underlined¹⁰⁸, the language used about the Indians is often brusque, as in this reference to the land problem in the nineteenth century:

"Equally important to the Western movement" (i.e. apart from the development of transport) "were *the clearance of the Indians from desirable lands* and the liberalization of land laws".

Nevins however did add:

"The people of the States (were) fairly free to act for themselves and all too often they were greedy and brutal"¹⁰⁹.

On another occasion, he wrote:

"The sentiment 'America for the Americans' grew among narrow people, who forgot that only the Indians were not fairly recent immigrants"¹¹⁰.

He did not however explain this statement and the reader is left with the stereotypes of primitiveness and hostility. Phrases like "the clearance of the Indians" (already noted) and "the taming of the Indians" (by the extermination of the buffalo)¹¹¹ present the Indian as an animal.

Nevins wrote also: "The Indians were rapidly pushed off the trans-Missouri plains" and "in the end, all the Indians were subdued". He did not compensate for these expressions by saying: "Belated efforts were made to improve their condition"¹¹².

Currie in *Pioneers of the American West* (1969) gives several pages of useful background on Indian culture¹¹³, but this is not followed through in the numerous references to Indians elsewhere in the book¹¹⁴, references which are brief and anecdotal. In comparing Europeans and Indians, she remarks that trappers "were often as savage as the Indians against whom they fought and would, like them, raise the hair" (i.e. scalp) "of a dead enemy"¹¹⁵. The reasons for the struggle and the relationship between Indians and immigrants are not given, except that "it was no wonder that these Indians became angry when white people killed the buffalo by thousands, not for food but for hides and horn"¹¹⁶.

Chandler also missed her opportunities. For instance, in *Settlement of the American West* (1971) one of the workshop pamphlets (prepared for younger pupils in secondary school) deals with the Plains Indians, highlighting the Buffalo, Indian beliefs and their attitude to white men¹¹⁷. But the questions about the impact of white settlers on the Indians are not developed in the remaining pamphlets in the kit, although they are quite properly asked¹¹⁸. Similarly in *America since Independence* (1965) and in her source book for sixth formers, *Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness* (1971) she mentions only isolated factors such as the attacks on cowboys or the railways¹¹⁹, barbed wire defences against the Indians, the buffalo¹²⁰. It should be emphasised that her treatment of Indians is sympathetic, always, but it lacks historical cohesion and depth.

A striking attempt to rehabilitate the image of the Indian is to be found in *The Making of America* by Beacroft and Smale (1972). This book (for CSE students) describes the Indian people within the context of the country's development. An introductory chapter describes the principal features of the Iroquois and Sioux civilisations¹²¹. Smith's rescue by Pocahontas is mentioned but contained within an account of the early relationships between the Indians, Spanish, French and English¹²². This section of the book is summarised as follows, in describing the situation by the mid-eighteenth century:

"There was tension between northerners and southerners, between eastern families and western pioneers, between settlers and Indians, and between fur traders and the French. These tensions exploded into serious conflicts which were to reshape the future of America"¹²³.

The reasons for this situation are demonstrated in the text and followed through. The authors place the history of the Indian people within the context of American history. They lead the reader through the growing conflict between the English and the Indians in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, and the relations between the Indians and the French. They discuss the Anglo-French conflict which preceded the French and Indian War and the events leading to the Treaty of Paris¹²⁴, and shortly afterwards, Pontiac's revolt¹²⁵. The westward movement, the growing tension over land, the role of Tecumseh, and the displacement of the Cherokees in the 1830s, are set in context¹²⁶. The effect of the railways and the discovery of the goldfields, the slaughter of the buffalo and the increasing embitterment of the Indians resulted in savage behaviour by both sides. Beacroft and Smale write of all this¹²⁷, describe in some detail the Battle of Little Big Horn¹²⁸ and take the story through the Ghost Dance to Wounded Knee¹²⁹. Here they end their account of Indian history:

"Eventually all the tribes were confined to reservations. The Indians had to be taught to live a settled life. This was an enormous problem for the future. We cannot discuss it here"¹³⁰.

No British book, among those reviewed, takes the story further than this. The Indians became recognised as a "minority problem" and as such *disappear from the historical stage*. Of the books studied some eighty, *spread over a period of one hundred and fifty years*, dealt with periods of history in which the role of the Indian in America could have been examined. Nearly two-thirds of these books bear no reference to the Indians at all. In those that remain, references are brief, episodic and generalised rather than particular. Of those books published after the end of the nineteenth century (thus having the possibility of following the events of Indian history to 1890 and beyond), only six of those reviewed (including Nevins and Beacroft and Smale) refer to events in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries and only Beacroft and Smale refer to the events of 1890. The majority of authors who mention the Indians confine themselves to a single reference. Few specific events are described. A few books romanticise, with the Pocahontas story. Most depict the

Indians as barbarous, and hostile without cause. Violent and cruel as many of them were, they are depicted as more violent and cruel than the immigrants and their descendants. This is a matter for debate.

Reviewing the field of British schoolbook interpretation of American history, the conclusion is drawn that there is little opportunity provided to study the historical rôle of North American Indians. Furthermore, little help has been given to teachers in this respect. In the Historical Association pamphlet on *The American Empire*, Indians are mentioned once (in relation to the French)¹³¹, *The Handbook for History Teachers* discusses the Indians, but confines itself to adventure, folk-craft and folklore¹³².

The Indian in French Schoolbooks

The references to Indians in the French schoolbooks that have been studied are surprisingly few. Ducoudray, for instance, (1884) included a line drawing of an American Indian¹³³, but no reference in the text. The majority of books refer merely to the collapse of the North American Empire in 1763 and the injustice delivered by the British to Montcalm. An engraving of his death is a classic illustration in schoolbooks¹³⁴, and eulogies are heaped upon him¹³⁵.

Indians are substantially ignored until recent schoolbooks speak objectively of their plight. Freudenfeld (1848) wrote that Indians had

"une haine implacable pour leurs oppresseurs, et à cause de ceux-ci, pour la religion elle-même"¹³⁶.

But Lavisé in 1878 ignored them, although like many other writers he mentioned (briefly) the early French explorers and the colonising of North America¹³⁷. In fact no reference of substance was found until Cahen (1929) when, in *Histoire de l'Europe (1789-1848)* writing for the *classes de 1e*, he described the events following Andrew Jackson's Removal Bill in 1830:

"Les Indiens du Nord doivent céder les abords des Grands Lacs... les Indiens du Sud, Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles se défendent non seulement par les armes, mais par les arguments du droit; ils affirment et font reconnaître par la cour suprême qu'ils sont une nation indépendante et souveraine; ils n'en sont pas moins obligés d'abandonner leur domaine héréditaire contre un territoire plus à l'ouest, près des Rocheuses"¹³⁸.

This passage, even though it springs from an appreciation of the Indians' desire for justice, stands isolated. It was Cahen's only reference.

Malet-Isaac made an even briefer point in 1930:

"Les derniers Indiens furent parqués dans les réserves... le gouvernement décida de le reprendre aux peaux rouges pour l'ouvrir" (i.e. Oklahoma) "à la colonisation"¹³⁹.

Ozouf and Leterrier (1950) referred, in a book for the *classes de fin d'études*, to the policy of Louis XIV and Colbert:

"Colbert voulaient instruire les Indiens et les appeler en communauté de vie avec les français"¹⁴⁰.

In this (their single) reference, they drew attention to the existence of Franco-Indian understanding, which had been made possible both by the attitudes of French settlers and missionaries as well as by the common antipathy for the English which both French and Indians had. But in another book (for the *cours moyen*) in 1952, these authors did not refer to the Indians in Canada at all, merely recounting the arrival of Columbus in the West Indies: "Il aborda dans une île peuplée de sauvages qu'il appela les Indiens"¹⁴¹.

Le Ster (1952), in a book for the *classes de fin d'études* referred to the temporary occupation of "Canada" by the English during the siege of La Rochelle in 1628 :

"Le passage des Anglais dans notre colonie ne fut pas inutile; il permit, aux indigènes de comparer leurs méthodes et les nôtres, et d'apprécier la douceur des français; les indigènes ne s'attachèrent que davantage à Champlain et à la France"¹⁴².

The contrast between French and English relations with the Indians indicates that the English were already well-known for their cruelty, both in word and deed¹⁴³.

There are occasional references to the Indians and Montcalm. For example, Bonifacio and Maréchal (*cours élémentaire*: 1956) wrote "Les vieux habitants du pays, les Peaux-Rouges, sont ses alliés", a point made with similar brevity by Arondel, Bouillon and Rudel writing in 1962 for the older age-group of the *classes de 3e*. The "peaux rouges" were "braves, mais cruels et indisciplinés"¹⁴⁴. Gautrot-Lacourt and Gozé (*cours moyen*: 1960) recalled that Jacques Cartier found in Northern Canada:

"Pas d'Espagnols, mais des Peaux-Rouges Hurons, qui l'accueillirent très bien ... Il retourna quatre fois au Canada et ramena quelques Peaux-Rouges à Saint-Malo"¹⁴⁵.

Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas (*classes de 3e*: 1960) wrote of

"une lutte sans merci contre les tribus indiennes... Désireux de mettre le pays en valeur les colons repoussèrent les populations indigènes dans les régions les moins fertiles"¹⁴⁶.

The brevity, and indeed the superficiality, of all these quotations is echoed in half a line of text in Tudesq and Rudel (*classes de 2e*: 1961), when referring to the pioneer English settlers at the end of the eighteenth century: "La domination sur les tribus indiennes (sera assurée)"¹⁴⁷. There are however signs that in the 1960s, an awareness of the plight of the Indians was entering in. The Cours Malet-Isaac volume for the *classes de 1e* (1961), *1848-1914*, for instance, quoted D.Hubner who had visited America in 1871. Hubner was horrified at the conditions of the settlements in Utah, to which some Indians had become attached. He wrote of "l'incorrigible fainéantise (idleness) des Peaux Rouges", but of "l'image de la dernière pauvreté et de la dernière dégradation"¹⁴⁸. On the next page, there is a picture of Indians attacking settlers, "indignés de se voir repoussés de leurs terrains de chasse par les blancs". The authors noted also that there were 300,000 Indians in the USA in 1914¹⁴⁹, but in a passage on the colonisation of the west, Indians are not mentioned at all¹⁵⁰.

Les civilisations du monde contemporain from the Collection

Monnier (1962) is, however, more precise:

"Les populations autochtones d'Indiens, clairsemées au moment de l'occupation du sol par les Blancs, n'y subsistent plus que sous forme d'îlots isolés les uns des autres (les 'réserves indiennes') ou dans les régions les plus excentriques (le 'Grand Nord' Canadien). Leur rôle dans la vie nationale est à peu près nul"¹⁵¹.

Finally, Bonifacio (1966) writes in a similar vein, for the classes terminales;

"Un million d'Indiens environ vivaient au XVIIe siècle, sur le territoire correspondant aux États Unis actuel; ils y sont à present, 400,000.

"Le problème plus souvent posé est celui de savoir quelle influence les Indiens et les Noirs ont exercée sur cette civilisation 'occidentale'. En ce qui touche les Indiens, qui a l'inverse de leurs frères de l'Amérique de Sud, en étaient restés à un niveau primitif de culture, l'influence exercée, le legs transmis sont à peu près nuls: quelque noms, propres aux communs; quelques habitudes - ainsi peut-être la place faite dans l'alimentation au maïs"¹⁵².

Like so many other writers on North American history, Bonifacio gives no further information about the reasons for this situation. It is remarkable that these quotations were the only ones that could be found in the books under review. (They do, however, extend from the *cours élémentaire* to the *classes terminales*). On the other hand, as Fohlen has pointed out, *no* major studies of the North American Indians have been published in France, where interest has centred on the discovery of the American West¹⁵³.

The French clearly lost interest in the Indians for over one and a half centuries. Previous evidence has shown how close relations had been in Canada, between the French and the Peaux-Rouges. But the loss of Canada in 1763 determined the way in which the history of La Nouvelle France and Acadia was to be described. To have discussed the plight of the Indians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries would have thrown out of focus the struggle between the British and the French. As the

French were absent from nineteenth century developments in America, it is not surprising that the Indians are not mentioned in schoolbooks until the widening of interest in world history at the end of the 1920s. Even then, the references are few, brief and generalised. The disappearance of the Indians from the historical stage is therefore even more evident in French schoolbooks than it is in those from Britain.

Conclusion

The striking realisation is that the mythology of the Indian in popular culture, while being supported by schoolbooks, is not dependent on them. It is necessary to look further afield to popular reading material from the late nineteenth century onwards, to the film and television¹⁵⁴, in order to establish the origins of a stereotype which is a mixture of romanticism, barbarism and gentle sensibility. But this is not within the scope of this enquiry.

NOTES

Chapter V.

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154. cp. pp.182-90. *ibid.* The author suggests that the "Western" takes over more than 10% of American television time, and in France between 1950 and 1960, accounted for 13%. Dr.Richard Dyer of Keele University and formerly of the Centre for Contemporary Studies at Birmingham University, pointed out to me in a private letter (December,1973) that in Britain, since the late 1940s, Indians have been featured in films and on television, less and less. But in 1956, on Independent Television, 96% of all children's programmes were "adventures", of which 62% were "Westerns", and on BBC, 74% were "adventures", of which 55% were "Westerns". By 1971, there had been a sharp decline. On the BBC, only 15% of series and films were "Westerns".

CHAPTER VI

*CHINA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF VIETNAM**(1) CHINA**Early contact with the West*

The earliest European contact with China was an embassy sent by Marcus Aurelius in 166. Coins bearing the head of the fourth century Roman Emperor, Valens, have been found on the silk routes and silk worms were smuggled into Byzantium in the sixth century¹. In 1245, Pope Innocent IV despatched an emissary to Jenghiz Khan, as did Louis IX of France, to complain about the western advance of the Mongols. In the thirteenth century, Marco Polo returned to Italy after a quarter of a century's absence, having journeyed to and from "Cathay". He had found there the court of Kublai Khan, at Cambaluc (Peking). Franciscan monks also travelled overland and established a mission in Peking, which remained there until the fall of the Mongol dynasty in 1368.

A Portuguese trading ship reached Canton in 1516. The Chinese refused to negotiate. Later in the sixteenth century, the Jesuits arrived of whom the most famous was Father Matteo Ricci. The Chinese became interested in Ricci primarily because of his mathematical ability. He assisted them in calendar reform and helped to translate Euclid into Chinese². But the Jesuits were under discipline and as such transmitted to the Chinese the Ptolemaic rather than the Copernican system. This led to misapprehensions which were not cleared up until the nineteenth century³.

Explorers, envoys and traders (including the English and the French) also began to arrive in South China along the new sea routes of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the Russians discovered the river Amur, invaded the surrounding territory and fought the Chinese in 1652 near the site of the present city Khabarovsk⁴. Treaties were signed

at Nerchinsk in 1689 and Kyakhta in 1727. Trade in Siberian furs became mutually satisfactory.

The arrival of West Europeans from the south and the Russians from the north paved the way for the intensified activity of foreign nations in China during the nineteenth century⁵. Werner Eichorn observes in this period "a resounding clash and dialogue between two civilisations, unique, as far as I know, in all history... It is astonishing that in our time, when there is supposed to be a burning interest in cultural questions and precedents, this historical event has attracted comparatively little interest"⁶.

British and French historians writing about European contact with China have paid little attention to China, herself. In the mid-nineteenth century, T.B.Macaulay wrote:

"What does anyone know of China? Even those Europeans who have been in that empire are almost as ignorant as the rest of us. Everything is covered by a veil, through which a glimpse of what is within may occasionally be caught, a glimpse just sufficient to set the imagination at work and more likely to mislead than to inform"⁷.

China and the Barbarians

Western contact with China was almost entirely mercantile. Since 1757, all foreign trade was confined to the port of Canton. This contributed powerfully to China's isolation. The cultivated classes of China had maintained their power for centuries. They had survived the first great impact of Buddhism from the second to the ninth century AD, and they had survived the arrival of Christianity from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. They also absorbed the Manchu invasion of the seventeenth century. When in the nineteenth century, Europe had greater military techniques, China's weakness was revealed for the first time.

In Europe, the concept of international relations and diplomacy gradually developed after the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, but China,



CHINA

Source: p.7. C.P.Fitzgerald. *The Horizon History of China*. New York.1969.

since the eighth century BC, had conceived of a world under one Emperor. The ideal empire was demarcated by a line which separated the Chinese from the barbarians:

"The five kinds of domain were explicitly defined in the chapter Yu-Kung (Tribute of Yu), in the *Book of History*. Within the first five hundred li (a li is one third of a mile), from the capital, was the imperial domain. Next came the domain of nobles; beyond that the so-called peace securing domain. Next came the domain of restraint. The remotest five hundred li constituted the wild domain. Boundary lines between Chinese and barbarians were gradually expanded so as not to be confined by the ideal radius of 2500 li described in the Yu-Kung. This was the world-nation conception of international society; the tradition was handed down for millennia"⁸.

Such a philosophy was bound to conflict with that of the West, with its own specific concept of ethnic superiority. The conflict polarised. Fed by the increasing tension between China and the West (epitomised by the opium wars), there developed in nineteenth century Europe a peculiar attitude to the Chinese which has already been mentioned (p.101) In China, there was uncomprehending anger that the British, in particular, should behave as they did. In 1839, both Commissioner Lin and the Emperor wrote letters to Queen Victoria. Lin wrote:

"There appear among the crowd of barbarians both good persons and bad, unevenly. Consequently, there are those who smuggle opium to seduce the Chinese people. May You, O Queen, check your wicked and sift your vicious people before they come to China, in order to guarantee the peace of your nation..."⁹.

This was made more explicit in a letter from the Emperor:

"Si nous soumettez humblement à la dynastie céleste, et offre votre obligeance, peut-être aurez-vous la chance de racheter vos fautes passées. Sinon, vos trois îles seront devastées et votre population passée au fil d'épée, dès que les armées de sa Divine Majesté poseront le pied sur vos rivages"¹⁰.

About the same time, the Emperor received a memorandum from one of his civil servants:

"The English barbarians are an insignificant and detestable race, trusting to their strong ships and large guns"¹¹.

The origins of the opium wars

Before the first opium war, the foreign sea powers had no treaties with China. Britain held the leading commercial position and she expected special consideration. (In 1789, for example, 61 out of 86 ships at Canton were British)¹². In 1793, Lord Macartney was sent by the British government to Peking to congratulate the Emperor Ch'ien Lung on his birthday. The Emperor received Macartney courteously, but did not regard him differently from the tribute-bearers of his vassal states. Allowance was made for the distance he had travelled and the Emperor is said to have instructed:

"Since the English envoy has come far from the distant seas and for the first time visited a superior country, he should be treated with more consideration than the Burmese and Annamese who come here once a year"¹³.

Macartney was instructed to *Kowtow* (the deep obeisance on the floor) before the Emperor. This he refused to do and after long negotiation was permitted to make a simple genuflection. He then made numerous petitions to ease Britain's political and trading position in China. These were refused. In 1816, Lord Amherst found the demands of imperial protocol too great and returned home without having received an audience. In 1834, Lord Napier was sent to China by Palmerston to act as Superintendent of Trade. On arrival, Napier wrote to the Governor-General of Canton as an equal, and refused to call for his credentials. Chinese protocol demanded a more subservient approach. Trading facilities were withdrawn from the British and only restored when Napier withdrew to Macao.

In addition to these diplomatic complexities, there were also difficulties in relation to trade. For two thousand years the general flow of commodities was from East to West. Ch'ien Lung pointed out to Macartney and George III that China had everything she needed¹⁴. The British sought tea, silks and the purgative rhubarb. They found that there was a

demand for raw cotton and opium from India. It was opium which finally brought China and Britain to war.

By the end of the eighteenth century, opium represented over half of the East India Company's trade with China. France and America also shared the trade. Opium imports continued to increase, although forbidden by a decree of 1796. Chinese trading regulations were designed not only to prevent the import of opium, but also to control foreign trade in general. Traders, however, found loopholes in the monopoly practiced by the *Hong*, the corporation of traders who were responsible to the Emperor, as brokers for foreign trade. New trading regulations in 1835 did nothing to break the stranglehold that "private" companies now had on foreign trade. Such was the degree of corruption in both the Hong and the private sector that the Canton system of trading broke down. Bribery of officials enabled the import of opium to increase even further. By 1835, it was estimated that there were two million addicts in China. In addition, the outflow of silver currency through the opium trade had begun to affect the economy. By 1839, it was estimated that 100 million ounces of silver had been sent abroad, in the previous twenty years¹⁵. The same year Lin Tse-hsü was appointed Imperial Commissioner in Canton to deal with the problem. Palmerston was not eager to open hostilities and ordered Elliot the Inspector of Trade, to cooperate in the eradication of the opium traffic. 20,000 chests of opium, worth more than £3,000,000, were handed over to the Chinese authorities in May, and within twenty-three days, it had been destroyed!¹⁶ The British, however, refused to give an undertaking to discontinue the trade.

Another incident occurred in July 1839, when a party of British and American sailors went ashore in Kowloon to drink. The liquor ran out and they ran amok in the village. A Chinese villager was killed. Elliot arranged an immediate court-martial. The culprits were fined and sentenced to imprisonment in England. Lin demanded that the murderer be

handed over. Elliot refused. Both Chinese and British tried to intimidate one another in the Chu River. Eventually shots were exchanged and four Chinese gunboats were sunk. China stopped all trading¹⁷

By 1840, Palmerston had sent a fleet to the mouth of the Canton River, demanding compensation for the opium that had been destroyed and Britain's right to trade. Canton was blockaded. Nanking and Shanghai fell in 1842 and on 29 August 1842, the British forced the Chinese to accept treaty terms, which were the first "imposed on China in a century of humiliation"¹⁸.

Treaties with the West

Through the Treaty of Nanking, Hong Kong (derived, according to *Hobson-Jobson* from "Hiang Kiang": "fragrant waterway") was ceded to Britain. Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai were to be opened to British trade and residence. China was to indemnify Britain with 21,000,000 dollars (the value of the dollar (*tael*) varied between 6s. 8d. in 1814 and 3s. 2d. in 1894; the value of the indemnity therefore must have been about £5,000,000). Customs dues were to be arranged equitably and the Hong system was abolished. There was no mention of opium. In the following year, the supplementary Treaty of the Bogue secured for Britain the "most favoured nation" treatment, which guaranteed that any additional privileges or immunities granted to any other power thereafter would automatically be enjoyed by British subjects.

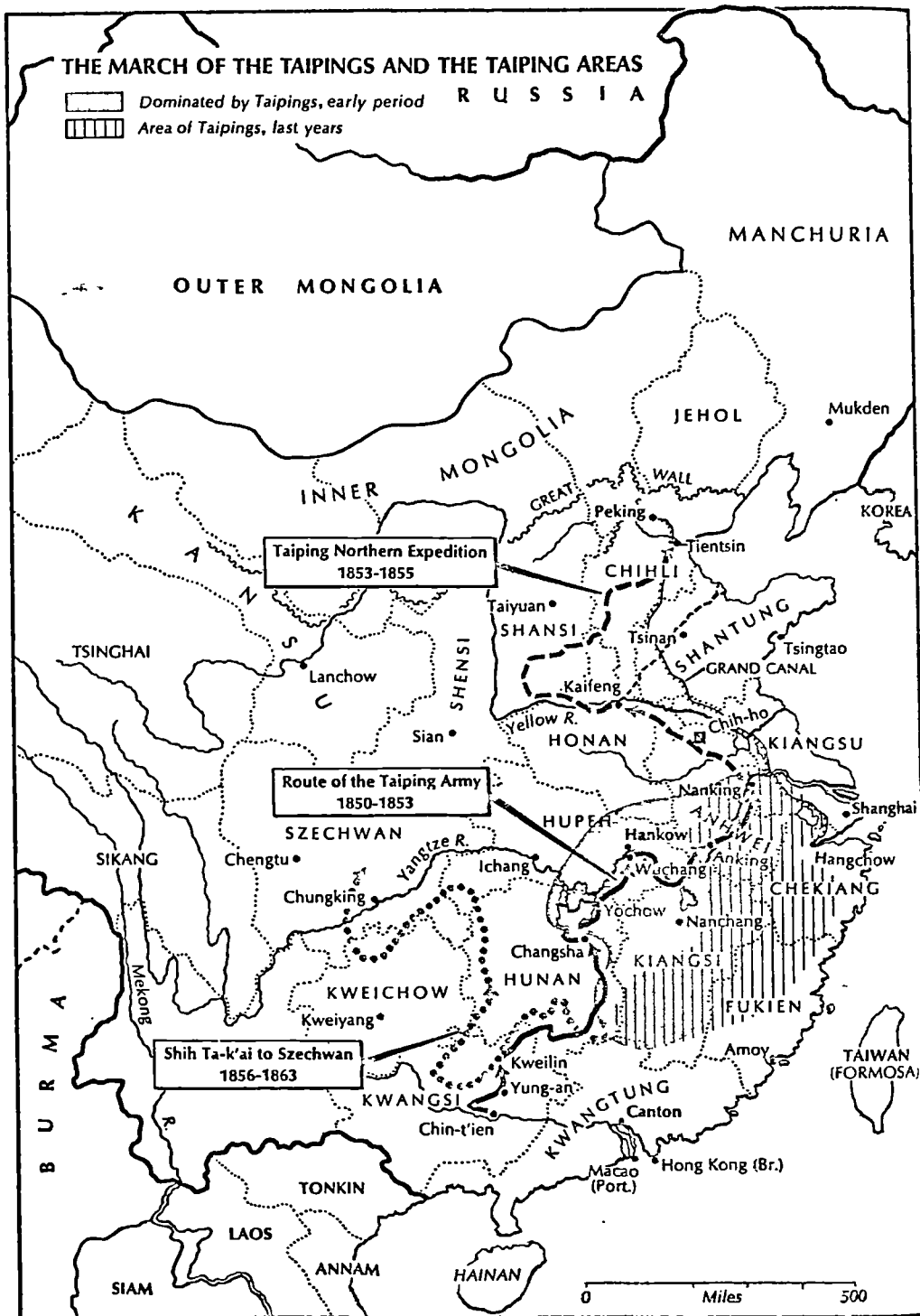
These treaties encouraged others (notably the French and the Americans) to negotiate with the Chinese. The Americans at Wanghsia and the French at Whampoa, signed treaties in 1844. American commercial interests were to be protected¹⁹ and the French were permitted to establish Catholic missions at the Treaty ports and to proselytise without interference from the Government²⁰. (Louis Philippe had sent a mission to China in 1841 to investigate the commercial possibilities and to exercise a French presence in the region²¹).

The effect of these Treaties, was considerable in the West. British industry believed that the Chinese market was limitless. According to McAleavy, full production for the cotton mills was envisaged through selling cotton nightcaps to the Chinese. A cutlery firm sent a vast shipment of knives and forks, and a London musical instrument maker believed that one in every two hundred Chinese girls could be persuaded to learn the piano. A sample consignment of pianos, together with an arsenal of cutlery occupied warehouse space in Hong Kong for years²². Apart from the cultural implications of such commercial zeal, some Chinese merchants were still engrossed in the opium traffic with its implications for their purchasing power. In Canton alone, five or six hundred shops were selling the drug. Without the East India Company's trade in opium the outlook for British trade would have remained poor²³.

The Taip'ing rebellion and internal instability

This was a period for unrest for China: floods, drought, plagues of insects, the crushing indemnity, peasant uprisings, the Taip'ing rebellion, and the rebellion in Shanghai of the "Small Sword Society" (an anti-Manchu organisation), which a combined French-Manchu force subdued in 1855.

The Taip'ing rebellion in particular was described in *The Times* on 30 August 1853 as "one of the most important and remarkable movements of mass protest in history". Its reasons were economic, political, cultural and religious. Its aim was the setting up of the Taip'ing T'ien-kuo (the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace). Nanking became the rebels' capital and a large area as far as Wu-ch'ang (in Kiangsi) and Ch'ang-sha (in Hunan) came under their control. Their aims included the equal distribution of land, equality between men and nations and a measure of industrialisation. S.Y.Teng maintains that "a sound



THE MARCH OF THE TAIP'INGS AND THE TAIP'ING AREAS
 Source: p.280. I.C.Y.Hsü. *The Rise of Modern China.*

knowledge of the rebellion is indispensable for an understanding of twentieth century China²⁴. Taip'ing belonged to the total picture of China which confronted the Western powers. "Chinese" Gordon (later of Khartoum), at the head of the Government's Ever-Victorious Army contributed substantially to the defeat of Taip'ing in 1864²⁵.

The "Arrow" Affair

Because of her industrial and commercial expansion, Britain was far more conspicuous in China than any other nation, but in the 1850s, Louis Napoleon, wishing to assert the power of France overseas, included China and Vietnam in his expansionist plans. Hoping for stronger footholds in the region, Britain and France together continued their pressure for diplomatic representation in Peking. North China was still barred and access to Canton denied. The *Arrow* incident (coupled with the murder of a French missionary in Kwangsi)²⁶ in 1856, provided Britain and France with an excuse to act.

The *Arrow* was a Chinese owned "lorcha" (a vessel with a European shaped hull and a Chinese rig), registered in Hong Kong, with a British captain, and flying the British flag. The twelve members of the Chinese crew were arrested for piracy and smuggling in October 1856. In the struggle, the flag was hauled down. Parkes, the British consul in Canton, under the instructions of Sir John Bowring, the Governor General of Hong Kong, protested at this "insult", and demanded an apology, which was not forthcoming. As a result, the British occupied the Bogue ports and shelled Canton. Later, one thousand British troops seized Canton, without the approval of the British government. The Cantonese retaliated by sacking foreign business houses and in 1857, Canton was placed under an Anglo-French military government which was to last for three years. Yeh Ming-ch'en, the commissioner for Canton, was arrested and sent to

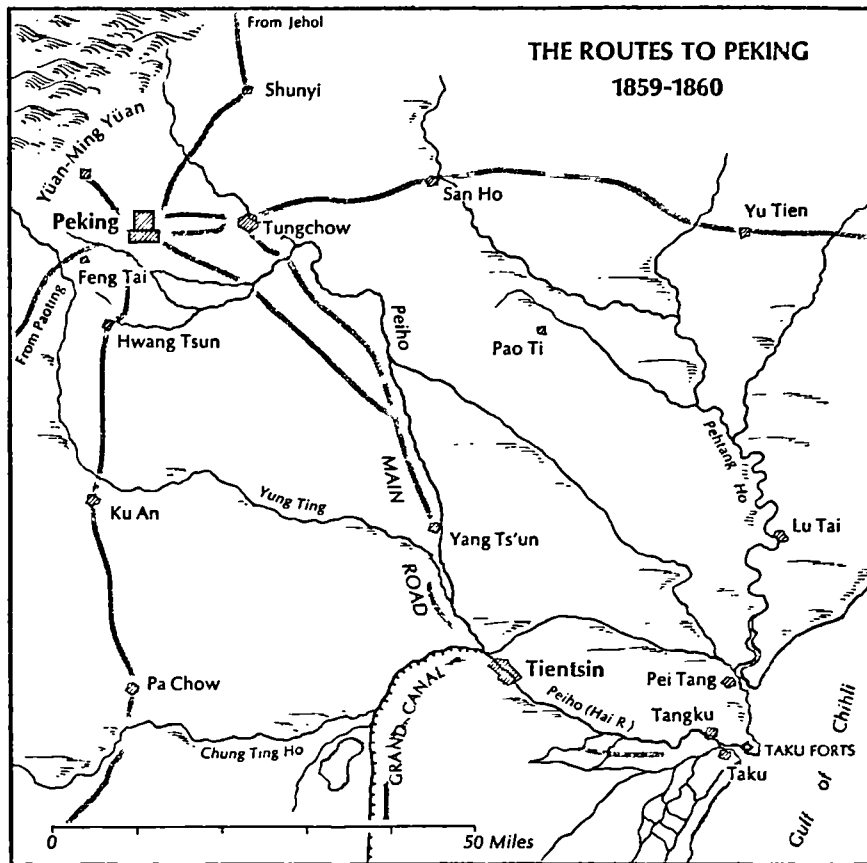
India where he died in 1859²⁷. Yeh's policy was typical of the impracticality of the Chinese authorities. In his plight, he had sought advice from the Chinese equivalent of the ouija board and had been "recommended" to adopt a course of total inaction²⁸. The Imperial Court did not show any signs of recognising the seriousness of the situation either. When the English, French, Russian and American ministers sent notes to the Court, seeking the appointment of a counsellor with plenipotentiary powers to meet them in Shanghai, the Emperor replied:

"The grand counsellors participate only in domestic administration, there is no precedent for them to concern themselves with diplomatic affairs, which should be discussed by the authorities at the national frontiers"²⁹.

The Treaties of Aigun, Tientsin and Peking

The four powers accepted this procedure. A Commissioner met the English, French and American envoys in Canton. The Russian envoy was met by the imperial agent at Aigun in Heilung Kiang, on the Russian border. A six day meeting at Aigun ended with a mock bombardment of the town by the Russians. The agent was reduced to a state of terror and accepted the Russian terms in May 1858 (the Treaty of Aigun), which related chiefly to the control of the Amur and Ussuri rivers, in case of the possible invasion of Manchuria by Britain. This area is still in dispute between China and Russia.

Hundreds of miles to the south, gunfire also accompanied British and French diplomacy. Early in 1858, the British and French fleets were ordered north from Canton to the Pei-ho river. The Taku forts were sacked and the invaders advanced to Tientsin. China made separate treaties with the British and the French, their demands for special facilities in commerce, diplomatic representation in Peking (and for the French, complete freedom of movement for missionaries) being met. The Treaties of Tientsin were to be ratified a year later. The Emperor, however, was still hopeful that European legations in Peking could be prevented and it was clear by



THE ROUTES TO PEKING: 1859-1860

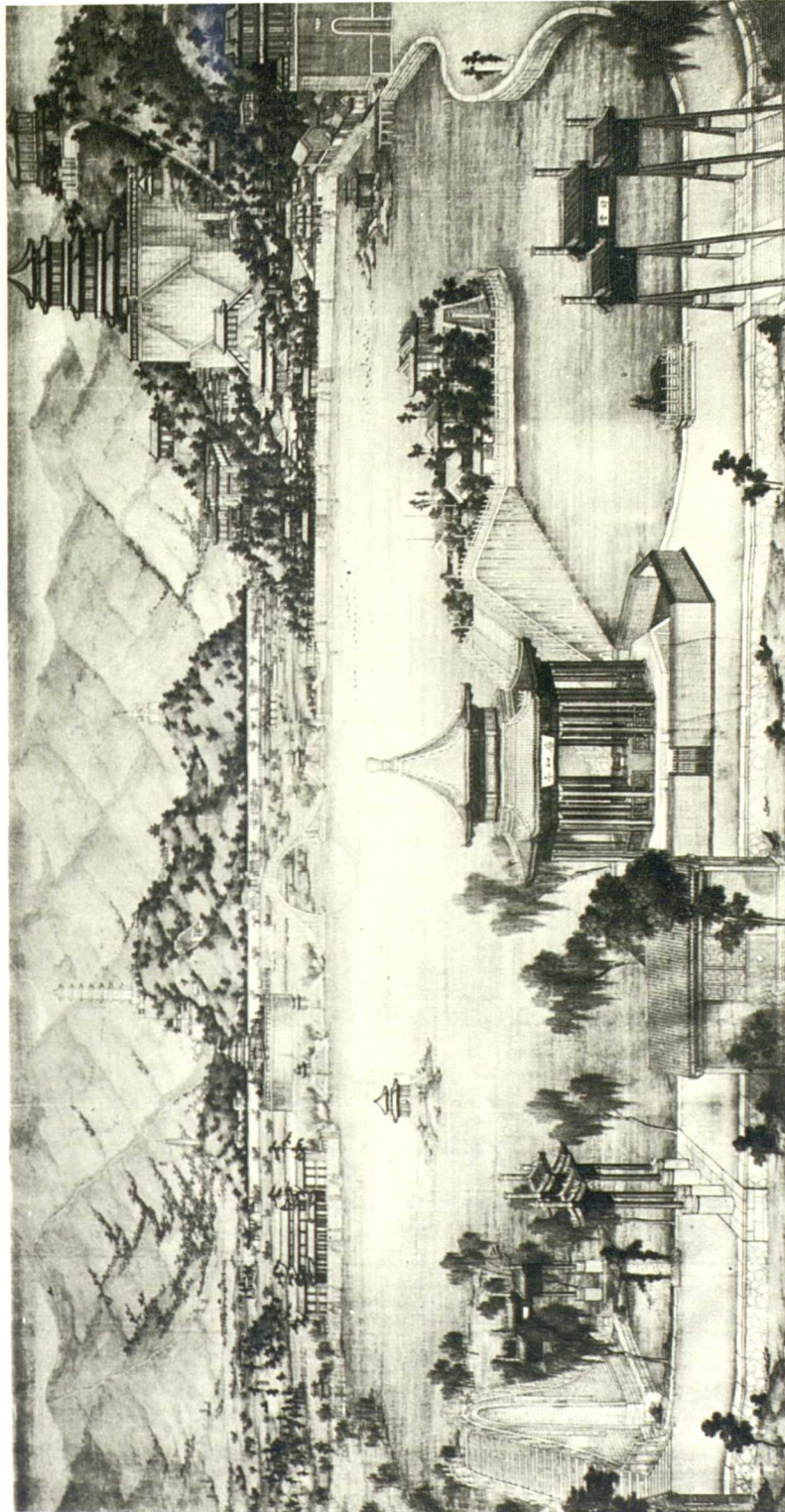
Source: p.262. I.C.Y.Hsü. *The Rise of Modern China.*

1859, that the Anglo-French demands were not going to be ratified. A Royal Navy flotilla was sent to Taku, only to find that the river was blocked. It withdrew with heavy losses. In July 1860, the Anglo-French forces returned, with 200 warships and transports, 10,000 British and 6,000 French troops³⁰. The Taku forts were cut off. Tientsin was entered peacefully and the two armies advanced towards Peking.

There were several military engagements with the Mongolian general Seng-Ko-lin-ch'in (called "Sam Collinson" by the British troops). One which is occasionally recalled by the French was the Battle of Pali K'iao. Pélissier calls it "the campaign's only battle worthy of the name"³¹. It is mentioned little in works of reference, even though the French commander, Montauban was given the title, Comte de Pali K'iao. Cordier quotes D'Hérisson (Montauban's secretary) who described the battle as taking place eight *li* (a *li* is a measure of 500 yards) from Tungchow, on 21 September 1860, near "le pont de marbre qui traverse le canal conduisant du Pei-Ho aux fossés de Pé King d'où le nom de Pali K'iao (pont à huit *li*)"³². The French routed a Chinese army of 30,000, according to Cordier, with only twenty French injured and three killed.

Meanwhile the British were advancing on Peking, when Lord Elgin, the British plenipotentiary, heard that Parkes, the British consul in Canton, had been summarily arrested because British soldiers had kidnapped the prefect of Tientsin³³. He ordered the army to march on Peking and to burn the Summer Palace³⁴. For this act, Elgin has incurred the opprobrium of history, and the charred ruins still remain to remind the Chinese of the brutish barbarians.

The Chinese had little alternative but to agree to the Treaty of Peking and to ratify the Tientsin treaties. Tientsin was to be opened to trade; Kowloon was ceded to Britain and French missionaries were permitted to buy land for whatever use they chose. The indemnity was settled at eight million dollars for both Britain and France, and the



THE SUMMER PALACE
(late Ch'ing dynasty: painting on paper)

Source: Plate 46. I.C.Y.Hsü. *The Rise of Modern China*.

ambitions of Britain and France in China halted.

Prince Kung wrote to the Emperor, who had fled from the capital:

"If we think the barbarians are sincere we shall be greatly deceived. They (the Russians) talk of helping us to put down the rebels, but say that we must not let the French and British know. In my opinion all the barbarians have the nature of brute beasts. The British are most unruly, but the Russians are the most cunning ... First of all we must extirpate the rebels: then we must settle accounts with Russia. Britain's turn comes last"³⁵.

Further foreign aggression

When the Taip'ing revolution came to an end in 1864, China's rulers became obsessed with their "self-strengthening" movement. It failed because it had no "grass roots". It barely scratched the surface of modernisation and failed to achieve an advance in industrialisation³⁶. The movement also coincided with a period of intensified foreign penetration. Japan invaded Formosa for a few months in 1874; the British attempted to enter Yunnan in 1875; Russia occupied Ili in Sinkiang, 1871-81; the French seized Annam and were at war with China in 1884-85 (see pp.215-16); Japan entered Korea and was at war with China in 1894-95.

China did not remain entirely cut off from the West. An informal Chinese mission visited European capitals, including London and Paris in 1866; and there was another mission from 1868-70 to America, London, Berlin, St.Petersburg, Brussels and Rome.

Foreign diplomats and the Emperor

The Emperor continued to refuse to receive foreign diplomats, even though by Treaty they had been in residence in Peking since 1861. Not until 29 June 1873 were they received, after having been kept waiting for three and a half hours, since 5.30 a.m. They were given an audience of thirty minutes duration in a pavilion, which was later realised to be one used for the reception of tributary envoys³⁷. It was not until 1877, that Chinese legations were established abroad.

Anti-foreign feeling

The continued harassment of China, especially by Britain, France, Russia and Japan, in the second half of the nineteenth century led Chinese scholars to believe that China was to become a second Africa. The Manchu dynasty was increasingly criticised. Indeed as McAleavy suggests, Chinese historians today "attribute a large share of the calamities of their nineteenth century history to the fact that at the moment when China came face to face with the western world, her throne was occupied by aliens, whose interests were not those of her own people"³⁸.

In June 1898, a period of social, economic and cultural reforms began, known as The Hundred Days. It proved insufficient to preserve internal peace. In Shantung province, in particular, an anti-foreign movement began. Foreigners in general, Christian missionaries in particular and Chinese Christians especially, were the subject of growing distaste. The "Boxers" (so-called by Europeans) were the most active group in Shantung. They specialised in ritual pugilism and the Big Sword, and according to legend their bodies were bullet-proof and sword-proof. At the end of 1899, they began to concentrate their energies in the Peking Province. Churches and schools were set on fire. Christian converts were killed. They encouraged the belief (not without foundation) that missionaries entered the country on the coat tails of the armies. They also believed that missionary hospitals were places of devilish practice and that parents who brought their children for baptism would be rewarded and bribed. (The truth of the last accusation was that some Catholic orders, mindful of the welfare of the "heathen", did reward those who brought waifs and strays to be baptised. This led to the kidnapping of children for profit)³⁹. Among a number of incidents towards the end of the century, which led up to these events, perhaps the most famous had been the Tientsin Massacre.

The Tientsin Massacre (1870)

One day in 1870, the French consul in Tientsin became quick tempered in the summer heat and ran amok with a pistol. He was lynched and the French Catholic mission was sacked. Twelve French priests and nuns, three Russian traders, two French officials and others were killed. The disaster came to be known as the Tientsin Massacre. Restitution was made. The culprits were arrested and sentenced to death or hard labour. The Emperor sent a mission of apology to Thiers, as provisional President of France, in 1871⁴⁰.

The violent attitude towards foreigners that developed was matched by the disdain of some foreigners for China and its people. Father L. Richard, a French Jesuit wrote in *Geography of the Chinese Empire* (1908):

"Proud and conceited with his own superiority, he hates Foreigners because their excellence is conspicuous. He is not particularly clean in his person, habits or surroundings and is rather indifferent about smells and noises. He has no lofty ideal of life, and is deficient especially in the higher moral qualities: sense of duty, trustworthiness, sacrifice for the general welfare, public spirit, enthusiasm and active courage in danger"⁴¹.

It is a typically insensitive observation, especially as it was published in Shanghai (see further note 41).

The "Boxer" Rebellion

Between June and August 1900, the "Boxers" besieged the foreign legations in Peking and murdered Japanese and German diplomats. They burned churches and foreign houses, killed Chinese Christians and exhumed the graves of early Jesuits, including that of Matteo Ricci. The imperial government ordered provincial governors to join forces with the "Boxers". This amounted to a declaration of war by the Dowager Empress Tz'u-hsi against the major western powers and Japan⁴². Meanwhile a large allied force of 16,000 men (Japanese, Russians, British, Americans and French) advanced on Peking. Li comments: "After the allied troops had arrived in

Peking, there were large scale massacre, rape and looting, the like of which had not been seen since the days of the Mongols"⁴³. The imperial court fled to Sian, south of the Yellow River in Shensi Province. The Chinese may now regard the Rebellion as "trivial"⁴⁴, but the potential seriousness of the situation and the resulting aftermath cannot be so easily dismissed. This was the nearest that China came to dismemberment by the West. Only disagreement among the allies prevented this happening. Instead, by September 1901, the punitive treaty, known as "the Boxer Protocol" had been enforced. The clauses included reparations of £67,500,000 (Britain was to receive 11.25% of the total and France, 15.75%);⁴⁵ the destruction of all defences from Taku to Peking, the right of foreign powers to station troops on legation sites. One of the products of the scramble for territory in China had been the so-called "Open Door" policy in 1899. This remained the basis for American foreign policy until 1949, when China closed the "door". It was an attempt to safeguard the integrity of China while at the same time preserving "spheres of interest" for the Western powers.

From Sun Yat-sen to Mao Tse-tung

Fed by a hatred of centuries of autocracy, oppression by the Manchus and the encroachment on China by foreign powers, revolutionaries coalesced in support of Sun Yat-sen. A westernised medical doctor, Sun had spent much of his early life outside China. He had been acknowledged as a republican leader since the 1890s and took a leading part in the formation of the Alliance for Chinese Revolution in 1905. He was responsible for eight uprisings⁴⁶, culminating in the decisive revolution of 1911 and his return from London to assume power as President on 1 January 1912.

The years that followed saw the struggle for unification. Wars and power struggles continued. Britain supported Tibet after the 1910 revolt against China and a proposed Treaty in 1914 was never signed. Russia entered Outer Mongolia in 1914 (China regaining control in 1919).

Japan presented the Twenty-One Demands in 1915, acceptance of which would have reduced China to a Japanese protectorate. In 1917, encouraged by the American government to qualify for a seat at the eventual peace conference, China joined the allies against Germany in the European War. After the War, the Four Power Pacific Treaty and the Nine Power Open Door Treaty, in 1921, helped to preserve international relations in the region until the 1930s.

When Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, he was succeeded by Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist régime. The occupation of Manchuria by Japan followed in 1931. (The pressure of Japan's growing population had pushed her again into a policy of expansion in Asia). Shanghai was attacked in 1932 and full-scale war broke out in 1937. What Japan called the "China Incident" was a life and death struggle for the Chinese. The Communists had been growing in strength since the 1920s and had established themselves as a major force during the Long March from Kiangsi to Shensi in 1934-35. They made common cause with the nationalists against the Japanese, but by the end of World War II in 1945 controlled large areas in former Japanese occupied territory. The final struggle with Chiang Kai-shek began. Civil war culminated in the establishment of the People's Republic in October 1949, under Mao Tse-tung.

It is nineteenth century Chinese history that has been described in the main. The presentation of that history in schoolbooks is remarkably sparse.

CHINA IN BRITISH SCHOOLBOOKS

The following sentence occurs in a book by Mears (1957 edition) which is still used in some secondary schools:

"The history of China does not come within the scope of this book. Chinese civilisation has no connection with Europe: it is a thing apart"⁴⁷.

Clearly there is a sense in which this statement is true. Yet Britain and France, politically and economically, were involved dramatically in China, during the nineteenth century. This involvement has been veiled in both countries. British schoolbook writers have confined themselves traditionally to brief references to the 1839-42 war, the *Arrow* incident, occasionally the sacking of the Summer Palace, and the "Boxer Rebellion".

Nineteenth century attitudes

Magnall (1869 edition) attributed the causes of the Chinese wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60 to "the disinclination of the Chinese to hold intercourse with foreign nations (which) has constantly led them to disregard all treaties entered into with foreign powers"⁴⁸. Mrs. Markham, (also writing for juniors) in the edition published in 1865, had looked at the conflict in a more critical way:

"The English Government, not reflecting that the conduct of the Chinese emperor was wise as regarded (*sic*) the saving of his people from the effect of a deadly curse" (i.e. opium) "looked at it only as an interference with the freedom of commerce"⁴⁹.

Later, she referred to the sacking of the Summer Palace:

"To avenge this breach of faith" (the arrest of Parkes), "the combined French and English marched into the interior ... Pekin was taken; the summer palace of the Emperor burned"⁵⁰.

Other writers spoke tersely. Cooper wrote (for senior pupils, 1854 edition) that the Chinese in 1839, behaved with "craft and perfidy"⁵¹. Gleig (juniors, 1879) remarked that they "were brought to their senses" and that "a war followed in which the British were victorious. China was compelled to cede Hong Kong and to pay an indemnity for the opium"⁵².

Hong Kong was regarded with mixed feelings. Collier wrote (for seniors) in 1864, that "an unhealthy climate ... a treacherous native population ... those violent typhoons ... make Hong Kong a somewhat unpleasant colony"⁵³. In his *History of the British Empire* (also for

seniors) he pointed out that "British merchants, who had made great profits by the trade, still smuggled (opium) into the country"⁵⁴. In the same passage, he gave no reason for the declaration of war.

The Graphic History of the British Empire (1890) was based on Collier's book and referred to "the great anger of the Chinese authorities"⁵⁵ in the 1840 war and then to "a small native ship, called the Arrow" which was boarded "in search of a pirate". There is a reference to the bombardment of Canton in 1857⁵⁶.

Pringle (1899) explained for Local examination students that the first was "was caused by the Chinese destroying cargoes of opium belonging to our merchants; the second, in 1856, in which we took Canton, was on account of an insult to the British flag; the third, in 1860, in which aided by the French, we stormed Peking itself, was occasioned by the refusal of the Chinese to admit our ambassador according to treaty to their "Celestial" capital. The results of these wars have been the opening up of China to commerce, and the cession of Hong Kong and Kowloon to Britain"⁵⁷.

The Opium Wars were attributed by these writers to the fault of the Chinese, Mrs. Markham being a possible exception. But some writers were hostile to these Wars with China. Curtis (1860), for instance, wrote: "we must not disguise the fact that the war was undertaken on pretexts that were largely, if not entirely unjustifiable"⁵⁸. Forty years later, McCarty (1899) was also outspoken:

"As human nature is constituted, it becomes very easy for most of us to find excuses for the traffic out of which our uncles are to become wealthy and of whom we are to be in great part the heir"⁵⁹.

The Elementary School Readers devoted most of their attention overseas to India. *The Heroic Reader*, however, referred to China:

"The Chinese hate the English ... they hate all foreigners... Then there was a war between England and China ... You would think that the Chinese would not want to be forced to do this as it is better for them to trade with other nations!" British missionaries in China were there "to try and make the Chinese happier and better"⁶⁰.

These sentiments were in line with the tendency of the Readers to inculcate positive patriotic attitudes. *The Patriotic History of the British Empire* (1900) put it firmly when describing the events of 1840 and 1856: "The Chinese were beaten"⁶¹.

Attitudes in the early twentieth century

While the jingoistic fervour at the end of the nineteenth century influenced schoolbooks, attitudes to British policy in China were certainly critical in some, even though references to Chinese history were confined to the wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60, with occasional references to the sacking of the Summer Palace. Hassall (seniors, 1901) suggested that "the British public were ill-informed" about the 1839 incident, and that the *Arrow* affair was mishandled by Parkes, the British consul, and Bowring, the Governor of Hong Kong⁶². He also maintained that the Chinese Governor of Canton refused the "unjust and illegal demands" of the British and "he naturally refused to apologise". There are references to the censure motion against Palmerston which was carried by sixteen votes⁶³, and the "Boxer" Rising also⁶⁴. Fearenside (1902) supported Palmerston, however because of his protection of British subjects in 1856⁶⁵.

Buckley (juniors, 1904 edition) referred to "a war (that had been) going on since 1839, because British traders sold opium to the Chinese against the wish of their government" and to "a war in China" in 1856. Later, she described the "Boxer" Rebellion: "The Empress-Dowager, a determined and scheming woman, tried to drive Europeans out of China. Therefore, she secretly encouraged a large body of rebels called "Boxers", and a massacre of Europeans, chiefly missionaries, took place, June 1900"⁶⁶. Although the subheading was "Massacres in China", the savagery was underplayed. The context was omitted, The murder of the diplomats was omitted. The term "Boxers" (as so frequently, ever since) was unexplained.

Ince and Gilbert's *Outlines of English History* for seniors was republished in 1906. It is interesting to see the change that took place in this book, over half a century, in its reporting of the Opium Wars. The 1855 edition (89th thousand) merely noted:

"The Chinese were induced to enter into a treaty of recompense for £2½ million's worth of opium belonging to British merchants, which they had seized"⁶⁷.

By 1906 (651st thousand), this tentative statement (e.g. "induced") had been rewritten as follows:

"The Chinese disapproved and had forbidden the importation of opium into China. British merchants having ignored this prohibition, the Chinese in 1839, confiscated six million pounds worth of their opium. A war followed in which the British were victorious. China was compelled to cede Hong Kong, to pay an indemnity for the opium, and to throw open Canton and other "treaty ports" to British trade"⁶⁸.

Patriotic enthusiasm in this passage inflated the value of the opium, which is generally assessed at about three million pounds worth. The six million pounds mentioned (the 1855 edition only claimed £2½ million) is possibly a confusion with the six million Chinese silver dollars paid in compensation for the surrendered opium (the total indemnity exacted was 21 million dollars (see p.166))⁶⁹.

The *Arrow*, "unlawfully sailing under British colours" was seized by the Chinese. "This action was treated as an insult to the British flag, and the British to revenge it, bombarded Canton"⁷⁰. In 1906, able to report the "Boxer" Rising, the authors wrote:

"In 1900 an anti-foreign "Boxer" rising took place in China, which was openly encouraged by the Chinese Government"⁷¹.

"Anti-foreign", "Boxer", "openly encouraged" were all unexplained.

Hayens (juniors, 1907) was aware of change. Of the Chinese, he wrote:

"Awakened from their long sleep, they are learning western ways, building ships, buying the newest guns and training their soldiers. It is not unlikely that in the future, the European nations will be compelled to treat with China on more equal terms than they have done in the past"⁷².

So far then, 1839,1856,1860 (very occasionally) and 1900 were the years selected for special comment. While critics like Hassall existed attitudes in general were brief and severe. Fletcher and Kipling omitted reference to China altogether⁷³, and Lady Callcott ignored China in the 1913 edition of *Little Arthur's History of England*, having mentioned "a war in China" (*sic*) in the 1893 edition⁷⁴.

Attitudes between the Wars

After the First World War, Hughes (seniors,1919), who was more paternalistic than anti-Chinese, thought that "their demands for the execution of all British opium merchants, were unreasonable. They made a brave resistance, but had no chance of success against European weapons"⁷⁵. The source for the alleged demands for the execution was not given. It did not exist. In fact, execution had been demanded for the addicts and the Chinese dealers in opium⁷⁶. His attitude, however, was not condemnatory of the Chinese. He believed that the 1856 war could have been avoided⁷⁷.

Munro (seniors,1922) explained the first Opium War in one sentence. It was "waged in order to obtain greater security for trade, especially the opium trade"⁷⁸. He mentioned the *Arrow* incident: Bowring "demanded redress and also the better enforcement of former treaties with regard to trade. Hostilities began in November"⁷⁹.

Mowat (seniors,1931) devoted a paragraph to the two wars. The first was attributed to the confiscation of opium, the second to the seizure of *Arrow*. The results were "the cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain"; the cooperation of the French in the 1856-60 war; "the capture of the Taku forts and the occupation of Tientsin and Peking", and after a sentence on the sacking of the Summer Palace: "As a result of the war certain cities and ports of China were opened to foreign trade, and diplomatic

ministers of the Powers were for the first time established at Peking"⁸⁰.

Warner and Marten (senior boys, 1932) did not regard the Opium Wars as sufficiently important to be included in the tables of Chief Events, at the end of the book. In the text, however, they described how "a Chinese Commissioner dealt in very summary fashion with British subjects who, with the connivance of minor officials, were smuggling opium into China". The second war "was caused by the fact that Chinese officials had insulted our flag ... Great Britain was aided by France, and eventually China, after the Summer Palace at Peking had been destroyed, agreed to pay a large indemnity and to allow European ministers to reside at Peking"⁸¹. They included a reference to the "Boxers". Describing the whittling away of Chinese territory in the second half of the nineteenth century, they commented:

"Chinamen", (a nineteenth century word, not usually found in schoolbooks) "perhaps naturally, resented these foreign activities in their country, and the result was the creation of a patriotic society known to foreigners as the *Boxers*, who wanted all white men to be exterminated".

(The term "Boxers" is not explained apart from an inadequate footnote: "The Chinese name was I Ho Ch'nan or "Righteous Harmony Fists"). The siege of the foreign legations and the collapse of the Manchu dynasty were referred to somewhat contemptuously: "The succeeding period witnessed the collapse of orderly government and the unending struggles of rival military chieftains for supremacy"⁸².

A.P. Newton (1933) in his *Junior History* mentioned only the annexation of Hong Kong:

"There was a good deal of trouble about the valuable China trade ... for the Chinese did not like foreigners and tried to keep them out. In 1842, to have a port where our merchants would not be subject to the annoyances and dangers that they suffered in Canton, China was compelled to cede the then barren and almost uninhabited island of Hong Kong, which had a good harbour"⁸³.

Newton did not refer to opium or to the War at all. Dislike of foreigners by the Chinese, "annoyances and dangers" experienced by the British, were the reasons given for the tension between Britain and China.

Attitudes from 1948 to 1964

Carter and Mears (School Certificate, 1948 edition) supported British action in 1840 (see note 47): "Palmerston ... took vigorous action; he sent an armed expedition up the Canton River. The war which followed was completely successful, and the Chinese at length signed the Treaty of Nanking (1842), an important landmark in the history of the East, since it opened China to European trade"⁸⁴.

Later, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, "European development was pushed forward. The French conquered Indo-China; the British completed the conquest of Burma (1886).... In China, European penetration was pushed on, and all the powers scrambled for 'leases' ... Great Britain had done well in the colonial race"⁸⁵.

The edition of this book, published a year after Indian independence, showed little appreciation of the actions of the European powers against China. Indeed, China's history falls away into obscurity; a footnote on the 1911 Republic⁸⁶, a sentence on the Japanese occupation of Manchuria⁸⁷, a brief reference to the 1937-45 Japanese war⁸⁸. The book, which is a history of Britain, inevitably chose events which impinged on British history, but there is no mention of the events of 1856, 1860 or 1900, (confirming the view expressed by Mears himself previously (see page 175)).

Richards and Hunt (seniors, 1950) gave as reasons for the 1839-42 war, the Chinese attitude to foreigners, the determination of the British to enjoy unrestricted trade, the Emperor's wish to restrict the import of opium and the draining of the Chinese economy. They described Palmerston's actions ironically. The seizure of British-owned opium "was exactly the

kind of affair Palmerston rejoiced to handle, for British subjects were in need of protection and the opponent was no match for the Royal Navy"⁸⁹. While over the *Arrow*, "Palmerston took a strong line, and a British squadron shelled some forts near Canton to persuade the Chinese to apologise"⁹⁰. "But if Parliament was momentarily against Palmerston, the country was not, for nothing pleased the electorate better than putting foreigners in their places"⁹¹. (Palmerston was defeated in the House of Commons, but won the election). They referred briefly to the capture of Peking, made no reference to the "Boxer" Rising, referred to the rise of nationalism in Asia⁹² and the existence of American bases in China in the Second World War⁹³.

Lindsay and Washington (11-16 years, 1952) were critical of the *Arrow* incident. Palmerston was "in his most high handed mood ... The *Arrow's* right to fly the British flag was questionable and the ship was undoubtedly engaged in piracy, but these facts did not deter Palmerston from vigorously defending the British response to the Chinese 'insult'"⁹⁴. They omitted the "Boxers", but referred to Russia's aggression in the 1890s and the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902⁹⁵. The next reference was to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931. Britain had remained uncommitted apart from condemning the invasion. "Many English people had thought that China was too remote a country to justify our taking risks on its behalf"⁹⁶. Finally, the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek by Mao Tse-tung was noted in a sentence, against the background of the spread of Communism in South-East Asia, which "presented a serious challenge to the democratic powers"⁹⁷.

Derry and Jarman (1956) writing about *The Making of Britain*, for seniors, offered a few references to trade with China⁹⁸ and it is in this context that the first Opium War was presented:

"After our Chinese War of 1840-2, China was opened to British and other European trade, and our exports to China increased from £936,000 in 1850 to £6,138,000 in 1870"⁹⁹.

Apart from this they ignored China.

A revised edition of Happold's *This Modern Age* (1960) carried a chapter of four pages on "The Emergence of the New China"¹⁰⁰. Happold had been interested in world history for many years (his first schoolbook *The Adventure of Man* having been published in 1926). He described China's exclusiveness and her inability in the nineteenth century to "hold out against the military force of the Western powers"¹⁰¹, but passed rapidly from the Manchus to Sun Yat-sen, to China's internal conflicts, to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and finally to the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek after World War II, by Mao Tse-tung. Happold went on: "The phenomenal rise of a Communist China from weakness and disunity to great potential strength inevitably brought her into rivalry with the USA ... This American-Chinese rivalry is a danger to the world"¹⁰². Although Happold's treatment of individual topics is brief, his importance lies in the world perspectives that he brought to teaching (see p.49).

The approach of Southgate (14-15 years, 1963 edition) is less satisfactory. Although China had a civilised past, her enormous population constituted "the Yellow Peril". There are brief references to the Opium Wars, the bombarding of the Taku forts, the Treaty of Tientsin, the sacking of the Summer Palace ("The Chinese were forced to give in"), the Boxer Rebellion and the 1911 revolution. As for contemporary China, he saw a danger in the world-wide spread of communism, but believed that because of famines and floods "it will hardly be possible for China to undertake schemes of world conquest"¹⁰³.

Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse ("O" level, 1964 edition) devoted four paragraphs to the Opium Wars, the Taip'ing rebellion and Gordon. Their explanation of the opium trade was superficial: "The Chinese Mandarins allowed the prohibited trade, if they were well bribed for breaking their Emperor's laws"¹⁰⁴. "Toward 1840, the Emperor Tao-kwang realised that to exchange sound goods for an enervating and expensive drug was bad for China"¹⁰⁵. "A vigorous Viceroy of Canton destroyed a

quantity of the drug which British merchants had imported but upon which they refused to pay bribes to the Mandarins. The British, not unnaturally, felt a good deal of contempt for Chinese corruption. The Chinese despised them with sufficient complacency to attack British shipping with antiquated junks when the merchants withdrew from Canton. The attack called forth retaliation by British warships. For two years a foolish war went on"¹⁰⁶. In addition to the superficiality, there were errors in the text: (a) the direct confiscation of the opium by Lin had nothing to do with the non-payment of bribes; (b) the event occurred not simply because of Chinese corruption in the way in which the authors infer; (c) the attack on British shipping is not referred to by Li Chien-Nung, Dun J.Li, Hsü or McAleavy. The murder of a villager in Kowloon by English sailors, in July 1839, was the occasion of Chinese war junks sailing towards the British naval force at Hong Kong. According to Dun J.Li, the British fired first,¹⁰⁷ (possibly the two events have become confused); (d) it is a matter of conjecture as to why the adjective "antiquated" is applied to the junks; (e) the "two years" might refer to the period between the arrival of the British expeditionary force in June 1840 to the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, but the events described by the authors were in May 1839.

The authors made brief referencess to the Taip'ing, to the *Arrow* and to subsequent events: "Chinese officials seized a British ship and refused some British demands". (Here again, there is oversimplification. *Arrow* was owned by a Chinese resident in Hong Kong, and registered with the British authorities for protection from coastal piracy. The licence had actually expired when the boarding was made. Bowring believed that there could be no protection. Parkes invoked a Hong Kong ordinance that because the expiry had taken place while the vessel was at sea, it remained registered until its return to Hong Kong)¹⁰⁸ (see also p.168).

"Palmerston ordered the bombardment of Canton - an unnecessary use of

force for which he was much criticised - and war began again, in which the French joined (1857). ... The Chinese made the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and promptly broke it ... the allies burned the Summer Palace at Peking and, in some areas looted". They described these two events and the torturing of European envoys as "two evil incidents"¹⁰⁹. Then: "European influence rapidly developed. Missionaries, schools, traders all increased. "Shanghai grew into a Western city" (*sic*). "Chinese Gordon gained an almost legendary fame for his leadership of Chinese troops in crushing the Taip'ing rebellion"¹¹⁰. The Taip'ing rebellion, mentioned twice, is not explained. Later there is a reference to the occupation of Manchuria, (the occasion being used to demonstrate the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations),¹¹¹ and a reference to "China, communist since the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek in 1949"¹¹².

This is one of the few British books (in contrast to French books) which has the benefit of a university historian's expertise. ("The remoulding and extension, in the light of recent scholarship, have been the work of Mr.D.K.Fieldhouse")¹¹³. It is regrettable that there is so much to criticise in these passages on China, especially in a book which after 10 printings was published in a new edition in 1964.

A change in attitudes from 1964-1971

McGuffie, in his *History for Today* series for seniors, carried no mention of China in vol.3 (1963). Vol.5 (1964), however, included a chapter on *China in the Modern World*. This dealt with the history of China, leaving many questions unanswered, particularly the reasons for the European and American presence in China in the nineteenth century. The Opium Wars, the "Boxer" rising, the fall of the Manchus, the work of Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek were all mentioned, as were the Long March of 1934-35 and the Sino-Japanese war of 1937¹¹⁴.

This book responded to the history of twentieth century China

more creatively than any of the others so far reviewed, for by the time it was published China was a world power, not to be ignored. (His treatment of nineteenth century contact between Britain and China falls within the typical pattern).

The post-World War II struggle for power was described unemotionally and accurately. Mass education, manual work, the Communes and the "great leap forward" were all mentioned¹¹⁵. McGuffie dealt also with the inability of the People's Republic of China to take its seat at the United Nations, blaming America's action in supporting Chiang Kai-shek¹¹⁶.

Williams ("O" level, 1966), also, placed China in a world setting. China has a noble history. She was beset during the nineteenth century by anti-Manchu feeling and rebellion on the one hand and western imperialism on the other¹¹⁷. Her civilisation is dealt with in some detail¹¹⁸. The problems of trade regulations, the *Kowtow* and Macartney, together with the Chinese attitude to foreigners, are all discussed as a background to the first Opium War¹¹⁹. The account of nineteenth century events virtually ends here, in volume 2 of Williams' series. In volume 3, he made it clear that the western powers and the Japanese "sliced up" Chinese territory for trading purposes and that this was one of the principal causes of the "Boxer" rising. In a few years, the Manchu dynasty collapsed. They "had brought shame to the Chinese by allowing the western imperialists to carve up their land"¹²⁰. One chapter dealt with the principal events from 1911-1949 and the birth of the People's Republic¹²¹, which is studied carefully in terms of reform and development¹²². Williams added that "America's persistent opposition to China's admission to the United Nations, which Britain supported in 1961, served to confirm China in her hatred of the West"¹²³. China's special relations with India, Tibet and Russia were also mentioned in the same section.

Dance in *The Modern World* (seniors, 1967 edition) was committed to this new approach to China. In fact, it was he who led the way (the 1967 edition being substantially the same as that published in 1941). He appears to have been the first British schoolbook writer to place the Opium Wars within the context of Macartney's diplomatic problems and the tensions that had long been building up between China and the West:

"The Chinese wanted nothing to do with white men, and when in 1793 Lord Macartney was sent to try and open up trade with them, the Chinese Emperor wrote back to the English King refusing to have anything to do with the scheme"¹²⁴.

Dance included as a source reading, part of the Emperor's reply to the British King¹²⁵. He quoted the 1839 law which made opium trading illegal, and in describing the outbreak of war in 1839-40, said that Palmerston, "one of the most warlike" of England's Foreign Secretaries, declared war "at once"¹²⁶. He mentioned the *Arrow* incident (though not by name) and the Treaty of Tientsin. He did not refer to the sacking of the Summer Palace, the Taip'ing or the "Boxers" though he wrote positively of Sun Yat-sen and later the Kuomintang¹²⁷. A brief reference to the invasion of Manchuria¹²⁸ and two paragraphs on China under Mao Tse-tung ("under Mao Tse-tung China became more and more capable of looking after itself, and its people became much more prosperous")¹²⁹ completed his treatment of China. In spite of the brevity and the omissions, the manner of presentation is fair, and free from the patriotic language which usually accompanied the description of the Opium Wars, until the end of the 1950s.

In Richards and Quick ("O" level, 1967), references to China were few. *Arrow* is the first incident which they would be expected to recall¹³⁰, (the period covered in the book being 1851-1945). They did however sketch the background of the Opium Wars:

"Chinese officials anxious to prevent change by keeping foreigners out of their empire, and European traders anxious to open up fresh and very profitable markets, had already led to the Opium War of 1839-42"¹³¹.

Later, they referred to the "imperialist ambitions fastened on China"¹³², to French developments in Cochín-China and Cambodia in the 1860s, and the operations of Britain, Germany, Russia and Japan further north. "All this, not surprisingly, produced an anti-foreign revolt among the Chinese - the "Boxer" rising of 1900" (the term, "Boxers", is explained). "This was suppressed by the European powers and an indemnity exacted"¹³³. Manchuria (1931), World War II, the permanent seat at the UN, and the victory of Mao Tse-tung in 1949 were mentioned very briefly¹³⁴.

Newth (seniors,1967) had one reference to *Arrow*¹³⁵. "Formerly, some years before this, the *Arrow* had sailed under the British Flag; then it had been sold to a Chinese merchant". (But the boat *was* sailing under the British flag. The complicated case of the *Arrow* has led to uncertainties of description among successive generations of writers).

Nash and Newth (seniors,1967) writing about *Britain in the Modern World* ignored China, apart from references to communism, Kuomintang China (their name for Taiwan) and the India-China war¹³⁶.

Some of the later writers who have been considered have brought a freshness to their task which is welcome and rewarding. This is especially true of McGuffie, Williams and Dance. The language of Clement ("0" level,1968 edition) however reverts to that of earlier generations:

"The opening of the China trade now aggravated difficulties which were bound to arise where merchants sought to open up a country that merely closed its doors and regarded all foreigners as inferiors. In particular, the Chinese government forbade the importation of opium from India into China, but was unable to prevent it. In 1840 (*sic*), it confiscated large quantities of opium and war followed. The superior arms of the West soon prevailed and in 1842 the Treaty of Nanking gave Britain the valuable island of Hong Kong and opened five Chinese ports to foreign trade"¹³⁷.

It is difficult to avoid describing this language as arrogant ("bound to arise", "merely closed its doors", "superior arms ... soon prevailed"), yet when referring to *Arrow* ("a pirate ship, manned by Chinese

and was really a Chinese vessel" (*sic*)), Clement redressed the balance a little: "It had once been registered as British and was flying the British flag. Palmerston showed up at his worst by bullying and bombard- ing the Chinese government till in 1860, it granted extra trading privileges and recognition of our officials in China"¹³⁸.

Bryant and Ecclestone (C.S.E.,1968) have produced an excellent Class Work Book (with a supporting series of background booklets) on world affairs during the period 1900-1965. There are several references to nineteenth century events in China, including some background to the "Boxer" Rising¹³⁹. The aftermath of the 1911 Revolution, the struggle between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, China's absence from the United Nations, relations with Russia and with India are also set within the context of twentieth century world history¹⁴⁰.

In the early 1970s, several useful books for senior pupils were published. Richardson (1970) traces the development of China's fortunes from 1911 to the cultural revolution of 1967 and 1968, in a detailed and sympathetic way: "The work of the Communists has been, in their own words, to make China 'walk on two legs' again; the problem now is to find a way of bringing the Middle Kingdom more fully into the world community and provide a situation in which the great talents and industry of her people can be devoted to the peaceful development of their society"¹⁴¹.

Browne (1971) writes similarly about the same period¹⁴². Edwards and Bearman (1971) deal with nineteenth century events, but the selection is confined to a brief exposition of the 1839-42 war and the wars of 1856-60; (the *Arrow* affair and the Kwangsi murder are incorrectly dated as 1858); the rebellion of the 1850s (*sic*); the "land grab" in South East Asia; the "Boxer" rising; "Open Door" and the overthrow of the Manchus¹⁴³.

Finally there are a few books which deal specifically with China and East Asia. Robottom's C.S.E. kit on Asia (1970) compares China, Japan, India and Vietnam. The booklet on China is devoted to a study of Mao Tse-tung. The booklet on Vietnam deals with the closing stages of

French rule¹⁴⁴. Barr's *Foreign Devils* (1970) is a very good introduction, with substantial source material, to the rôle of Westerners in East Asia since the sixteenth century¹⁴⁵. Two books in the *World Focus* series (American books marketed in Britain) provide much more than their titles suggest. Both Werstein and Goldston (1971) contrive to study *The Boxer Rebellion* and *The Long March* against the background of Chinese history¹⁴⁶.

Conclusion

An attempt has been made to view the presentation of Chinese history in as fair and full a light as possible. The overriding conclusion is that Western attempts to develop increasingly large spheres of influence in China, in the nineteenth century have not been discussed in schoolbooks until comparatively recently. (For example, Unstead in one of his books for juniors pointed out that "the powers were scrambling for China in much the same way as they squabbled over Africa"¹⁴⁷; see also p.172). In nineteenth and early twentieth century books for schools, references to China were always sparse and severe. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was customary to refer to the two "Opium" Wars, sometimes to the sacking of the Summer Palace, and after 1900, the "Boxers" were added. With very few exceptions, the same situation obtains today.

It is, however, impossible to understand the contemporary position of China, without an enlarged understanding of her historical background. For three quarters of a century, students have been led to judge nineteenth century China on the basis of four events. With the exception of Dance and Williams (among the books studied), no attempt has been made to relate Britain's difficulties in 1839, to Chinese trading practices and diplomatic protocol, nor to go beyond the often-made assertion that "Chinese do not like foreigners". The "scramble" for China is rarely mentioned and the reasons for Britain's continuous pressure on, and punitive attitude towards China are not given. The crushing humiliation of the

Chinese by various Treaties, the cession of territories and the indemnities (between 1842 and 1901, nearly 500 million dollars)¹⁴⁸, the significance of the Taip'ing rebellion, the alleged arrogance of Europeans, the attacks on Christian missionaries (and the reasons for this), the "Open Door" Declaration by America in 1899, the continuing revolutionary situation in the twentieth century and the absence of the People's Republic of China from the United Nations Assembly until 1973, were all largely omitted or underplayed until books published in the 1970s. It had taken the devastations of the Vietnam war and world opinion to persuade the makers of American foreign policy that China must be seen to be part of the world community. As far as schoolbooks are concerned, her history and her contact with Britain in the past are now being allowed to speak for themselves. It is however a matter for conjecture as to how many books in contemporary use still perpetuate nineteenth century attitudes.

The relations between China and Britain could be better understood, if the salient and recurring features were borne in mind. It has been comparatively easy in the past for racial and political attitudes towards the Chinese to become formed on the basis of evidence which has been highly selective and compressed.

CHINA IN FRENCH SCHOOLBOOKS

The arrival of the French in China receives scant attention in French reference books. It is therefore not surprising that there are relatively few examples, in schoolbooks, of French contact with China in the nineteenth century. From about 1914 to the 1950s, references appear to have disappeared altogether. Cerati has gone so far as to say that there have always been "reproachful silences" about nineteenth century expansionist policies overseas¹⁴⁹. The French did not wish to be reminded of their rapacious behaviour in China. Moreover, China was forgotten in the face of the new prize of Indo-China, involving events which must be considered in the second part of this chapter.

The first Treaty between the French and the Chinese was made at Whampoa in 1844 (see p.166). This is rarely mentioned in schoolbooks; of the books studied only by Ammann and Coutant and by Blanchet in 1895 and by Methivier in 1954¹⁵⁰. Vitte (1907) mentions the Treaty of Nanking, but not Whampoa¹⁵¹.

Nineteenth century attitudes

Writers confined themselves in the main to generalities. Overall judgements were made. Specific events were not charged with criticism or patriotism as in the case of the British. A typical nineteenth century observation about French policy in China is found in Loiseau (*cours élémentaire*, 1868). He saw the period of French influence in China as the means of opening up the celestial empire to European commerce and assisting the work of Christian missionaries, who had been entering the country from Macao, in increasing numbers since the beginning of the century. Noting the sack of Peking in 1860, he added that the French army was always to be found where "il y a une cause juste et civilisatrice à faire prévaloir"¹⁵².

Lavisse in 1878 made only one reference to China. Significantly, it is not so much a factual statement (at any rate, it is not applied to specific events) as a statement of intent:

"L'Angleterre et la Russie étaient les plus intéressés aux affaires d'Orient, mais la France ne pouvait y rester étrangère sans perdre de sa dignité de grande puissance et sans compromettre les intérêts de son commerce avec l'orient"¹⁵³.

France had invaded China to safeguard both her dignity as a great power and her commercial interests.

Pigeonneau (1879) referred to the campaigns of the Pei-ho River in 1860 and mentioned specifically the Battle of Palikao (famous for Montauban's victory), an event little mentioned in schoolbooks¹⁵⁴.

(Loiseau (1868), Cons (1880), Blanchet (1895), Vitte (1907), Genet (1958) only, mention it)¹⁵⁵.

Cons (1880) wrote for the *cours moyen*:

"Une expédition anglo-française envoyée en Chine gagne la bataille de Palikao, mais ternit (tarnished) la victoire par le pillage du palais d'été"¹⁵⁶.

The following year, Cons used slightly stronger language to comment to older pupils in the *cours supérieur*, on this event:

"Une expédition anglo-française ... déshonore sa victoire par le pillage du palais d'été"¹⁵⁷.

Such a condemnation of French military behaviour was comparatively rare.

The general practice of presenting history as a simple chronology was occasionally interrupted by writers who wished to extol French prowess overseas. Ammann and Coutant (*cours élémentaire*, 1884) provided an example:

"Au dehors le Gouvernement impérial se montra sagement préoccupé d'ouvrir des débouchés à notre commerce, soit par la conclusion de traités commerciaux, soit par l'extension de notre influence et de notre système colonial, en Afrique, en Syrie, en Chine, dans l'océan Indien"¹⁵⁸.

Ducoudray (*cours supérieur*, 1884), however, openly criticised the Chinese. Not mentioning the sacking of the Summer Palace, he reflected on the 1860 expedition to Peking:

"Mais l'Europe n'en a pas encore fini avec la déloyauté chinoise"¹⁵⁹.

Jallifier and Vast (1886) recorded the first Opium War and then the French (*sic*) advance on Peking in 1860¹⁶⁰.

Reinforcing the current emphasis on commercial expansion Wahl and Dontenville (*classes de 3e*, 1887) used the first Opium War as an example of European difficulties in commerce, although the British-Chinese argument seems evenly matched:

"L'Angleterre avait combattu pour la défense de ses intérêts commerciaux; sa cause n'était rien moins que juste, car on ne peut contester que l'empereur de la Chine eut le droit d'interdire l'importation de l'opium"¹⁶¹.

The authors went on to describe the attempts by France, England, Russia

and America to gain trading concessions and a free admittance of Christian missionaries (although this was mainly a French emphasis), the Treaty of Tientsin, the Peking expedition and Russia's confrontation with China over the Amur and Ussuri questions¹⁶². They also mentioned European cooperation with the Imperial Court against the Taip'ing and the "Small Sword Society" (a reference which was not found elsewhere in nineteenth century schoolbooks).

Aulard and Debidour (*cours moyen*, 1894) wrote merely:

"Les accroissements de notre marine militaire, dont il renouvela l'armement en créant une grande flotte cuirassée, lui (Napoleon III) permirent d'envoyer en 1860 une expédition en Chine"¹⁶³.

Attitudes from 1900-1945

After the turn of the century, such vagueness about China became even more pronounced. Mélin (writing for the *cours supérieur* in 1904) included in one paragraph, reference to China, Japan, Saigon, Syria and Suez¹⁶⁴, and later referred in a sentence to the "Boxer" rising¹⁶⁵. Aulard and Debidour (1904) wrote similarly¹⁶⁶. Mame (*cours moyen*, 1906) wrote: "De 1860 à 1862 les Français furent trois glorieuses expéditions: celle de Syrie... celle de Chine et de Cochinchine"¹⁶⁷. Similarly, Vitte (*cours supérieur*, 1907) remarked:

"La France envoyant au loin, en Syrie, en Chine, et en Cochinchine trois expéditions armées, soit dans un but humanitaire, soit pour protéger au loin nos nationaux, et maintenir l'honneur de notre drapeau dans l'Extrême-Orient"¹⁶⁸.

The threefold reason, humanitarianism, protection of French nationals and the honour of the French flag, hand in hand with France's mission of "civilisation and improvement"¹⁶⁹, was encouraged by Lavisie and others during the search for national identity following the defeat by Germany in 1870. Such a simple claim for national honour was expressed for instance by Rogie and Despiques (*cours moyen*, 1908) when describing the Chinese wars:

"Plus modestes et moins coûteuses que les grandes guerres européennes, les expéditions coloniales servirent mieux les intérêts de la France"¹⁷⁰.

The *facts* about colonial wars, however, were not usually presented (Algeria being a notable exception) and Rogie and Despiques, like others, string together a list of events to demonstrate French colonial activity, in which the Peking expedition is found side by side with similar activities in Syria, Indo-China and Mexico¹⁷¹.

Viator (*cours supérieur*, 1912) singled out the sacking of the Summer Palace:

"En représailles des atrocités commises par les Chinois, les soldats européens allèrent, non loin de la capitale, piller et incendier le palais d'été, résidence des Empereurs"¹⁷².

That is all that he wrote about China. From now until the 1950s, the only references to East Asia are to be found in relation to Indo-China, China itself is ignored, partly because her usefulness to France was now past, and partly because problems in Europe were increasingly pressing. The period allotted to this section is 1900 to 1945. The period is arbitrary. For more than half this period, no references to China were found in schoolbooks.

Attitudes from 1945 to 1971

After the end of the war in 1945, few new books were published until the 1950s¹⁷³. In 1953, Isaac, Alba and Bonifacio (*classes de philosophie, mathématiques et sciences*) devoted two out of 700 pages to nineteenth century events in East Asia. The 1858-60 war was mentioned and they concluded:

"L'eupéanisation de la Chine se heurta à une puissante opposition dans la masse de la nation, chez les mandarins à la cour"¹⁷⁴.

Genet, (*classes terminales*, 1958) offered a much more comprehensive analysis. He was, of course, writing for senior secondary school pupils. Three sections of the book¹⁷⁵ were devoted to China. In the first,

Genet dealt with the explorers and the gradual awakening of China ("le pays avait végété depuis longtemps")¹⁷⁶, the first opium war, the Treaty of Nanking, Russia's interests in the north, civil war in the south with the Taip'ing ("les rebelles aux cheveux longues")¹⁷⁷, the military actions around the Pei-ho, the Battle of Palikao, the Treaty of Tientsin¹⁷⁸. In the second section, Genet considered the attempted colonisation by the European powers, and French developments in Indo-China¹⁷⁹. Later, he considered the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, the convulsions at the turn of the century, including the "Boxer" Rebellion and the relations between China and Japan from 1911-37¹⁸⁰.

Similarly the *Cours Malet-Isaac (classes de 1e, 1961)* dealt with French and British colonisation from 1850 to 1914 and with Chinese-Japanese relations at the end of the nineteenth century¹⁸¹. The authors spoke of Taip'ing as "une organisation socialiste", and described the assistance given to the Chinese government to overcome the rebellion¹⁸². They mentioned "l'expédition franco-anglaise contre Pékin (1858-60)"¹⁸³ and referred to the Europeanisation of China, in exactly the same words as those used by three of the same collaborators above (see note 174)¹⁸⁴. They also included notes about the Empress Tz'u Hsi,¹⁸⁵ the "Boxers" and Sun Yat-sen.¹⁸⁶

Duroselle (*classes terminales, 1962*) wrote about twentieth century history. He referred to China since the 1920s, the tension between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung and their common aims against Japan after 1936¹⁸⁷. Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel (*classes de 1e, 1962*) linked the 1858-60 war with Indo-China, suggesting that France's interest in China was related to the future colonisation of Indo-China:

"Deux expéditions contre la Chine en 1858-60 aboutissent non seulement à l'occupation de Pékin, mais surtout, aux dépens de l'empire d'Annam à l'installation des Français sur le delta du Mékong, à Saïgon et en Cochinchine (1858-61)"¹⁸⁸.

The authors however returned much later to a brief account of "Ouverture forcée et superficielle de la Chine"¹⁸⁹. The first Opium War was mentioned and the writers regarded the Kwangsi murder and the *Arrow* as mere pretexts for military action, which took the Anglo-French forces to Peking¹⁹⁰. The Taip'ing rebellion, and revolts in Yunnan and Sin-kiang were also mentioned. French action in suppressing the Taip'ing was not mentioned although a general comment was made:

"Les étrangers, d'abord hésitants, sont gênés par ces troubles dans l'arrière-pays des ports ouverts et aident le gouvernement de Pékin puis que celui-ci leur a cédé en 1860"¹⁹¹.

This is the only reference found in either French or British books (apart from Wahl and Dontenville and Bonifacio and Michaud: see pp.195 and 199) which commented on the Anglo-French involvement in helping to overthrow the Taip'ing. One among a number of complex reasons, the assessment is correct. It finds support in S.Y.Teng's recent study of the Rebellion¹⁹².

Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel (*classes terminales*, 1962) included a chapter on China since the Revolution¹⁹³.

"Depuis le début du XXe siècle, la Chine a été une des régions du monde les plus perturbées. La société traditionnelle n'a pas résisté à l'irruption du capitalisme et des techniques occidentales. Guerres civiles et lutte contre l'envahisseur japonais ont duré près de quarante ans. Cette suite de désastres a profité au Parti Communiste qui semblait seul, au milieu des groupes rivaux, poursuivre une politique favorable du peuple chinois"¹⁹⁴.

The development of both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party was traced¹⁹⁵. The Long March and the Eighth Route Army were seen as part of China's heroic struggle. Suffering, overpopulation, industrial and agricultural inefficiency were seen as the background to the Revolution. A sympathetic review of China since 1949 described "La Chine Nouvelle"¹⁹⁶. Education and propaganda had assisted change; the peasants had been organised; women were on an equality with men. There was still insufficient food, inadequate technology, but "avec un enthousiasme parfois naïf les chinois découvrent les techniques modernes"¹⁹⁷.

Similarly, Bonifacio (*classes terminales*, 1966) surveyed modern China

within the context of ancient Chinese civilisation¹⁹⁸. The *Collection Louis Girard* book on 1715-1870 (*classes de 3e*, 1966) concentrated on the "intervention" of the French, English and Americans which, "y provoque une révolution et une rénovation ... C'est un des grands événements de l'histoire du monde"¹⁹⁹. (The length of this passage on China and Indo-China was 20 lines).

Sentou and Carbonell (1970) writing of the contemporary world for *classes terminales* placed modern Chinese society within its sociological context²⁰⁰. The period 1914-37 (with Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the Long March) ended with Japanese aggression²⁰¹. They included a critical discussion of Sino-Russian relations and the cultural revolution²⁰².

Bonifacio and Michaud (*classes terminales*, 1971) referred to the Opium Wars and the Taip'ing revolt (which led to concessions by the Chinese government, commercial and diplomatic, to Britain and France for their assistance in suppressing the Taip'ing). They criticised European activity in China: "Dans les trente années qui suivent (after the Treaty of Peking), la Chine fut soumise à une scandaleuse exploitation de la part des Européens"²⁰³. They also mentioned the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the "Boxers", Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang and the communist revolution²⁰⁴.

Conclusion

China therefore had only a vague place in French schoolbooks until the 1950s. The French "presence" in China was justified principally on the basis of commercial and missionary activity and France's civilising influence. Generalities, rather than facts and references to precise events and policies, govern the presentation of French action in nineteenth century China. Contemporary historians, however, freed from the embarrassments of the past and from the Indo-China involvement, refreshed by the radicalism of post-1949 China, are better able to present the Chinese people to schools. The main emphasis is now on twentieth century

developments and directed towards senior secondary school pupils especially in the *classes terminales*.

Much is still lacking, as it is in British books, but because of the emphasis now being made on China's history in relation to the rest of the world, it would be surprising if a more coherent approach to the nineteenth century involvement of France in China did not soon emerge.

NOTES

Chapter VI (1)

1. pp.45-6. V.Purcell. *China*. Benn.1962
2. p.47. *ibid*; cp. pp.5 seq. I.C.Y.Hsü. *The Rise of Modern China*. Oxford.1970
3. p.48. Purcell. *op.cit.*
4. p.39. H.McAleavy. *The Modern History of China*. Weidenfeld and Nicholson.1968
5. p.5. Hsü. *op.cit.*
6. p.325. W.Eichorn. *Chinese Civilisation*. trans. J.Seligman. Faber.1969.
7. p.213. *Speeches by the Rt. Hon.T.B.Macaulay M.P.* London.1854.
8. p.43. Li Chien-nung. *The Political History of China. 1840-1928*. trans. and ed. Ssu-yu Teng and J.Ingalls. Van Nostrand. Princeton. 1956
9. p.227. Hsü. *op.cit.*
10. quoted p.96. Genet. *op.cit.*
11. p.139. F.Schurmann and O.Schell (ed.) *Imperial China*. Pelican.1967.
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27. p.88. McAleavy. *op.cit.*
28. *ibid.*
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30. p.98. McAleavy. *op.cit.*
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32. p.67. Cordier. vol.4. *op.cit.*
33. p.264. Hsü. *op.cit.*
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36. pp.101-110. Li Chien-nung. *op.cit.*; pp.317-52. Hsü. *op.cit.*; pp.127-28. McAleavy. *op.cit.*
37. p.365. Hsü. *op.cit.*
38. p.23. McAleavy. *op.cit.*
39. p.164. *ibid.*
40. p.363. Hsü. *op.cit.*
41. quoted p.164. McAleavy. *op.cit.* (Such views were not confined to Catholic Christians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. P.Barr. in *To China with love: the lives and times of Protestant missionaries in China. 1860-1900*. Seeker and Warburg.1972, shows very clearly how they were shared by Protestants also).
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43. p.430. Li. *op.cit.*
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46. p.439. Li. *op.cit.*
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68. p.127. *ibid.* 1906 edn.
69. p.393. Li. *op.cit.*
70. p.128. Ince and Gilbert. *op.cit.* 1906 edn.
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72. p.189. Hayens. *The Story of Europe.*
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77. p.78. Hughes. *op.cit.*
78. p.326. Munro. *op.cit.*
79. p.334. *ibid.*
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90. p.187. *ibid.*
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92. p.254. *ibid.*
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103. pp.205-08,213. Southgate. *An Introduction to English History.*

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105. *ibid.*
106. *ibid.*
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109. p.199. Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse. *op.cit.*
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151. p.373. Vitte. *op.cit.*
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154. p.266. H.Pigeonneau. *Histoire de France.* Paris.1879 edn.
155. p.248. Loiseau. *op.cit.*; p.216. L.Cons. *Histoire de France.* Delagrave Paris.1880; p.186. Blanchet. *op.cit.*; p.373. Vitte, *op.cit.*; p.98. Genet. *op.cit.*

156. p.216. Cons. *op.cit.*
157. p.345. Cons. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1881
158. Attributed to Ammann and Coutant. *Cours normal d'histoire*. Paris. 1884; quoted p.81. Cerati. *op.cit.*
159. p.472. Ducoudray. *op.cit.*
160. p.405. Jallifier and Vast. *op.cit.*
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163. p.221. A.Aulard and A.Debidour. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1894 edn.
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165. p.547. *ibid.*
166. pp.350 and 405. Aulard and Debidour. *Notions d'histoire générale et histoire de France*. Paris.1904.
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169. pp.59-64. Semidei. *op.cit.*
170. p.235. Rogie and Despiques. *op.cit.*
171. *ibid.*
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173. p.54. Freyssinet-Dominjon.*op.cit.*
174. pp.98,425. J.Isaac, A.Alba, A.Bonifacio. *L'histoire contemporaine. 1852-1939*. Paris.1953.
175. Genet. *op.cit.*
176. p.95. *ibid.*
177. p.97. *ibid.*
178. pp.90-98. *ibid.*
179. pp.346-83. *ibid.*
180. pp.401-2,406-8,543-57. *ibid.*
181. pp.372-409,450-477. Isaac, Alba, Bonifacio, Pouthas and Michaud *L'histoire de 1848 à 1914*.
182. pp.455-56. *ibid.*

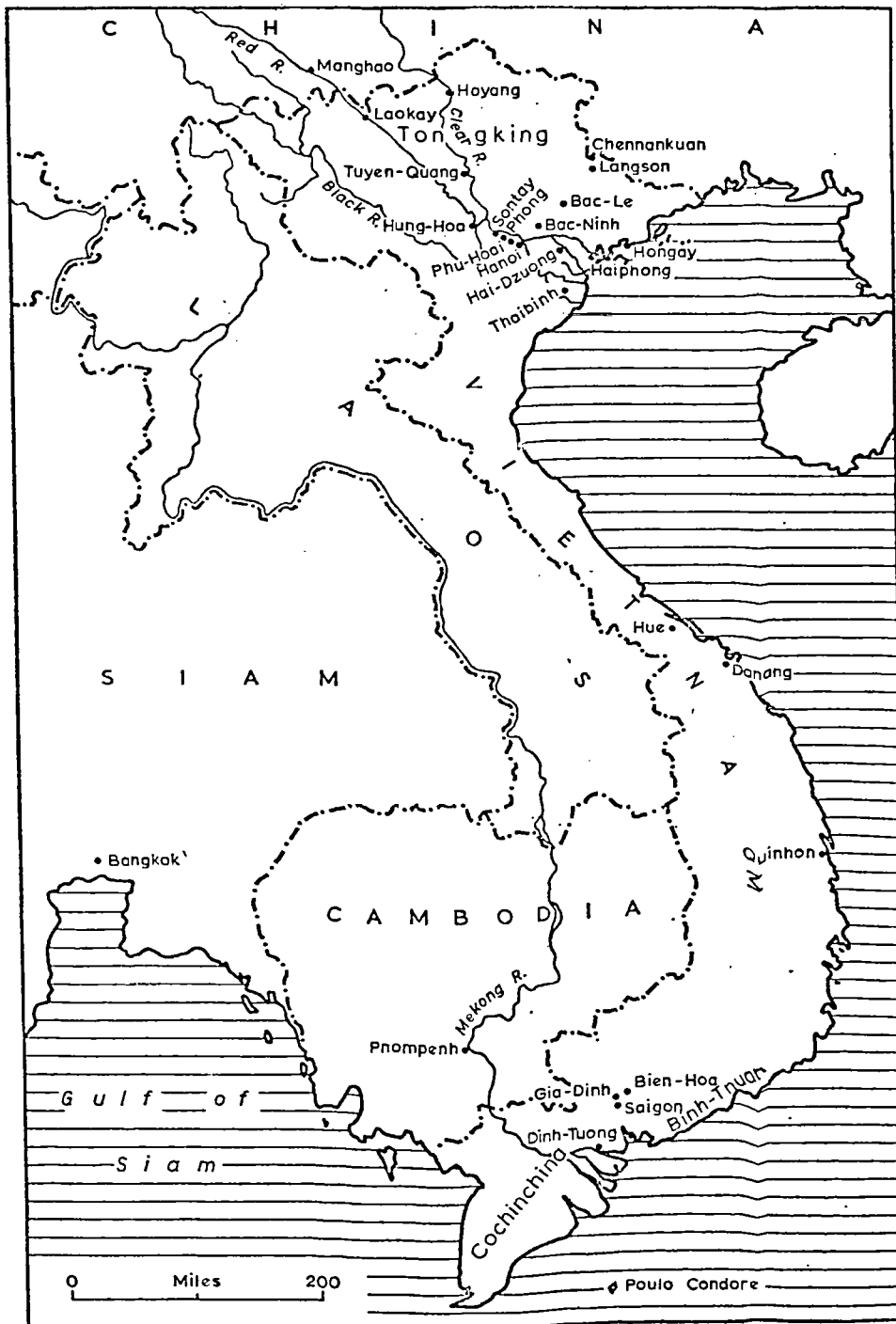
183. p.455. *ibid.*
184. p.457. *ibid.* (cp. note 174)
185. p.458. *ibid.*
186. pp.467-69. *ibid.*
187. pp.155-56. Duroselle. *Histoire: le monde contemporain* vol.1.
188. p.118. L.Girard, M.Bonnefous and J.Rudel (Collection Louis Girard) *1848-1914*. Bordas. Paris.1962.
189. pp.508-11. *ibid.*
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195. pp.99-101. *ibid.*
196. pp.431-36. *ibid.*
197. p.436. *ibid.*
198. pp.301-25. Bonifacio. *op.cit.*
199. p.315. L.Girard, J.Bouillon, J.Rudel, A-J.Tudesq, J.Dupaquier. *Les Temps de Révolutions. 1715-1870*. Bordas. Paris.1966.
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201. pp.145-51,158-60. *ibid.*
202. p.514. *ibid.*
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(2) FRANCE AND VIETNAM

Introduction

The country which is now called Vietnam is an aggregation of Tongking, Annam and Cochinchina. It is the easternmost part of the region known as Indo-China, which includes also, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos. Over 2,000 years ago, the north of Annam was known as Vietnam (or Nam Viet). It first came under Chinese influence in the third century B.C. In the Middle Ages, it was an important tributary state of China, and between 1664 and 1881, about fifty missions journeyed to Peking¹. Half a century of warfare (1620-73) resulted in the division of the country into two. In the 1630s, the Southern King, Nguyen built two walls for protection, right across the country, near Dong Hoi (a few miles north of the Demilitarized Zone created in the second half of the twentieth century). There was no fundamental difference between North and South Vietnamese². The rivalries were political, as in the twentieth century. From 1673 to 1774, there was peace. In the 1770s, Vietnam expanded into Cambodia from the South, only to be checked by a revolt against the Nguyen dynasty, led by the Tay Son Brothers. The next years were precarious for the Nguyen. Senior members of the family were killed in 1777 and Nguyen Anh aided by Bishop Pigneau (see p.210) went into hiding. Meanwhile, in the North, the Tongkingese used the opportunity to overrun Hué, but they were later defeated by the Tay Son forces who marched north in 1786 and captured Hanoi. Vietnam was reunited, though civil war continued in the south. Not until 1801 did the Nguyen finally conquer the Tay Son faction and in 1802, Nguyen Anh was proclaimed Gia Long, Emperor of Annam³.

During the nineteenth century, the Vietnamese emperors showed the same xenophobic tendencies which characterised the Chinese and most South East Asian rulers. They refused to recognise a French consul



VIETNAM AND SURROUNDING REGIONS

Source: p.14. H.McAleavy. *Black Flags in Vietnam*.
Geo.Allen and Unwin.1968.

and to deal with the British East India Company, though they were alarmed by Britain's war with Burma and by China's humiliation at the hands of the British in 1842. The reign of Tu-Duc, from 1848-83, coincided almost exactly with France's attack on his country.

The arrival of the French

France's intervention in Vietnam was an amalgam of missionary, trading, personal and political interests. French Jesuits had arrived in Annam in 1615. The French East India Company (and British traders also) unsuccessfully attempted to establish trade links at the end of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, French missionaries concentrated their activities mainly in the region of Hué, one of the country's principal centres. Between 1744 and 1752, the French East India Company, at the height of Dupleix's fame (see chapter VII pp.237-39) sent several missions to Hué, but without success⁴. In 1778, Louis XVI sent a ship from Chandernagore to examine (unsuccessfully) the possibility of intercepting British trade with China, in time of war. (Warren Hastings had ordered an exploratory mission also in 1777).

At the end of the eighteenth century, the French Bishop, Pigneau de Behaine attempted to gain French support for the Nguyen régime. He visited Paris in February 1787, with Anh's four year old son, and submitted to the French government plans for an expedition to establish Nguyen Anh on the Annamese throne. Because of the serious economic situation in France, he could only obtain a treaty of alliance with Cochin-China (the region surrounding the fertile Mekong Delta), and his own appointment as French Commissioner in Vietnam. Returning through Pondicherry, Pigneau assembled a small fleet of ships, with guns and 300 volunteers, financed by money that he had collected in France. He rejoined Nguyen Anh in July 1789 and with his French force, helped to reestablish Anh in Saigon and Cochin-China. The French organised the

Vietnamese navy and fortifications and established an administration. But during the years following the French Revolution, France was reluctant to engage in affairs outside Europe.

When in 1817, merchants from Bordeaux returned to trade in Vietnamese ports, some of them believed that official relations with Vietnam should be reopened. By the time a consul arrived in Hué in 1820, Gia Long was dead and all Pigneau's volunteers had died or returned to France. Minh-Mang, who succeeded to the throne in 1820, hated the "barbarians from the West"⁵. He refused to conclude a commercial treaty with France or to receive a letter from Louis XVIII in 1825⁶. French attempts to obtain a commercial agreement were made in 1825, 1827 and 1831, but all were rejected. The Emperor refused to accept a French consul in 1826. In 1834, he ordered the persecution of Christians and some missionaries were murdered. The Catholic revival in France in the first half of the nineteenth century strengthened French Catholic zeal and French missions in Vietnam continued to expand⁷. Coupled with a search for national prestige (together with the need to have a base in East Asia for trade with China) events now moved towards the French conquest of the country.

In 1843, five missionaries imprisoned at Hué were released after a French naval ship arrived off Tourane, demanding that they be set free. In 1845, a French bishop was released, after a threatened bombardment of Tourane. He was smuggled back from Singapore "pour l'honneur de son pays"⁸. Emperor Thieu-Tri sought his removal again and in 1847, the French bombarded ships at Tourane in protest against the continued harassment of French nationals. These actions were the result of a new attitude on the part of England, America and France who were demanding extra-territorial rights in China. Trading and residential facilities for the British were obtained through the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. America

secured rights for its residents in China under the terms of the Treaty of Wanghsia in 1844 and France gained toleration for French Catholics by the Treaty of Whampoa in the same year.

The struggle of Tu-Duc

Tu-Duc came to the throne in 1848 determined to seal off his country from European influence. A systematic attempt was made to destroy Christian communities. More French priests were arrested and in 1851 and 1852 several were killed. Again Tourane was bombarded. Following the killing of the French missionary in Kwangsi (China) in 1856 and Tu-Duc's execution of the Spanish bishop of Tongking in 1857, France began to exert more pressure. De Montigny (the French envoy to Hué) submitted demands to Tu-Duc in 1857: toleration of missionaries, the establishment of a commercial office at Hué and the appointment of a consul. These demands were rejected.

When therefore the Treaty of Tientsin had been signed with China in 1858 (see p.169) French troops were withdrawn from China and in 1859, Saigon was captured. In 1862, a Treaty was signed with Tu-Duc, who ceded the three eastern provinces of Cochin-China to France, granted religious freedom, opened Tourane and other ports to trade and agreed to pay France an indemnity of four million dollars. In 1867, France entered the rest of Cochin-China. (The region became increasingly important as an exporter of rice)⁹. In 1868, the French explored the Mekong River as far as Yunnan (where there were rich mineral mines), but found it unnavigable and therefore unsuitable for advance into South-Western China. They turned their attention to the Red River and Tongking. (French merchants had found that the Red River was navigable to Yunnan, where they sold arms and ammunition to the Chinese army, for the suppression of a Muslim revolt). One of the most eager explorers was Francis Garnier

who, as a young naval officer, had served in the China War (see pp.169-70). He explored both the Mekong and the Red River, and after France's defeat in the Prussian War of 1870-71 came to believe that France's loss of prestige could be redressed by expansion in East Asia.

Garnier and Tongking

Tongking at this time was suffering, in the aftermath of the Taip'ing Rebellion (see p.167) from the presence of many of the rebels who had escaped across the Chinese border and now terrorised the population. They were led by Liu Yung-fu, whose banner of the black flag mourned the failure of the Taip'ing. The French knew them as *les pavillons noirs* ("the black flags"). At the same time, a French merchant, Dupuis who had agreed to deliver a shipment of salt to Yunnan, was refused the consignment by the mandarins in Hanoi, who held the monopoly. In 1873, Dupuis with his employees occupied part of Hanoi and appealed to Admiral Dupré (the Governor of Cochin-China) for help. Garnier was sent to arbitrate, the French government having ordered Dupré not to use armed force, knowing that he wished to intervene against the *pavillons noirs*¹⁰. Garnier issued a proclamation that the Red River was open to commerce. This infuriated the mandarins who began to make military preparations against him and his force of about 200 men. Garnier replied by seizing the citadel of Hanoi. The mandarins called on the *pavillons noirs* for help. Garnier was killed in an ambush.

Philastre and Rivière

Even Dupré was bound to disavow such a rash act and sent Philastre to Hanoi to negotiate a settlement. A friend of Garnier's, Philastre was an admirer of Chinese culture and on hearing of the attempted *coup*, had written to him:

"Le mal est irréparable et pour vous et pour le but que l'on se propose en France. Vous vous êtes donc laissé séduire, tromper, et mener par ce Dupuis?"¹¹

He made a treaty with Tu-Duc in 1874, which confirmed the French possession of all Cochin-China, the opening of the Red River to trade, freedom for Christians and the French right to have consuls at Hanoi, Tourane and Qui-nonh. In return, Tu-Duc was released from the balance of the 1862 indemnity and offered a supply of arms to deal with the *pavillons noirs*. Attempting to check French ambitions in the north, the Emperor renewed his ties with China, paying tribute in 1877 and 1881. He sought military aid from China against the predatory *pavillons noirs* and at the same time encouraged them in their banditry, especially when it was directed at French subjects¹².

Now recovering from France's defeat in 1870, the French Parliament voted credits for the renewal of military operations in Tongking. In 1882, on the basis of alleged activities against French nationals in Hanoi, Henri Rivière was sent with a military force and French government approval to attack the *pavillons noirs* on the Red River. With Tongking as the prize, Rivière attacked Hanoi in 1883 and occupied the anthracite mines near Haiphong. These were to become central to France's economy in Vietnam, together with tin and zinc to the north of Hanoi¹³. Rivière was defeated and killed at *le Pont de Papier*, by *pavillons noirs* in the pay of Tu-Duc on 19 May 1883¹⁴.

In France, the government ordered that Tongking must be conquered. General Bouet and Admiral Courbet were placed in charge of military and naval forces. Hanoi was seized with the coastal province near Haiphong, and Bouet waited in Hanoi until Courbet's arrival in August 1883. The forts guarding the mouth of the Hué River were captured, with great loss of life, a month after the death of Tu-Duc. (The Imperial Court proclaimed that Tu-Duc "was killed by sorrow over seeing foreigners invade and devastate his empire, and he died cursing the invader. Keep him in your hearts and avenge his memory")¹⁵.

A treaty was signed in which Vietnam recognised the French protectorate and handed over to France the control of foreign relations. Forts were to be occupied by the French wherever necessary for the preservation of peace and France undertook to free the Red River for commerce, repel all foreign aggression and suppress rebels and pirates.

China's protest and the Li-Fournier "Agreement"

China protested and sent troops across the border. The *pavillons noirs* became recognised as part of the Chinese army. Although by 1884, the Chinese had not declared war, the French moved north towards Yunnan (where there was gold) and Kwangtung (where there was coal). They took a number of towns on the frontier, Son-tay, Bac-ninh and Tuyen-Quang being the best known. The Chinese sought to end these hostilities and Li Hung-chang, with Fournier, a naval officer, met in Peking to draw up terms. Fournier agreed with Li that the French would not press for indemnity, in return for the Chinese recognition of the recent French treaty with Vietnam and that in return for a recognition of China's southern frontier, Chinese troops would be withdrawn from Tongking. But the Li-Fournier Agreement, as it was called did not prove acceptable to the Chinese government. It implied the end of Chinese suzerainty over Vietnam. Chinese forces were not withdrawn and war was resumed. The French accused China of bad faith and demanded a huge indemnity (250 million francs)¹⁶, together with the immediate application of the Li-Fournier Agreement. The Chinese refused.

Disaster for France

Jules Ferry, the French Prime Minister wrote to his wife on 21 August 1884: "Les Chinois n'ont rien voulu entendre. Il n'y a plus désormais d'autre chose que... d'occuper fortement Formose, et d'... aller à Pékin, faire une grande guerre, par Jupiter, je n'y songe nullement"¹⁷.

Admiral Courbet was ordered to attack, which he did on 23 August at Foochow. The dockyard, built with French assistance in 1866¹⁸, was destroyed together with eleven Chinese warships. In March 1885 the Kelung forts on Formosa were captured and the Pescadores occupied. Meanwhile the French blockade of the Yangtze River at the end of 1884 and the stoppage of tribute grain from South China was already creating economic problems for the Chinese government. Expected aid from Britain and Germany had not materialised. Russia was active in the north. Japan was advancing in Korea. A preliminary peace, based on the Li-Fournier Agreement was signed in Paris in March 1885.

Military events in Vietnam, however, complicated the situation. In February, a blockade of Tuyen-Quang was breached by General Brière de l'Isle. 600 French troops had held out for three months against 15,000 *pavillons noirs*. Dominé, the commander of the garrison, and Sergeant Bobillot who died heroically in the siege, were added metaphorically to the French panthéon in Vietnam¹⁹. At the end of March, the Chinese attacked the French at Lang-son, inflicted severe casualties and took the town. Ferry and his government resigned. After some delay, the Treaty of Tientsin was signed in June 1885. China renounced suzerainty over Vietnam and recognised the French protectorate. France restored Formosa and the Pescadores to China.

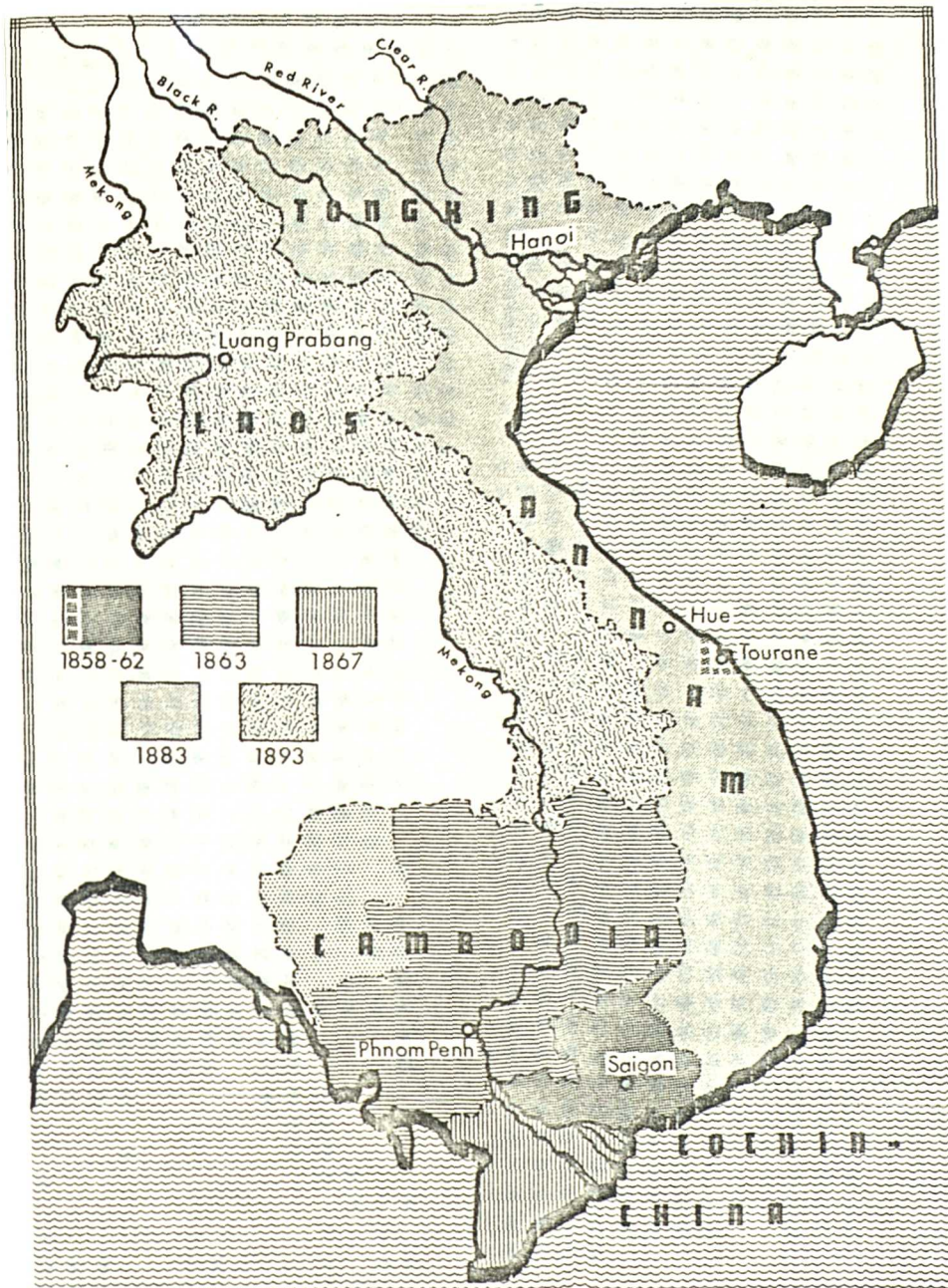
Meanwhile, in France, Tongking, which had been seen as a major source of national prestige after the disaster of the Franco-Prussian War, became now an object of hatred. Ferry's parliamentary opponents called him "le Tonkinois"²⁰. In the October 1885 elections, his enemies called him "Tonkin-Ferry"²¹. "Tonkin" became a term of abuse for a political failure. According to Ganiage, the term "antiferrysme" became synonymous with the opposition to the colonial enterprise²².

The establishment of French Indo-China

Ferry and Fournier had made Chinese recognition of French suzerainty in Vietnam possible. In 1885 and 1886, there was serious rebellion in Cochin-China. This coincided with ten years of revolt (1885-95) in Tongking, a revolt in which the *pavillons noirs* took part and which was ruthlessly suppressed by French troops, aided by pro-French partisans.

In 1887, a government decree established *L'Union Indochinoise* : Cochin-China, Annam and Tongking, together with Cambodia. (Cambodia had been under French protection since 1863, technically as a safeguard against the aggression of Siam and Vietnam). There were further difficulties between 1887 and 1893. Siam moved her armed forces east. There appeared to be a threat both to the north of Vietnam, as well as to the area adjacent to the Mekong Delta. The French forced them back (watched keenly by Britain who had annexed Upper Burma in 1886). The ancient Kingdom of Laos was recreated in 1895²³. Siam accordingly became a buffer state between the spheres of British and French influence and Hall believes that the tortuous events, which led to the Anglo-French Agreement of 1896, probably saved Siam from falling into French hands²⁴. In 1896, few could have foreseen that the "pacification" and "organisation" of French Indo-China would cause France (and America, to say nothing of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) to pay so heavy a price in the twentieth century.

The French government had reacted strongly, in 1885, against Ferry's policy of expansion in Indo-China by establishing a rigorous economy. In 1896, however, Doumer was appointed Governor-General. He unified the administration and economy of the region, developed the lucrative and unpopular monopolies of opium, alcohol and salt and put in hand a considerable public works programme: roads, bridges, railways, harbours. The peasantry, as Brogan points out, were alienated by Doumer's method of direct taxation and also by his authoritarian methods: "... egalitarian principles seemed to suffer a sea-change between Marseilles and Saigon"²⁵.



THE PHASES OF FRENCH CONQUEST IN INDO-CHINA: 1858-1893

Source: p.95. J. Buttinger. *Vietnam: a political history* (from A. Masson. *L'histoire de Vietnam*. Presses Universitaires de France. 1967 edition)

After Sarraut's appointment as governor-general in 1911, there was an amelioration of the conditions under which the Vietnamese were ruled. He encouraged education, better medical care, more positions for Vietnamese in the lower ranks of the civil service, and a study of indigenous languages²⁶. The resistance movements had collapsed at the turn of the century. The mandarins were gradually stripped of their power. The first half of the twentieth century was to see the "rise of the Vietnamese middle-class, a western educated new intelligentsia, a class of landless peasants and an industrial proletariat, which together provided the social basis for the nationalist and communist movements opposing the colonial régime"²⁷.

During the early years of the twentieth century, the economic ties between Indo-China and France had become progressively stronger. From 19.6 per cent, Indo-China's exports to France between 1911 and 1920 rose to 53 per cent in 1938, while imports from France rose from 29.6 per cent of the total between 1911 and 1920, to 57.1 per cent between 1931 and 1938. Against this competition, Indo-Chinese industries deteriorated and the great mass of the people were also too poor to buy imported articles. The political situation was becoming increasingly unstable. Education was only provided for a minority. Vietnamese, working in the public sector, were paid lower salaries than Europeans. (Those with higher degrees earned less than European manual workers)²⁸. By September 1940, after the collapse of France in World War II, the Vichy Government had signed a treaty with Japan, allowing Japan military facilities in Tongking. But in July 1941, the Japanese supplanted the French in the whole of Indo-China.

Vietnamese nationalism

In Vietnam, nationalism was to prove stronger than the demoralised French army. Vietnamese nationalism had begun early in the twentieth century²⁹, and several years of popular rebellion against Doumer's fiscal

reforms culminated in the vigorous suppression of guerillas in Tongking in 1913, together with the closing of Hanoi University. During the first World War, 100,000 Vietnamese were forcibly recruited for the war in Europe³⁰. They returned with new experiences and new ideas. The post-war period saw the growth of political parties. The Emperor Khai Dinh visited Paris in 1922 in an attempt to persuade the French to encourage more freedom of expression and more Vietnamese cooperation in the administration of Annam and Tongking. He returned home empty handed, as did a delegation from Cochin-China in 1923³¹.

The struggle for national independence began in earnest in 1930, after the Yenbay mutiny had been suppressed by the French with great severity. Tongking and north Annam were in turmoil. Ho Chi Minh, after experience in Paris, Russia, Canton (with Sun Yat-sen) and Hong Kong, set up the headquarters of the communist party in Haiphong, and after many vicissitudes, he organised in 1941, the League of Independence for Vietnam, (known as the Viet Minh). This was to become the spearhead of the nationalist movement, first against Japan, then against France, then against the United States of America and finally against the government of South Vietnam.

Ho Chi Minh's fight for Independence

Between the Japanese surrender in Vietnam in August 1945 and the return of the French who wished to re-establish their power, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnamese independence, aided by a Japanese statement that the colonial status of Indo-China had ended. After complicated negotiations in 1946, France recognised the Republic of Vietnam within the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union, but intended that Cochin-China should be autonomous. Armed uprisings resulted in the north. The French bombed Haiphong in November 1946. The Vietnamese attacked French garrisons in Tongking and Annam and war had begun again.

The French government still maintained its view that Vietnam should be federated with France (who would retain legislative power over all important matters of policy), but they would not negotiate with Ho Chi Minh. They persuaded Bao Dai, the former emperor of Annam, to become President of Vietnam. In 1949, he was sworn in as President of the French "dominion" of Cochin-China, Annam and Tongking, but he refused to act as a puppet and to seek support for French policy in Vietnam. In 1950, the Chinese government recognised Ho Chi Minh's "government" as the controlling power in Vietnam. The United States saw this as a threat to the peaceful future of South East Asia and gave increasing aid to France to suppress the threat of communism in the region.

The war continued. By 1953, it was costing France 600 billion francs a year and many lives. The United States was already paying eighty per cent of France's war bill³². In November 1953, French paratroopers attempted to cut Vietnamese communications with China, by occupying Dien-Bien-Phu (200 miles west of Hanoi) which became the focus for attack by the Vietnamese army under the command of General Giap. By May 1954, the French had been overwhelmed and their empire in Indo-China was at an end. It was a disastrous blow to France's national pride.

Subsequently at the Geneva Conference on Indo-China, North Vietnam became independent. It was hoped that eventually elections throughout North and South Vietnam would produce a government for the whole country. Instead there was to be more than twenty years of bloodshed, ahead. The United States saw the communist forces of the north, now operating in the south of the country, as a serious threat to peace. By 1962, there were 12,000 American soldiers in South Vietnam ostensibly as military advisers. By 1969, there were half a million. In spite of the American withdrawal in 1973, peace has still not returned to the region. The

government of the North still seeks the unification of this ancient country and the government of the South resists it.

Ho Chi Minh, in 1953, had begun the final destruction of the French Empire in Indo-China, Algeria was to follow within a few years. In contrast to the British experience, the collapse of the French empire was to be through bloodshed, as well as disillusionment (even though by 1953, there had been a surge of public opinion against a pointless and expensive war).

VIETNAM IN FRENCH SCHOOLBOOKS

China was a spring board for France's advance into Indo-China, which in turn was to become the scene of disastrous events in the second half of the twentieth century. Schoolbooks have however been uniformly selective in their treatment of the region's history, until recent years.

Nineteenth century attitudes

Pigeonneau (1879 edition) mentioned Cochin-China³³ and Courval (1883) (perhaps with Catholic *pique*) gave as a reason for armed intervention in Viet Nam: "l'insolente perfidie des Annamites"³⁴. Suérus (*cours moyen*, 1886) in a section headed *Vive la France!* described for 9 to 11 year olds how French success in Tongking and Annam had been due to naval power. The successful command of Admiral Courbet stretched "le long des côtes de Chine"³⁵.

Jallifier and Vast (1886) wrote for the *cours supérieur* with the excitement of conquerors:

"Plus tard, il fallut aller au Tonkin venger d'autres français, le lieutenant de vaisseaux, Francis Garnier, marcha en avant sans compter ses ennemis. Suivi de quatre matelots, il se fit livrer une forteresse que défendaient 1800 Tonkinois, L'héroïque commandant Rivière qui avait renouvelé les exploits de Francis Garnier, prit Hanoi et y resta toute une année avec une poignée de braves. Mais il périt dans une sortie ... Il fallut (pour soumettre le pays) deux armées d'une guerre, où les français luttèrent un contre dix avec une bravoure, une tenacité que ne se démentirent pas un instant malgré un climat meurtrier, malgré les fatigues et l'épuisement"³⁶.

The heroism of Garnier and Rivière was to be recalled on numerous occasions in the future. It is interesting to compare Jallifier and Vast's comments on these events with those of Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel written three quarters of a century later (in 1962) for an older age group (*classes de 1e*):

"En 1873, Francis Garnier ... est envoyé au Tonkin pour régler des difficultés avec les autorités locales. Dépassant ses instructions, il occupe le delta, mais est tué par les Hos "(i.e. les pavillons noirs)" ... En 1882-1883, Rivière, envoyé au Tonkin pour assurer la police du fleuve, imite Garnier et périt comme lui".

Both Garnier and Rivière are presented here not so much as heroes as causes for Ferry's fear of China: "Le Tonkin intéresse des banques et des sociétés minières, et l'on veut empêcher la Chine d'y réaffirmer sa suzeraineté"³⁷. (The vocabulary of this passage for 16 to 17 year olds differs little from that of Jallifier and Vast writing for the younger age group of 11 to 13, eighty years previously. It is the perspectives that have changed).

Jallifier and Vast also praised Dominé and Bobillot (who were killed at Tuyen-Quang) as well as Courbet, whose distinguished record included "la prise de Son-Tay, bombardement de Fou Tchéou et la pénible campagne de Formose"³⁸. And they concluded their account by explaining the significance of Indo-China:

"L'Indo-Chine est un pays du plus grand avenir. Surtout elle est l'anti-chambre de la Chine; elle offre aux Français un champ limité d'action et un marche de commerce du premier ordre"³⁹.

This view was more realistic than that expressed by Wahl and Dontenville (*classes de 3e*, 1887):

"La population, opprimée par les mandarins, ruinée par les pirates ou les pavillons noirs, faisait bon accueil aux Français"⁴⁰, (a typical statement from the point of view of the occupying power).

Nevertheless, the rescue of autochtons in far-off lands, either from themselves or their enemies (see Lavissee, p.225) was regarded as a prime motive for colonisation.

Popular interest in Vietnam inevitably arose in France in the 1880s (see pp.215-16). This was reflected in schoolbooks. Suérus (1886) included two pages about the region, out of 301. Jallifier and Vast (1886) had six pages out of 453; Wahl and Dontenville (1887) eight pages out of 350; Darsy and Toussanel (*enseignement secondaire*, 1893) four pages (proportionately less) out of 882. The greater part of this material is concerned with the detailing of the major events of the time, as for instance in Darsy and Toussanel where the narrative referred to the siege of Hanoi (and "the Black Flags"), the conquest of Tongking (including Garnier and Rivière), the cession of Cochín-China and the protectorates over Annam and Cambodia⁴¹. Blanchet also (*cours élémentaire* notwithstanding, 1895) described the 1874 treaty, Rivière at Hanoi, the military situation in Tongking in 1884 and the war with China⁴².

On the other hand, Aulard and Debidour (*cours moyen*, 1894) had merely recorded that under Napoleon III, France acquired between 1859 and 1863 "le Cochinchine avec le protectorat du royaume de Cambodge"⁴³.

Attitudes from 1900 to 1945

By the turn of the century the choice of events and heroes had been established. The history of France in nineteenth century Vietnam was summarised in the heroism of Garnier and Rivière; the bombardment of Foochow under Courbet; the *pavillons noirs*; the French defeats at Tuyen-Quang and Langson; Cochín-China and the Annamese protectorate. There were variations of course. Aulard and Debidour (1904) included references to Son-Tay and Bac-Ninh⁴⁴. Mame (1906), in a book for the *cours moyen* in Catholic schools singled out Courbet for special mention as a Christian exemplar:

"Dans une admirable campagne, l'Amiral Courbet détruisait l'arsenal militaire de Fou Tchéou, anéantit la flotte chinoise, fit le blocus de l'île Formose et s'empara de la position avantageuse des îles Pescadores ... Il mourut un chrétien le 11 juin 1885"⁴⁵.

Mélin (1904) carried a brief reference to "des bandits Tonkinois"⁴⁶. Vitte (1907)⁴⁷ and Rogie and Despiques (1908)⁴⁸ followed the traditional selection, the latter including also references to Japan, Korea and Russia. The respectability of French colonial policy was stressed in all the books reviewed from this period. Lavissee, writing for 7 to 9 year olds (*cours élémentaire*, 1878) had rested his defence of French activity in East Asia on France's dignity as a great power and on her commercial interests (see p.193)⁴⁹. Jallifier and Vast had linked commercial interests in Vietnam specifically to French interests in China (see p.222). Rogie and Despiques, however, asked a more radical question. They spent two pages discussing "Devons-nous coloniser?"⁵⁰ (an abstract question for 9-11 year olds).

While they defended colonisation on the grounds that commercial expansion demanded it, they deplored the violence that frequently accompanied it. They ended, however, with a tribute to France's civilising mission:

"La France veut imposer ses colons aux indigènes non par la force des armes mais par les bienfaits de la civilisation ... les colons apparaissent non comme des maîtres cruels et avides, mais comme des guides plus instruits, comme des protecteurs. La colonisation ... est respectueuse de tous les droits de l'humanité"⁵¹.

Few books published between the wars revealed an interest in Vietnam. In 1921 Lavissee republished a schoolbook for the *cours moyen* (by this time, with a printing of 1,369,000 copies) in which he wrote:

"Les colonies sont très utiles au commerce et à l'industrie de la France ... Mais un noble pays comme la France ne pense pas qu'à gagner de l'argent"⁵².

Thus setting aside the economic argument, he had a single sentence on Indo-China:

"En Indo-chine, la France a mis fin aux ravages des bandits de Chine".

In the eyes of Lavissee, the bandits of East Asia were no different from those who committed "atrocities" in North and West Africa. France, he

concluded "will more and more instruct and civilise her subjects"⁵³.

There is a change of emphasis however in a book for the *classes de philosophie et mathématiques* (then, the top class in secondary school) by Malet and Isaac (1929). Allowing for the difference in "levels" between these two books, the changes in attitude were still considerable.

"L'Annam était un vieil empire dont la civilisation ancienne et brillante, était d'origine chinoise"⁵⁴. And they added realistically:

"Il faut ajouter le désir d'assurer à la France un point d'appui pour ses escadres et une base de pénétration en Chine"⁵⁵.

Vietnam is placed more favourably then within a historical perspective. Greater objectivity enters in. In fact, François (*classes de 1e*, 1939) claimed that in this "métropole seconde aux antipodes de la France", the French position was "precarious"⁵⁶:

"Le fait que ces races jaunes ont une civilisation et une mentalité différentes des nôtres, et qu'elles pourront, dans l'avenir, trouver contre nous un secours chez d'autres peuples jaunes, n'est pas de nature à faciliter notre tâche"⁵⁷.

Attitudes from 1945 to 1971

At the end of the war, Ségond a catholic writer, (*cours moyen*, 1945 edition) maintained a traditional view, explaining that once Annam had been placed under French protection, "il ne nous reste ... qu'à répandre parmi ses habitants les bienfaits de la civilisation chrétienne et française"⁵⁸. But in the 1948 edition of Malet-Isaac the authors condemned the extreme inequality that existed in the colonies between Europeans and the indigenous people. They singled out Indo-China, where the autochthons had "trop souvent été traités en inférieurs par les fonctionnaires ou les colons"⁵⁹. In their 1951 edition they repeated this view suggesting to 18 year olds that difficulties experienced by the French in Indo-China were often aggravated by "l'ignorance des coutumes locales ... le seule politique féconde ... est une politique d'éducation, de collaboration et d'amitié"⁶⁰.

Some other writers of the period, like Ségond, took a more conservative line. Morazé and Wolff (*classes de philo-mathématiques*, 1948) described the colonies as "relativement privilégiées" and claimed that "l'égalité entre tous les hommes y est entreé dans la voie des réalisations"⁶¹. Hallynck and Lugand (*classes de 1e*, 1950) described the French "presence" overseas as "une garantie d'ordre, de santé et de prospérité"⁶². Writers continued to quote the same selected events from Vietnamese history (see p.223). Isaac, Alba and Bonifacio (*classes de philo-mathématiques*, 1953) related the conquest of Tongking, Courbet at Foochow, the blockades at Tuyen-Quang and Lang-son, the "organisation" of Indo-China and the establishment of Laos⁶³.

Cerati (1963) observes that French colonial history has hardly been included in most books used in the *cours élémentaire*⁶⁴ which is not surprising in the case of 7 to 9 year olds. This continued to be the norm in the 1950s, although Liget (1954) included one sentence on Vietnam: "Dans la Cochinchine ... les français en 1871 eurent pour objectif le Tonkin"⁶⁵. Bonifacio and Maréchal (1956) wrote similarly: "Les français ont commencés sous le Second Empire à s'installer dans un lointain pays d'Asie, l'Indochine"⁶⁶.

Genet however, writing for *classes terminales* (1958) included a 38 page account of European colonial expansion⁶⁷. He made a general comment:

"Les démocraties qui, face aux dictatures, représentaient la liberté et la fraternité, ont quelques fois oubliés cet idéal devant leurs colonies"⁶⁸.

Genet saw the conquest of Vietnam and Indo-China as resulting from "le désir d'acquérir des bases navales en Extrême-Orient, de trouver des terres de coton, des marchés, la volonté aussi de protéger les chrétiens malmenés"⁶⁹. A comparison between this edition and that of 1947 shows that in 1958 there were accounts of nationalist movements prior to 1939. After the withdrawal of French forces in 1953, Ho Chi Minh assumed an

important rôle in the French account of historical events.

On the other hand, the volume on the nineteenth century in the *Cours Malet-Isaac* of 1961 (*classes de 1e*) was more patriotic. The authors discussed Ferry, for instance, who "par son initiative et grâce à sa tenacité, le domaine français s'agrandit entre 1883 and 1885, de l'Annam et du Tonkin"⁷⁰. They described the conquest of Tongking, the rôle of Garnier in providing access to South China, and the death of Rivière⁷¹. "L'idée de conquérir le Tonkin apparaît dès avant 1870, à la suite d'une mission d'exploration de Francis Garnier ... Après une courte guerre l'empereur d'Annam, maître du Tonkin, se soumit!"⁷². They pointed out that French military intervention occurred because the safety of persecuted catholic missionaries had to be secured. However, this action also enabled them to establish trading routes throughout Indo-China and north into South China⁷³.

Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel (*classes de 1e*, also 1962) have already been mentioned (p.222). After their account of Garnier and Rivière they mentioned Courbet and the growing opposition in France to the Vietnamese conflict⁷⁴. Langson is connected with the resignation of Ferry. The "Union Indochinoise" was created. The work of Doumer, the importance of the carbon, tin and zinc mines in Tongking, the development of the port of Haiphong, and the early growth of nationalism among Vietnamese intellectuals were all discussed⁷⁵.

Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel (*classes terminales*, 1962) dealt with twentieth century developments:

"L'exploitation coloniale marquait de son empreinte la société et l'économie: grandes plantations et paysannerie misérable et opprimée; commerce actif dans les villes, le plus souvent aux mains d'émigrés chinois demeurés en contact avec leur pays"⁷⁶.

The writers mentioned briefly the growing disillusionment of the Vietnamese middle-class (who, until the 1920s, continued to hope for an effective share in the government of the country), the continuing growth

of nationalism and the birth of the Communist Party under Nguyen Ai-Quoc (the original name of Ho Chi Minh) in 1925. Later, they referred to the nineteenth century background of the situation in Indo-China and to the economic significance to France of the region's natural resources⁷⁷.

The lack of attention given to the final French struggle for Indo-China is noticeable. There is no reference to the defeat at Dien-Bien-Phu:

"De 1945 à 1954, La France tente de reconquérir l'Indo-chine (that is to say, after the Japanese occupation): après neuf ans de guerre, elle accepte, par les accords de Genève, que le Vietnam soit partagé, que sa moitié septentrionale passe sous influence communiste, et que l'ensemble des États indochinois devienne indépendant"⁷⁸.

There is, however, a detailed passage on the growing problems of Indo-China as a viable political and economic region, with reference to the varying influences of Russia, China and the United States⁷⁹. The reader will, of course, see these events against the wider and very long account of modern China to which reference has already been made (see p.198)⁸⁰. This account of Vietnam extends to the late 1950s.

Duroselle (*classes terminales*, 1962) set the Indo-Chinese situation in the 1920s and 30s within the context the growing pride in Empire and the symbolic importance of the 1931 Exhibition at Vincennes (see p.109). He referred to the serious situation which developed in Vietnam during this period, drawing attention to the economic inequality experienced by the *indigènes*. In 1931, he notes, 13,000 Europeans in Vietnam earned an average of 5,000 piastres, while nine and a half million inhabitants earned an average of only 49 piastres. It was therefore understandable, according to Duroselle, that the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang (the Nationalist party) rebelled in 1930, only to be severely bombarded by the French army. This solved nothing:

"Il y eut des exécutions et des perquisitions et les groupes nationalistes furent disloqués. Mais on ne s'en prit pas aux causes du mal"⁸¹.

It was a situation that led to the French-Indochina war which Audrin and Déchappe described as "la guerre malheureuse au Vietnam à l'issue de laquelle les états d'Indochine quittent l'Union"⁸².

The book on 1715-1870 in the *Collection d'Histoire Louis Girard* (*classes de 3e*, 1966) dismissed Vietnam and Cambodia in two and a half lines: "La marine française occupe la Cochinchine (1858-1861); le royaume du Cambodge se place sous protectorat français". Indo-China was "une porte d'entrée vers la chine". It was an "ouverture forcée de l'Extrême-Orient"⁸³.

Sentou and Carbonell (1970) writing on the twentieth century for *classes terminales* include a chapter on Indo-China⁸⁴. They sketch the history of the region up to colonisation, which they omit. The pre-1939 years of the twentieth century are covered in fourteen lines and then there is a reference to Japanese occupation in 1941 and the outbreak of war with France in 1946 which is covered in half a page. Most of the chapter describes political developments since 1956⁸⁵. Three lines refer to American participation in the war⁸⁶.

Bonifacio and Michaud (*classes de 3e*, 1971) are outspoken:

"La tentative que Francis Garnier fit en 1873 pour occuper ce pays se termina en catastrophe. Dix ans plus tard, une autre tentative se termina mal, mais Jules Ferry, alors chef du gouvernement, voulut en profiter pour agrandir le domaine français en Indo-Chine"⁸⁷.

They go on to refer to the establishment of the protectorate over Tongking and Annam, war with China and the "pacification" of Laos and Cambodia⁸⁸.

Later, the 1946-56 war between France and the Vietnamese nationalists is mentioned:

"Elle comporta des épisodes dramatiques, tels que la prise du camp fortifié français de Dien-Bien-Phu, elle fit périr des centaines de milliers de gens et provoqua d'immenses dévastations. La France dut reconnaître finalement l'indépendance des divers pays indochinois"⁸⁹.

Conclusion

What has become evident then is that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Vietnam was presented in French schoolbooks as an

area for France's civilising mission and a cause for national pride. But with the questioning about colonisation, in spite of the surge of interest in the French empire in the 1920s and 30s, the writers of secondary school books were becoming increasingly analytical. This becomes especially noticeable after France's defeat in 1954. But as early as 1929, Malet-Isaac had begun to place Vietnam within its historical perspective. Increasingly, writers described her ancient past, her relations with China, the reasons for French conquest, the growing economic inequalities and the growth of nationalism.

The selection of nineteenth century events has, in the main, remained the same throughout the period, but a sympathetic presentation of the Vietnamese people has become increasingly evident since the beginning of the 1960s. The final war with the French is still underplayed in schoolbooks, but inferences of defeat exist. Analysis led historians to a deepening self-criticism about Vietnam. This is now true for 14 to 16 year pupils in the *classes de 3e*, (where Vietnam is encountered in the secondary school syllabus for the first time) just as it is for those in more senior classes. Latterly, for older pupils studying Vietnam within the context of world history, there is almost a smoothing away of French involvement, and instead, a growing appreciation of the origins of and reasons for Vietnamese nationalism. Further reflection on the Vietnamese experience is bound to follow, when writers begin to discuss the American war in Vietnam.

It is worth noting also that until very recently references to Vietnam in British books have been negligible⁹⁰. The significance of recent events in Vietnam is such, however, that a growing amount of material has been made available to schools, setting the current crisis of the Vietnamese people within its historical context⁹¹. Criticism of French policy in Vietnam in the nineteenth century is now beginning⁹².

NOTES

Chapter VI (2)

1. p.389. Hsü. *op.cit.*
2. p.47. R.Allen. *A short introduction to the History and Politics of Southeast Asia*. Oxford.1970
3. pp.422-23,429-31. D.G.E.Hall. *A History of South-East Asia*. Macmillan. 1970 edn.
4. pp.424-25. *ibid.*
5. p.644. *ibid.*
6. *ibid.*
7. p.51. Allen.*op.cit.*
8. p.645. Hall. *op.cit.*
9. p.482. S.H.Roberts. *The History of French Colonial Policy.1870-1925*. Cass.1963 edn.
10. p.657. Hall. *op.cit.*
11. quoted. p.658. *ibid.*
12. p.659. *ibid.*
13. p.390. J.Ganiage. *L'Expansion coloniale de la France*. Payot. Paris. 1968.
14. p.132. *ibid.*
15. p.98. J.Buttinger, *Vietnam: a political history*. Deutsch.1969.
16. p.137. *ibid.*
17. *ibid.*
18. p.393. Hsü. *op.cit.*
19. p.138. Ganiage. *op.cit.*
20. cp. p.57. *ibid*; cp. p.77. P.J.V.Rolo. *Entente Cordiale*. Macmillan. 1969.
21. p.31. A.Cobban. *A History of Modern France.1871-1962*. Pelican.1970 edn.
22. p.140. Ganiage. *op.cit.*
23. see pp.678-701. Hall. *op.cit.*
24. p.700. *ibid.*

25. p.242. D.W.Brogan. *The Development of Modern France*. Macmillan. 1963 edn.
26. pp.87. *seq.* J.Buttinger. *Vietnam: a dragon embattled*. vol.1. Pall Mall Press.1967.
27. p.vii. *ibid.*
28. p.790. Hall. *op.cit.*; p.121. Allen *op.cit.*
29. p.762. *ibid.*; pp.117. *seq.* Buttinger. *Vietnam: a political history*.
30. p.763. *ibid.*
31. *ibid.*
32. p.876. *ibid.*
33. p.268. Pigeonneau. *op.cit.*
34. p.221. Abbé Courval. *Petite Histoire de la France*. Poussièlgue. Paris. 1883.
35. p.285. Suérus. *op.cit.*
36. pp.407-08. Jallifier and Vast. *op.cit.* (This book for 11-13 year olds was 500 pages long).
37. p.378. Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel. *op.cit.*
38. p.408. Jallifier and Vast. *op.cit.*
39. p.409. *ibid.*
40. p.349. Wahl and Dontenville. *op.cit.*
41. pp.856-59. Darsy and Toussanel. *op.cit.*
42. pp.213-18. Blanchet. *op.cit.*
43. p.221. Aulard and Debidour. *op.cit.*
44. p.546. Mélin. *op.cit.*
45. p.405. Aulard and Debidour. *Notions d'histoire générale et Histoire de France*.
46. Manuel de Mame.1906; cp. L'école libre. *Précis d'histoire de France*. Paris.1907. (both quoted p.93. Cerati. *op.cit.*).
47. pp.387-88. Vitte. *op.cit.*
48. p.274. Rogie and Despiques. *op.cit.*
49. p.318. Lavissee. *La première année d'histoire de France*.
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CHAPTER VII

INDIA, BRITAIN AND FRANCE

INDIA

Background

The encounters between the West and India began with the invasion of Alexander in 325 BC and continued intermittently until the Islamic invasions, which began in the eighth century AD. Trade was carried on by Malays, Arabs and Indians who met the caravans arriving at the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea. This manner of trading was complicated and costly for Europeans.

Eventually, the Portuguese planned to sail to India, round the coast of Southern Africa. Diaz accomplished this in 1486 and Vasco da Gama in 1498. By 1510, Portugal had captured Goa and by 1511, Malacca. When in 1580, Portugal's crown passed to Spain, the Portuguese advance in the East came to an end. The Netherlands and England became their trading rivals.

The East India Company

The English East India Company (EIC) was founded in 1600 and the first ships set sail in 1601¹, reaching Sumatra eighteen months later. A series of successful voyages to East Asia followed and in 1608, the first EIC ship arrived off Surat, north of Bombay. The English swiftly realised the importance of textiles (especially white cottons and painted calicoes) and pepper². Surat was established as the Company's headquarters in 1612³. During the seventeenth century, "factories" (or warehouses), were established at Masulipatam (1611), Madras (1640) and Bombay which, having been transferred to the British in 1662 as part of the wedding dowry of Catherine of Braganza, became the headquarters of the EIC in 1687⁴.

Originally envisaged as a trading company, the directors in London came to realise that the EIC must develop into a power which could establish a territorial position. The Dutch, Danes, Austrians and French were all

attempting to break into the Asian trade. Moreover, war between the Mughals and the Marathas, together with disturbances in the Deccan States and the dangerous activities of the pirates of Malabar, underlined the potential insecurity of the British traders.

In December 1687, the Directors of the EIC instructed the Company's President in Madras "to establish such a politie of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to secure both ... as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time to come"⁵.

The Company waged a futile war with the forces of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb from 1687 to 1690, and after due restitution for the damage done, received a licence to trade.

Meanwhile, the English were attempting to obtain a foothold in Bengal. An initial attempt to establish themselves at Hugli resulted in a settlement at Sutanati in 1690, near to the villages of Calcutta and Govindpur, where they consolidated their trade in raw silk, sugar and saltpetre. But after 1688, the Whigs in London resented the Company's monopoly. In 1698, a new Company, "the General Society" came into existence and the old EIC joined it in 1707. About the same time, the "English Company of Merchants" made overtures to Aurangzeb, but had no success. Under pressure from the English government, they amalgamated with "the General Society" and became in 1709 "the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies". Their monopoly remained untouched until 1793.

Bombay, Madras and Calcutta grew up around a nucleus of fortified trading settlements or factories. Attached to each settlement were a number of satellite "factories". By 1744, Bombay had a population of 70,000, and Calcutta, 100,000. Madras had had 300,000 inhabitants since the beginning of the century. After the union of the companies, dividends were high and it was a story of solid prosperity⁶.

The Compagnie des Indes Orientales

The French Compagnie des Indes Orientales (CIO) was established by Colbert in 1664. It first attempted unsuccessfully to colonise Madagascar. An expedition established a factory at Surat in 1668, followed by another at Masulipatam in 1669. After a few skirmishes, the French obtained a small village from the Muslim governor of Valikondapuram. This was the modest genesis of Pondicherry in 1673. In 1674, they were granted a site in Bengal, on which they built the factory of Chandernagore. The Dutch captured Pondicherry in 1693 and returned it in 1697. By 1706, the population of the town had grown to 40,000.

At this time, the financial resources of the CIO were nearly exhausted. Surat and Masulipatam were abandoned. After the CIO was reconstituted in 1720, Mauritius was occupied in 1721, Mahé on the Malabar coast in 1725, Karikal in 1739. Exports from India to France rose from £89,000 in 1728 to £880,000 in 1740. (In 1740, British exports from India were £1,795,000⁷. Private, rather than government, capital, together with naval power, gave the British greater security in India).

Indian politics, in the south of the sub-continent, were confused in 1740, The Nizam Asaf Jah was preoccupied with the Marathas, in the Western Deccan. (The Marathas were a warlike, Hindu people who established a vigorous kingdom in the early eighteenth century). The Nawab of the Carnatic was attempting to consolidate a position of power in the south-east. In 1742, Dupleix was appointed Governor of Pondicherry (to replace Dumas) where he remained until his recall in 1754. In him, the French had a man who was not only committed to commercial expansion, but to the expansion of the French empire in India, as well.

When in 1744, the War of the Austrian Succession began, the French fleet in the Indian Ocean was recalled. Dupleix proposed to the English Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta that they should all

exercise neutrality. This overture did not take into account British naval power. A British squadron had been despatched in May 1744, to the Bay of Bengal. Several French merchant ships were captured and influenced by Dupleix, the Nawab of the Carnatic ordered the British to live at peace with the French.

The Governor of Mauritius, La Bourdonnais, however, improvised a fleet of local craft and sailed for the Coromandel coast. After an indecisive action, the British, under Peyton, retired to Ceylon and La Bourdonnais went to Pondicherry. Later, Peyton was so impressed with the appearance of the French ships that he left Madras undefended and sailed to Hugli in Bengal. The EIC had only two hundred troops in Madras, together with a force of sepoys (Indian soldiers. From the Persian for 'soldier' *sipahi*, according to *Hobson-Jobson*, the glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases). After the British naval force had moved north, La Bourdonnais bombarded Madras, for a few hours, resulting in the unconditional surrender of the town⁸.

The quarrel between La Bourdonnais and Dupleix which ensued resulted from the former's intention to ransom the town and exclude Dupleix from the profits. When a severe hurricane forced the French fleet to retire to Mauritius, Dupleix destroyed the fortifications of the EIC, plundered the town and captured Fort St. David, south of Pondicherry. A British attempt to take Pondicherry in 1748 was rebuffed but in the same year the political settlement at the Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle restored Madras to Britain.⁹

A profound change in the political situation of South India now occurred. The British held Madras by treaty. The French were recognised in India for their military skill. The Nawab of the Carnatic had been proved to be ineffective against European arms. Dupleix now made a bid for an empire in southern India. His insight and statesmanship were

described by his secretary, Ananda Ranga Pillai.

"(His) method of doing things is not known to anyone, because none else is possessed of the quick mind with which he is gifted. In patience he has no equal. He has peculiar skill in carrying out his plans and designs in the management of affairs and in governing, in fitting his advice to times and persons..."¹⁰

The Anglo-French Struggle

The essence of Dupleix's policy was to find local leaders who could give him assistance. In 1749, he intervened in the disputed governorship of the Carnatic, and his support of Muzaffar Jang, the successful candidate, led to his being granted by the new Nizam the vague title of "ruler of India south of the Kistna"¹¹. In 1751 he supported Salabat Jang as Nizam of Hyderabad, on the death of Muzaffar. Dupleix's sole obstacles to power in the south were the British in Madras and Muhammad Ali in Trichinopoly. While the French advanced on Trichinopoly, Clive (1725-74; an EIC clerk, working in Madras, who developed a genius for warfare) seized the capital of the Carnatic, Arcot. Trichinopoly was relieved and Law, the French general in charge of the siege fled to Srirangam, where he was besieged by the British. Dupleix attempted to take Trichinopoly again in 1753, but early in 1754 he was recalled to France. He had received scant support from the French government. Lack of financial resources, together with the military superiority of the British and the political complexities of the Carnatic and Hyderabad, spelt, in the end, disaster for his imperial vision.

In 1756, the Seven Years War in Europe found Britain and France still on opposite sides. The "skirmish"¹² of the "ridiculous"¹³ Battle of Plassey in 1757 confirmed the power of Britain in Bengal. France sent the comte de Lally in 1758, but he was defeated at Wandiwash in 1760 and Pondicherry fell in 1761. Majumdar comments: "He had military skill and displayed bravery and energy, but possessed neither the tact of a leader nor the wisdom of a statesman"¹⁴. Spear summarises the closing events of this epoch:

"Lally could not recover after Wandiwash because he had no finance; he had no finance because he could get no supplies from France. The British, on the other hand, could feed Madras from Bengal as well as supply it from home, and by moving their men in ships they could make one man do the work of two"¹⁵.

After the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the power of France in India was never again important. Foreign Minister Vergennes wrote in a memorandum to Louis XVI:

"The humiliating peace of 1763 ... has given rise to the opinion in every nation that France has no longer any strength or resources... It is enough to read the Treaty of Paris, and particularly the negotiations which preceded it, to realise the ascendancy which England has acquired over France and to judge how much that arrogant nation savours the pleasure of having humiliated us"¹⁶.

Such bitterness is still reflected in French writing on eighteenth century India. Hardy writes of "ces infimes débris d'un empire" and refers to the French leaders in India, as those "qui, soit par intérêt, soit par goût de l'aventure ou dans un noble refus de la défaite, secondent les princes indigènes dans leur lutte contre les Anglais"¹⁷.

The "Black Hole" of Calcutta

It is necessary to refer to the incident which is retold in almost all schoolbooks: the so-called Black Hole of Calcutta. This event had occurred in June 1756, and led to Clive's advance on Calcutta and the Battle of Plassey early in the following year.

Siraj-ud-daulah, the twenty-year old ruler of Bengal, fearing that European rivalry would undermine his own position, used the rumour that Fort William was about to improve its fortifications, to lay siege to Calcutta and the Fort. Some say that he entered the Fort primarily intent on plundering the treasury. In the confusion within the Fort, a shot was fired and Siraj-ud-daulah ordered that the British were to be locked up. A large group of people were herded into the Fort's lock-up known as the black-hole or "Black Hole", and many of them died there during the night.

(The Oxford English Dictionary records "black-hole" (with lower case and a hyphen) as a sixteenth century word for "dungeon", "punishment cell" or "lock-up". But it notes that the name "Black Hole" (with capitals) has become historic in connection with the events of 1756 in Calcutta. It notes also that "black-hole" remained the official designation of a "lock-up" until the term was abandoned in 1868. According to the OED, there were two ways, in 1758, of referring to the event.

J.Z.Holwell, in his diary, wrote:

"The guards ordered us to go into the room at the Southernmost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black-Hole prison",

and J.Blake wrote:

"What happened lately in the black-hole at Bengal".

Bence-Jones, in his recent book *Clive of India* (1974), suggests that the room in Fort William was known as the "Black Hole", before the event on that June night in 1756¹⁸.)

With such a large number of people herded into this room which measured about 18 by 14 feet, there was hysteria and acute discomfort. The suffocation that ensued could have been prevented. The Indian guards, knowing full well the predicament of the prisoners and even bringing them water (which could not be taken efficiently through the small window) did not dare to wake up the Nawab to inform him of the situation¹⁹. Spear regards the incident as "deplorable ... rather than a deliberate atrocity"²⁰.

Spear has drawn attention to B.K.Gupta's research published in 1959, which claimed that the probable number of survivors was 21 out of 64.

Bence-Jones also maintains that the traditional numbers, (146 people of whom 123 died) cannot be true. It was mathematically impossible in a room of that size. Indian scholars put the total number of prisoners at between 39 and 69, and the deaths between 18 and 43²¹. (It will be interesting to see how long it will take for this correction to become

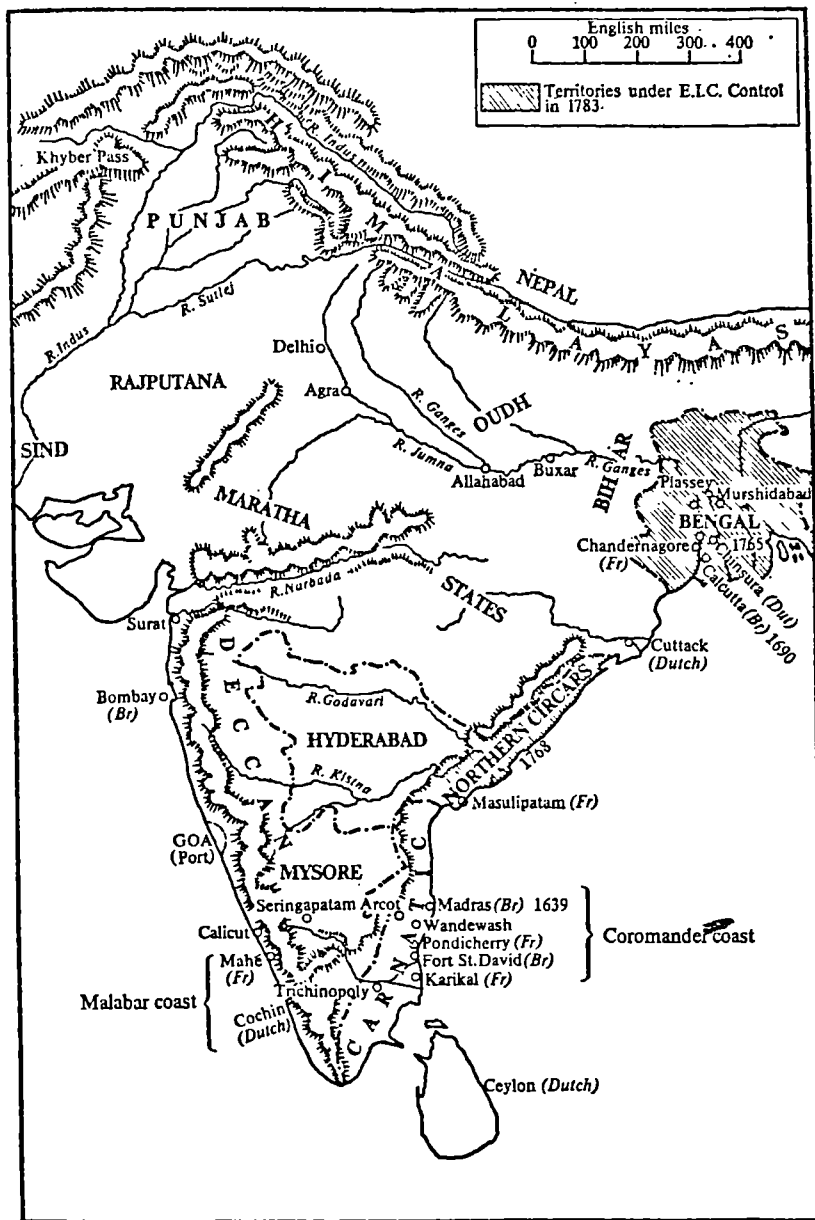
generally known). The traditional story was found in the papers of J.Z.Holwell who was not only a propagandist but one of the survivors (and who, a few hours after his release, was threatened with being fired out of a cannon - a traditional Indian method of execution - because he would not reveal where the EIC's treasure was)²². Victorian writers used his account a century later when writing of British heroism. For many years, little notice had been taken of the incident even though at the very least, it had been an appalling accident.

There can be no doubt however that during the last hundred years, the story of the "Black Hole" at Calcutta has contributed to the British attitude to India. "Black Hole" has entered the English language and is connected with the Calcutta disaster in the Oxford English Dictionary. In colloquial speech, the words are used to conjure up a sense of horror and darkness.

There are signs however that among contemporary writers the incident is being ignored, G.S.Graham in his *A Concise History of the British Empire* (1970) being one example of this trend.

Clive and Hastings

In the two and a half years immediately following the Battle of Plassey, Clive established the fortunes of the EIC in Bengal and amassed a personal fortune of his own. Siraj-ud-daulah was deposed and with the help of the British, Mir Jafar was established in power. In permitting Clive to manipulate power in this way, he had begun a revolution; for to the traditional Indian, power was indivisible and lodged in the sovereign. It was to become clear that real power resided in Clive and his successors. Since 1717, the company had been exempted from all import and export duties, but private trading had not been so exempted. In 1757, Clive obtained from Mir Jafar exemption for private trading within the Company, also. The result was increasing corruption and the



INDIA AFTER CLIVE

Source: p.95. B.Gardner. *The East India Company*.

amassing of private fortunes, while Indian merchants were paying 40 per cent *ad valorem*²³.

When Clive returned to India in 1765 some controls were implemented, but as Woodruff (Philip Mason) shows, Bengali revenue was only two and a half million pounds a year. Clive was appointed Revenue Minister for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The EIC thus found a fund of silver for purchasing goods and investing in China and Japan. Three quarters of a million pounds purchased Indian goods for England; a quarter of a million pounds was used in China and the remainder was spent on the Company establishments²⁴.

Warren Hastings became Governor-General in 1772, He was remembered by Indians (in Woodruff's words)"because he thought of Indians as human beings, because he usually liked them and treated them always with courtesy"²⁵. (Hastings was primarily a statesman, while Clive of India was a *conquistador*). Hastings, in his control of Bengal and Madras, extended Britain's influence through alliances with Indian states.

As a result of the Regulating Act of 1773, intrigues in London were now controlled by firmer government of the Company's affairs in the City. Shareholders could no longer make or unmake policy at a whim. It was an assertion of parliamentary control over the EIC and Spear interprets it as Parliament's first concern for the people of India²⁶. Pitt's India Act of 1784 created a dual system of control by Company and Government, and the Act formally declared that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation"²⁷. This system lasted until the Mutiny of 1857.

It was Parliament's assertion of moral responsibility for India that became the theme of Hasting's six year impeachment trial which began in 1787. Whatever the personal reasons of Sir Philip Francis and Edmund Burke in propagating this trial and although the outcome was complete

acquittal, the Company's staff now knew that no one could expect to go without scrutiny of their work or reproof for misdemeanours.

British expansion in India and the Afghan and Sikh Wars

Between the end of the Napoleonic wars and the Mutiny, there was considerable expansion on the sub-continent. One fifth of the human race was welded into an empire of subject peoples, administered by a handful of civil servants and soldiers. Caste, religion, political and ethnic groupings, the willingness of Indian rulers to cooperate with the British for a price, all assisted this development.

Unlike the French, who saw their colonial subjects as potential Frenchmen, the British treated Indians as Indians, But they were subjects and not citizens. Some of the English foresaw the potential "danger" of education. As early as 1822, Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, wrote: "We may expect an explosion which will overturn our government"²⁸. Macaulay also wrote in 1835 that: "It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown our system... whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to retard or avert it"²⁹.

From a series of "factory" sites at the end of the eighteenth century, expansion had continued, so that by 1833, the EIC was compelled to cease trade, becoming instead an organisation of government. Parts of Burma had been annexed, under Amherst (1823-28), for security reasons, and Bentinck (1828-35) who is remembered for his reforming zeal in economics, education and justice, had suppressed "suttee" (in 1829) and "thugee" or "thagee" (in 1830). (*Suttee* was a Hindu practice of widows being burnt on their husband's funeral pyre and *thugee* involved ritual robbery and murder).

Politically, Britain sought to safeguard the North West Frontier and the march on Kabul in 1839 was in effect a political and military manoeuvre against Russia's influence in central Asia. Spear regards the

Russian threat as largely imaginary and certainly Britain was not strong enough to dominate the Iranian plateau³⁰, for the Afghans revolted, leading to the British retreat in 1842, in which there was only one survivor. The following year Ellenborough, the Governor-General, ordered the annexation of Sind as a first precaution against the Russian threat and Afghan intransigence. Woodruff quotes Elphinstone, who described this as the act of "a bully who has been kicked in the streets and goes home to beat his wife in revenge"³¹.

In 1845, the Sikhs of the Punjab who were already apprehensive about British intentions, attacked the British army in an attempt to offset political problems at home. They were defeated in four battles and the British appointed a Resident in Lahore to advise their government. A revolt in 1848-49 resulted in the British annexation of the Punjab. Lord Dalhousie, as Governor General, now instituted the doctrine of "lapse", whereby when a ruler died childless, the Company inherited the state. The EIC absorbed seven states, in this way, including Oudh, between 1848 and 1856. There were also developments in agriculture, science, medicine, railways, education, postal services and telegraphs. New laws permitted Hindu widows to remarry and converts who had changed their religion, to inherit property. Convicts in prison now ate together, rather than singly³². It was an inevitable policy of Westernization.

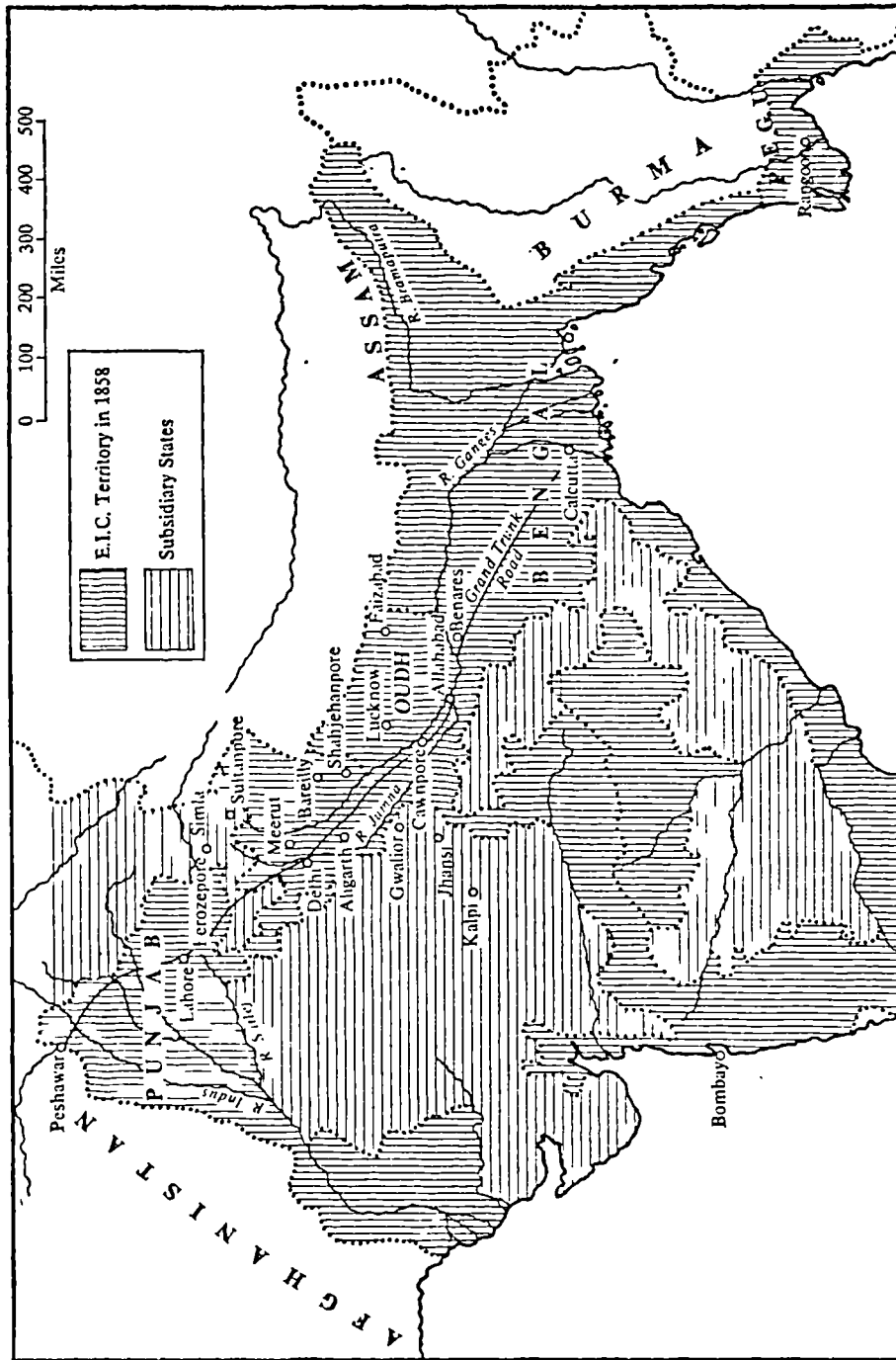
The Mutiny (or revolt of the Sepoys)

Rapid and enforced change of this kind caused unrest. In addition, the defeat of the British army at Kabul was being followed by disasters in Crimea. The old prophecy, that disaster would befall the British, a century after Plassey, now began to be whispered in the northern market places. *Chuppatties* (small flat cakes) were passed from village to village (a custom which presaged a mysterious event). Morale in the British army was weakening because of a lack of career opportunity. The

English became increasingly aloof³³.

In 1856, the General Service Enlistment Act ordered that in future all new army recruits must be prepared to travel overseas. This was anathema to the orthodox Hindu, who could not cross the sea, or eat salt pork and ship's biscuit³⁴. The annexation of Oudh in 1856 created uncertainty both among the Indian princes and the sepoys, many of whom came from Oudh. In local quarrels in the past they had been able, with some success, to play off their opponents in court against the British civil authorities. But British rule now meant British justice. Then the story about the greased cartridges began to spread. The Lee-Enfield rifle necessitated the greasing of cartridges, which were bitten open to release the powder. At Woolwich Arsenal, this was merely a rough and ready device. But as the tallow in the grease came from all kinds of animals, including probably pigs and cows, the Hindu with cow's fat on his lips would feel a disgust which found no parallel in the European way of life. Pig's fat for the Muslim was equally abhorrent.

Sepoys at Dumdum, near Calcutta, refused to bite their cartridges in January 1857. In the same month, the government of India, apprised of the situation ordered that sepoys should use beeswax and vegetable oil and break the cartridges with their fingers. But the damage had been done. The British were felt to have been planning to break the sepoys' caste and make them Christians. There were reports of arson and of regiments being disbanded. In May, when 85 sepoys at Meerut refused their cartridges, they were sentenced to long terms in prison. Their comrades released them while the British were preparing for Sunday evening service on 10 May³⁵. Delhi was seized the following day and not relieved until September. The 82 year old Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, became the mutineers' reluctant leader. In Oudh, the Maratha leader, Nana Sahib, found himself as leader of an army of rebel



THE INDIAN MUTINY: 1857-1858 (principal towns)

Source: p.257. B.Gardner. *The East India Company*.

sepoys and Afghan mercenaries, with Lucknow, Kanpur and Jhansi, as the objects of attack.

The war was fought with great ferocity on both sides. In so far as the revolts had any direction, they looked to a revival of the defunct Mughal and Maratha régimes³⁶. (The Mughals and the Marathas epitomised the Muslim and Hindu streams within Indian political life and culture. The Mughal Empire had lasted nearly two hundred years from the sixteenth century and had come to be accepted by almost the whole of India, with the exception of the Marathas).

Within a month, British authority had ceased in North India, apart from Agra, Lucknow and Cawnpore. After the relief of Delhi, the inhabitants suffered miserably through plunder and punitive measures. Meanwhile in Cawnpore, the massacre of over two hundred British, including 125 women and children, had taken place. The British were enraged and indiscriminate lynchings of Indians, by civilians, became commonplace. Mutineers who were caught were often executed by being blasted from cannons, a traditional method of execution in India, as noted in the case of Holwell in 1756, but nonetheless repugnant in the West. After Cawnpore, Lucknow was relieved in March 1858. This signalled the virtual end of the Mutiny.

The violence and misery inflicted by both sides is only matched by the profound effect that the events of 1857-58 had on British and Indian public opinion. Much is known of British reaction from contemporary sources. Christine Bolt for instance comments in *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (1971):

"The Mutiny created a sense of outrage in Victorian Britain... because it seemed to indicate a gross ingratitude on the part of the Indian people... It is clear, after 1857, that the romance of India did vanish for many Britons who visited or settled there, and that this contributed to the development of harsher racial attitudes"³⁷.

Bolt's chapter on "The Indian Empire" amply demonstrates this thesis.

The effect of the Mutiny on Indian opinion is more difficult to gauge. Majumdar does not regard it as an organised war of independence, but rather "in the main, a military outbreak"³⁸. "If the mutineers", he wrote, "were guilty of terrible enormities, the British troops also on occasions tarnished the fair name of their country..."³⁹.

He also quotes Russell, the *Times* correspondent in India as saying:

"Many years must elapse ere the evil passions excited by these disturbances expire; perhaps confidence will never be restored..."⁴⁰.

Spear sees the Mutiny "as a last convulsive movement of protest against the coming of the West, on the part of traditional India"⁴¹. The British learnt that they must exercise caution in implementing their western policies and must be in closer touch with Indian opinion. The EIC was deprived of government by the Government of India Act of 1858. There was to be a Secretary of State in London and a Viceroy in India. In 1861, the Indian Councils Act provided for the nomination of non-official members into both the central and provincial legislative councils, and after 1882, half the members of local councils were elected, but they had no power. They could discuss and advise. The British took the decisions. India, therefore, was halfway between the white-settled colonies which had control over domestic affairs and the African and island dependencies which had no status in the making of their domestic policy.

The growth of nationalism and constitutional reform

The 1858 Act was accompanied by a proclamation from the Queen which declared that "our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service"⁴². But progress of Indians into the higher civil service and military grades was very slow. When in 1883, it was proposed that Indian magistrates should be allowed to try cases involving Europeans, there was bitter opposition from the

European community. Indians wishing to enter the higher civil service had to travel to London to sit the examination. Even so, some were successful; so much so that Lord Curzon (as Viceroy) wrote to Lord Hamilton (the Secretary of State) in 1900:

"Some day I must address you about the extreme danger of the system under which every year an increasing number of the 900 and odd higher posts that were meant, and ought to have been exclusively and specially reserved for Europeans, are being filched away by the superior wits of the native in the English examinations. I believe it to be the greatest peril with which our administration is confronted"⁴³.

Such a climate of European opinion in the last quarter of the nineteenth century led to nationalist agitation in Bengal and to the founding of the National Congress movement in 1885⁴⁴, which demanded complete self-government. (Queen Victoria had been declared Empress of India in 1876). The congress was composed primarily of Hindus and in 1906, the Muslims broke away to form the Muslim League. Curzon's successor, Lord Minto, was disturbed by these developments and persuaded the Liberal Secretary of State, Morley to accept the necessity of providing machinery for the election of Muslim representatives to the councils. The Indian Councils Act of 1909 (the Morley-Minto Reforms) ensured this development and the Act was a victory for Muslim separatism⁴⁵.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, there had been much discussion in Britain as to the viability of Indian independence. On the whole, Curzon's view was maintained early in the twentieth century, that the caste system and the division between Hindu and Muslim excluded the possibility of a sovereign state.

That great catalyst of nationalism, the First World War, forced the British to rethink this thesis. India increased in stature by her contribution to the Allies' victory. The Imperial Conference in 1917, when recognising the White Dominions as autonomous nations in the Empire, included India as an important part of the British Empire⁴⁶. In 1919, the Secretary of State, Montagu, and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, gave their names to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. This was a considerable step

towards self-government, although Parliament saw it as a slow progress, with the British administration passing away gradually. The Congress Party, which had been gathering strength for over a quarter of a century began to argue strongly for immediate parliamentary self-government. The British government hesitated before imposing a system of Western democracy upon a region of the size and complexity of India.

The struggle for independence

The situation in India took a new turn with the entry of Gandhi into national politics. The Rowlatt Acts of 1919, against sedition, which placed unlimited power in the hands of the executive and the police, were the occasion for Gandhi to announce his civil disobedience campaign. India was not yet ready for such a sophisticated weapon; clashes with the police took place in many towns and in the "Punjab massacre";³⁷⁹ peaceful demonstrators in Amritsar were shot on the order of General Dyer, whose purpose was to make an exemplary show of British strength. (This was Dyer's reply to the murder of several Europeans, including a woman missionary, in Amritsar a few days prior to the event. Over 1200 were wounded in the shooting, as well. Dyer was retired from India, but received a congratulatory vote in the House of Lords and a substantial gift by public subscription. Gandhi and Indian opinion were shocked)⁴⁷.

Throughout the 1920s, the struggle for unity and independence continued. Britain responded with an enquiry commission headed by Sir John Simon. The commission's membership was totally British and its visit to India aroused much hostility, wherever it went. The 1928 Congress voted for complete independence and the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, (later Lord Halifax) persuaded the British government to state that dominion status was the goal of its policy for India. Gandhi's decision

was to demand dominion status immediately and a series of Round Table Conferences were held from 1930 to 1933 against the background of speeches, marches, pickets and civil disobedience.

In 1935, the Government of India Act produced a draft constitution for an independent India. The content of the Act was a further advance towards self-government, but its implementation was delayed by a group in Parliament led by Winston Churchill. Spear points out that the Act did represent a consensus in Britain, nevertheless, and prepared the way for partnership with an Independent India⁴⁸. The next years were dominated by the Second World War and the growing tension between Hindus and Muslims. The war expanded the Indian army from 175,000 to two million. It brought women into the services, (thus adding to the momentum of women's emancipation) and stimulated industry. (On the negative side was the death of two million people in the Bengal famine in 1943). Relations between Hindus and Muslims worsened because of the Muslim fear of a Congress-Hindu dominated India. Their demand for community safeguards culminated in their insistence for a separate Muslim state. Led by Gandhi and Nehru, Congress continued through the war with its political demands and Jinnah, for the Muslim League, sought independence with community safeguards. The Cripps offer in 1942 of action immediately after the war foundered because of the presence of the Japanese in Burma. Gandhi is alleged to have described this latest offer of dominion status as being "like drawing a cheque on a failing bank"⁴⁹. He introduced the "Quit India" slogan and declared that the British in India were a provocation to the Japanese. He threatened civil disobedience. The government interned the Congress Working Committee in Poona. Arrests and death, violence and damage to property continued, all on a considerable scale. The situation led to political deadlock, which in itself contributed substantially to independence (in 1947), at the price of partition and communal strife. The Simla conference of 1945

resulted in deadlock between Hindus and Muslims. The British government offered independence, with or without partition, in 1946. In February 1947, it was announced that power would be handed over not later than June 1948. Lord Mountbatten, as Viceroy for the period immediately prior to independence, was soon convinced that partition (including the creation of West and East Pakistan) was inevitable. He therefore persuaded the Government to advance the date of independence to 14 August 1947. In the Punjab and Bengal, a boundary commission was set up to decide how the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh communities should be separated. Its decision was to divide both states into two parts. General fighting ensued. The influx of refugees into Delhi caused communal strife there and G.D.Khosla estimates that about half a million people died⁵⁰. In addition an estimated five and a half million people travelled each way across the Punjabi India-Pakistan border. About 400,000 Hindus migrated from Sind and over a million from East Pakistan to West Bengal⁵¹.

After independence

The British period of rule on the Indian sub-continent was over. Nehru became Prime Minister of India (until his death in 1964) and sought to weld his nation of 400 million people into a unity of purpose, through an industrial and social revolution. India's battle for economic viability continues. The early years of Pakistani independence were dominated by internal wranglings and a struggle for political power. In contrast to India, Pakistan had six prime ministers in five years, and between 1956 and 1958, there were five. A military coup d'état in 1958 under Ayub Khan created economic reform and stable government for a time. Yahya Khan was to follow as President promising democratic civilian rule. The 1970 elections saw Bhutto and his People's Party returned in the West and the Awami League of Sheikh Mujib returned in the East. This political division, dividing Pakistan into two major political factions

(separated by 1000 miles) had been continually evident since independence. It was only a matter of time before the northern part of the sub-continent was plunged into fighting and bitterness with the secession of Bangladesh in 1971. Ten million refugees were said to have crossed from East Pakistan into India⁵². With the assistance of the Indian army, the Bengalis overcame the Western Pakistan controlled army in their midst. Some observers have seen this development as part of India's attempt to recreate a "greater" India. Others have seen the autonomy of Bangladesh as a threat to the unity of India herself.

INDIA IN BRITISH SCHOOLBOOKS

The number of references to India, in schoolbooks published in Britain, is very considerable indeed*. Over fifty specific events are now described, taking the books in contemporary use in secondary schools, as a whole. As the years have passed, the number of people and events brought to the reader's attention has of course increased. It is noticeable however that until very recently, India as such ("Mother India") is described little. Assessments are made from time to time of individual Indians, groups of sepoys, communities and so on. But the study is specifically about "British India", and the basic selection of eighteenth century events is, today, similar to that of a century ago.

Nineteenth century Attitudes

In nineteenth century books, the people and events generally mentioned are: Clive⁵³; the "Black Hole" of Calcutta⁵⁴; the Battle of Plassey⁵⁵; Hastings⁵⁶; the Mysore wars⁵⁷; the Maratha wars⁵⁸; the Afghan

* The notes and references for this section of the chapter are extensive. For this reason some abbreviations are indicated, in the notes. As a considerable number of schoolbooks are mentioned many times from now onwards, *op.cit.* will be omitted and simply the name(s) of the author(s) used.

Wars⁵⁹; the Sikh Wars (and the annexation of the Punjab)⁶⁰; the Burma Wars⁶¹; and the Mutiny⁶². Occasionally books carried references to the EIC⁶³ and to the Anglo-French struggle in India⁶⁴, but these were surprisingly few.

Referring to the French, Collier (1866) mentioned the capture of Pondicherry in 1761. This "had ruined the French cause in Hindostan". Evans and Fearenside (1898) noted that "the Anglo-French quarrel was all but world-wide; and in both East and West it involved native peoples". The *Patriotic Historical Reader* (1898; in a series about the British Empire inspired by the Codes of the 1890s) saw that "as time went on, it became clear that the object of the French was to found an Empire and expel the British"⁶⁵. Earlier books carried no such comment.

Mrs Markham (1865 edition) included only two references to India. "Lord Clive was very successful in the East Indies"⁶⁶; the Mutiny was described as "these unhappy and disastrous events"⁶⁷.

The other episodes noted above (notes 53-62) were spread out in the books of the period. Certainly there was more interest in India as a subject for study, in the second half of the nineteenth century, than in China or Africa. This must be partly because India was gradually conquered (it was not merely a "sphere of influence", like nineteenth century China). It was also partly because of its size and (for the Victorians) its picturesqueness, with its "teeming millions" for whom Britain had made herself responsible through the Government of India Act of 1858. Queen Victoria herself became increasingly fascinated with India, and the minds of the young were fed on the dramatic triumphs and defeats of the British army there.

In particular, from Mangnall to Pringle, during the second half of the century, there were three special events which were recounted in detail. Much of the imagery used, in the case of two of them, has remained to the present day. For this reason, it is necessary to examine

the presentation of these three events in nineteenth century books:

(1) the "Black Hole" of Calcutta, (2) the First Afghan War and the retreat from Kabul, and (3) the Indian Mutiny. Those events, more than any others, focussed, for the Victorian mind, what seemed to be the cruelty and treachery of the Indians and their neighbours.

Favourite events: (1) The "Black Hole"

Mangnall (1869 edition) referred to the Black Hole as "that disastrous affair at Calcutta where the prisoners were in such want of space and air that 123 were found dead the next morning"⁶⁸. Cooper however only included the Black Hole in a list of "Remarkable Events" (1854 edition): "1756. 123 Englishmen perished in the black-hole at Calcutta"⁶⁹. (Note the use of "black-hole" and "at" instead of "of").

Collier (1866 edition) blamed Siraj-ud-Daulah for the disaster: "This cruelty was avenged by Clive who utterly overthrew the viceroy in the great battle of Plassey"⁷⁰. Gleig (1879 edition) relegated the episode to his calendar of events⁷¹.

The Readers, were designed for use in elementary schools and tended to be "flowery" in their story telling. *Nelson's Historical Reader* (Standard VI, 1880) for instance, explained that there was "neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabob ... They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The jailers in the meantime held lights to the bars and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims"⁷².

"From a child, Surajah Dowlah had hated the English"⁷³. The *Holborn Historical Series* (1882) described also for eleven year olds how the victims died "amid the laughter of the guards"⁷⁴.

Less dramatic than the *Nelson Reader*, the *Illustrated Historical Reader* (1886) placed the account of the episode within the context of Siraj-ud-Daulah's envy of Europeans:

"The native ruler of the rich and fertile province of Bengal... being jealous of the increasing wealth and importance of the English traders, attacked their settlement in Calcutta"⁷⁵.

But the *Chambers Historical Reader* for nine year olds (1884) had commented

"More than a hundred years ago, there was a wicked ruler in India who was the Nabob of Bengal ... In Calcutta, there was a miserable little stuffy prison which ought long before to have been done away with. It was so small, and so little air could get in, that it would have been cruel to shut up half a dozen people in any weather. It was called the Black Hole"⁷⁶.

The Patriotic Historical Reader (Standard V, 1898) repeated how "Surajah Dowlah hated the British and longed to plunder them. He accordingly seized Calcutta and shut up 146 of the traders in a dungeon of the fort, a room measuring 20 feet by 14, with only two small windows"⁷⁷. After the account of the victims' suffering the author extolled Clive's victory at Plassey (3,000 against 50,000 men) and remarked: Clive "had obtained control of an empire far larger and more populous than Great Britain... His life history is a splendid example of what may be done by the power of the will"⁷⁸.

Books for older readers had recalled the same events. *The Students' Hume* (1883 edition) wrote:

"Surajah Dowlah ... had thrust the English inhabitants to the number of 146, into a small and loathsome dungeon known as the Black Hole, where in one night 123 of them stifled"⁷⁹.

The Graphic History (1890) repeating the story, ended:

"Next morning, twenty three ghastly figures staggered or were lifted, barely living, from the fetid den. All the rest were dead"⁸⁰.

Hassall (1896)⁸¹ and Pringle (1899)⁸² referred briefly to the episode, but set the blame clearly at the hands of Siraj-ud-Daulah. Pringle called him "the monster viceroy"⁸³. Of all the nineteenth century writers for

schools reviewed (and Chancellor confirms this), Keightley alone in 1841, nearly sixty years before the turn of the century suggested that the Viceroy of Bengal "does not appear to have designed their death, but it gave him no concern"⁸⁴. Keightley was writing for seniors, before the Mutiny and its considerable effect on the popular imagination of Britain. His independent judgement is further seen in this observation from the same passage: "It is much to be lamented that most of the persons employed by the Company" (i.e. the EIC) "thought more of enriching themselves than of obeying the dictates of justice and humanity, of sustaining the honour of their country. The natives were pillaged in the most merciless manner".

Favourite events: (2) The First Afghan War and the Retreat from Kabul

As early as 1856, Farr wrote of the Afghan War and of the Afghans, as well as the British:

"Bloody and revolting deeds were committed by them; but they were barbarians, while those against whom they were opposed were normal Christians, from whom better things might have been expected"⁸⁵.

Mangnall (1869 edition)⁸⁶ and Cooper (1854 edition)⁸⁷ referred, only in passing, to the War. But others made much of it and especially of the then famous retreat from Kabul. Collier (seniors, 1866) for instance referred to "the suspicion that Russia might have evil designs upon our Indian Empire made it of the highest importance that a Prince friendly to Britain should sit on the throne of Afghanistan". He referred also to the need to replace the usurper Dost Mohammed by Shah Shoojah. "Within a few months" (in 1839) "the great cities of Candahar, Ghuznee and Kabool were taken. But the victors were hemmed in at Kabool by a host of wild Afghans under Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed". He wrote of the murder of McNaghten and the subsequent retreat from Kabul in January 1842 "to march through the snow to Jelalabad, a distance of ninety miles". Here the remnant of the army and their thousands of camp followers "were slaughtered on the road, only one escaping out of many hundreds" (actually,

16,000). General Pollock's march through the Khyber Pass is mentioned together with the march "on Kabool, on which the British flag was planted once more amid peals of martial music. The fortifications of the city were soon destroyed and the British then withdrew from Afghanistan"⁸⁸.

The *Nelson's Reader* (1880) included for ten year olds an emotional account (in somewhat difficult language) of the retreat through the mountain passes:

"The English interference in Afghanistan in 1838-42 led to the greatest disaster which ever befell the English arms. At every step of the road, every opening of the rocks, the unhappy crowd of confused and heterogeneous fugitives were beset by bands of savage fanatics who with their long guns and long knives were murdering all they could reach"⁸⁹.

Referring to the survivor, Dr Brydon⁹⁰, the *Reader* continued:

"The curious eye will search through history or fiction in vain for any picture more thrilling with the suggestions of awful catastrophe than that of this solitary survivor, faint and reeling on his jaded horse, as he appeared under the walls of Jellalabad to bear the tidings of Thermopylae of pain and shame"⁹¹.

The Graphic History (1890) recorded more simply for older pupils that:

"Trusting to the honour of the Asiatics, McNaghten met Akber in conference and was shot dead ... A little later - January 7 - began that fatal march through the Koord Cabul Pass to Jelalabad, which left a trail of crimson in the winter snow..."⁹².

Pringle wrote, in 1899, for Local Examination candidates:

"On its return march about 20,000 (*sic*) were massacred in the Khyber Pass (*sic*) by the treacherous Afghans and their allies. On receipt of the news, a cry of fierce wrath broke from our countrymen in India. Another army, gallant and well led, rushed through the terrible pass; swept the Khyberies from crevice and ravine, and hurled itself on Cabul"⁹³.

(Pringle's numbers (20,000) and the pass (Khyber) do not agree with the usual figure of 16,000 and the pass as the Khurd-Kabul).

The event was an unthinkable blow to the EIC's pride. At home the government fell. The first seeds of doubt about the invincibility of the British army had been sown among the sepoys. The examples given

from these texts, spread over half a century, may be seen as an attempt to glorify undoubted defeat on the North-West Frontier and to extol the bravery of the army in India, against the treacherous violence of the Afghans.

Favourite Events: (3) The Indian Mutiny or the Revolt of the sepoy

When the Mutiny was reported in schoolbooks, it received, similarly, strong treatment. Allowance must be made of course for the emotionalism of some Victorian writers, but the Mutiny had been what Bolt has called, "a monstrous shock"⁹⁴. Within a few years, attitudes to Indians became harshly exaggerated. Tegg for instance in 1862 wrote of "the barbarous cruelty with which they had executed this massacre" and "a tale of untold horror"⁹⁵. Mangnall (1869 edition) wrote: "In 1857, the terrible 'Indian Mutiny' broke out in Hindostan"⁹⁶. She referred to relations between the annexation of Oudh and the revolt:

"The emissaries of the deposed King exciting the natives to rebellion by asserting that there was an old prophecy that the British rule would only last one hundred years from the Battle of Plassey".

Of the cartridge grease, she added:

"Making this an excuse for disaffection (they) broke in open revolt"⁹⁷.

Collier recorded the Mutiny:

"Its outbreak in Meerut in the spring of 1857 the story of the greased cartridges, the siege of Delhi, the relief of Lucknow, the death of the heroic Havelock, are still fresh in every memory; and bitter tears are still dropping in Britain for those whose graves are far away"⁹⁸.

Gleig (1879) ended his account of the events with the relief of Delhi:

"This success greatly damped the hopes of the rebels and India was saved"⁹⁹. *The Graphic History* (1890) wrote of the "terrible" Mutiny giving the greased cartridges as the reason for the outbreak"¹⁰⁰.

Pringle (Locals, 1899) claimed that the Mutiny "had long been planned"; "the immediate cause was the issue of greased cartridges".

"At Meerut the 3rd Bengal Cavalry assaulted the prison where some mutinous Sepoys were confined; and at Cawnpore a ferocious massacre was perpetrated by Nana Sahib, the rebel leader, upon defenceless women and children... The gallant Havelock, with his God-fearing soldiers, swept over the land avenging British wrongs..."¹⁰¹. (Considering the impact of the Mutiny, it is worth noting that Pringle devotes 14 lines to it, while spending 81 lines on the Second Afghan War of 1878-80. The reason for such an imbalance may lie in the refusal of Shere Ali to allow a British Embassy in Kabul. "The British mission was stopped in the throat of the Khyber Pass. This was an insult in the face of all the East and calculated to lessen the prestige of the Empire". References follow about vengeance, "wild fanatical outbursts", punishment, treachery, the "terrible disaster" at Maiwand when a British division was annihilated, and the subsequent defeat of the Afghans by General Roberts. The account presents the Afghans as unreliable, brutal and treacherous)¹⁰².

While, however, the Asian had his critics in Britain, there were some writers for schools who attempted to refer to the events of the Mutiny with more objectivity than those authors already mentioned. Yonge, for instance, commenting in 1890 on the suppression of the Mutiny wrote: "The mutinous Sepoys were hunted down like wild beasts, for revenge had made the British troops very cruel"¹⁰³. Others accused the British Government of inefficiency and corruption in India,¹⁰⁴ and the *Illustrated Historical Reader* (Standard IV, 1888) devoted seven pages to this theme of British failure:

"A high official lately said that our rule over India is the best system of government that the world has ever seen... Our government in India, thirty years ago was anything but perfect. The result of our many errors, indeed, was the outbreak of a mutiny among the natives, which nearly ended our stay as a ruling power in the East"¹⁰⁵.

Concerning the cartridge grease:

"Wise and kind officers ... warned the obstinate British officials against the serious consequences of enforcing the regulation strictly... The poor sepoy were obliged to commit what they reckoned a horrible sin, in order to satisfy the childish obstinacy of a few persons in the British Isles"¹⁰⁶.

On the suppression:

"Let us set down the stern fact. Our soldiers showed no mercy. Thousands of natives were shot, or hung, or blown from the mouths of cannon. ... Our men forgot the gentleness that is natural of them ... and went raving like tigers".

However, the reader was not left in ignorance about the future of India:

"The foot of the conqueror was planted firmer than ever on the neck of India, and it will be long before the natives risk incurring such another outburst of vengeance"¹⁰⁷.

The *Patriotic Reader* (Standard V, 1898) also spent eleven pages on the Mutiny. The reasons for the Mutiny were set out:

"The natives of India ... seemed to look on the spread of British influence in India as a direct attack on them as a nation".

Princes were disgruntled; news of the Crimea unsettled the army; there were too few opportunities in responsible posts for Indians; the cartridge grease was a "blunder"¹⁰⁸. The Mutiny "soon became a national war"¹⁰⁹. There were accounts of the relief of Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow and the transfer of power from the EIC¹¹⁰. (The relief of Lucknow was popular in the *Readers*, made famous through the letter to England by Jessie Brown, the wife of a corporal, who was the first person in Lucknow to hear the pipes of the Macgregors as they marched on the town)¹¹¹.

The three favourite events in nineteenth century schoolbooks: conclusion

Certain conclusions can be drawn. With the exception of Keightley, opposition to the "Black Hole" remained uniform until the end of the century. Reporting of the Afghan War was sporadic, but where accounts of the retreat from Kabul existed, they bore the imprint of a wounded but

ever-victorious "lion". Accounts of the Mutiny were in strong opposition to Indians and a number of authors dwelt on the savagery that took place. Victorian Britain was overcome by India's apparent ingratitude. A quarter of a century after the event, the *Readers* had begun to reflect on the way in which patriotism was to be presented in the school room. The two *Readers* mentioned were specifically concerned with the presentation of the Empire. They saw the Mutiny as an unhappy episode in Anglo-Indian relations and inferred that what India required was strong government. It was still the voice of the conqueror, as this statement from the *Warwick Readers* (1896) shows:

"The people of India see that we desire their welfare and they know it is only our rule which keeps them at peace with one another"¹¹².

The continuing emphasis was on the superiority of the British and, in most books, on the predictable treachery and savagery of the Indians.

Attitudes in the early twentieth century

Hassall (seniors, 1901) presented the British in India through Clive, Arcot, the "Black Hole", Plassey, the Anglo-French struggle, Hastings, Fox's and Pitt's India Bills, the First Burma, Afghan and Sikh Wars and the Mutiny. The choice of events was conventional. India was introduced with the sentence: "Ever since the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) conflicts in India and America had been impending"¹¹³. No background accompanies the statement, which may be paralleled by a reference to Clive "who had been a clerk in the East India Company's service (and who) made a famous defence of Arcot, against a French and native army"¹¹⁴.

Of the "Black Hole" he wrote: "In India, the English had suffered a shocking disaster. In June, Calcutta was captured by Suraj-ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal and the English prisoners

were confined in a single room, the "Black Hole", when 123 died during the night"¹¹⁵. "In June" (1757) "Clive's victory at Plassey avenged the "Black Hole" and secured Bengal for England"¹¹⁶. "Plassey was the beginning of our Indian Empire". And "the naval superiority of England finally decided the question of English ascendancy" (against the French) "in India"¹¹⁷.

The Afghan War was described as a "rising" following British political interference¹¹⁸, and Hassall's account of the Mutiny was similar to the approach of the *Patriotic Historical Reader*. He gave as reasons for the revolt, the introduction of railways, telegraph and "other forms of western civilisation"; the various annexations under Dalhousie; the discontentment of "the native princes"; the grease to be used with the cartridges. He added: "Previous to 1857, there had been a good deal of disaffection among the Sepoys"¹¹⁹. After his account of the Mutiny, he did not refer to India again.

Fearenside (matriculation, 1902) included a more extensive series of references to India. Beginning with Dupleix and the wars in the Coromandel region¹²⁰, he continued with the "Black Hole" and its avenging at Plassey¹²¹. He referred to the Battle of Wandiwash¹²², Hastings¹²³, the Maratha and Mysore Wars¹²⁴, the Regulating Act and Pitt's India Act¹²⁵, the First Afghan War¹²⁶, the Sikh Wars¹²⁷, the Mutiny¹²⁸ (a brief account. In referring to the cartridge grease, he wrote: "those who cherished these and other grievances ... cp. Hassall above), and the Second Afghan War¹²⁹.

Buckley (juniors, 1904 edition) referred to the founding of the EIC¹³⁰; the development of the Indian factories; rivalry with the CIO: the ambitions of Dupleix; Clive; Arcot¹³¹. "Victory after victory forced the French to give up the struggle ... a peace was signed in 1754, and for a time all was quiet"¹³².

Then "... terrible news reached England from India. One of the native Indian princes, Suraj-ud-Daula, Viceroy of Bengal, had quarrelled with the English traders, marched upon Calcutta, seized the city, and thrust 146 English prisoners, on a sultry June night, into the strong-room of the garrison, called the "Black Hole" ... Stifled and shrieking for release, the unhappy prisoners were left to die of suffocation"¹³³.

Buckley wrote of course about Plassey and also referred to, Mir-Jafir, Wandiwash, Pondicherry, the EIC's appointment by the Great Moghul as collector of revenue¹³⁴, the Maratha Wars, Hastings, the defence of Madras and Pitt's India Bill¹³⁵. She noted that after Hastings' acquittal: "The inquiry into the abuses of English rule in India led to the better government of the country" and that after the India Bill, "India was far more justly governed, and became really part of the British Empire"¹³⁶.

The retreat from Kabul was briefly reported. Buckley noted the Russian threat to security, the replacement of Dost Mohammed, the murder of Burnes and McNaghten, the massacre in the Khurd-Kabul pass: "The Afghans hid themselves in the rocks on each side of the Koord Kabul Pass, and picked off the soldiers as they marched by. It was a terrible story, and only one man, Dr. Brydon, escaped to tell it ... 4500 regular troops and 12,000 camp followers lay murdered in the awful pass, and English power in the East had received a severe blow"¹³⁷.

After the annexation of the Punjab¹³⁸, Buckley turned to the Mutiny¹³⁹. She noted that the "smouldering discontent" and the annexations must be added to the cartridge grease as reasons for the outbreak ("they thought the English wanted them to lose their caste"). After outbreaks in Barrackpore in early 1857, "local magistrates noticed that *chupaties*, or little baked cakes, were being mysteriously passed from village to village". After Meerut and Delhi, "half Upper India was in a blaze, and a few thousand Englishmen had to stand against millions of maddened natives".

For Buckley, the Mutiny was the highlight of the drama in nineteenth century India: "this awful time"; "the never-to-be-forgotten horror of the wretched massacres of English men, women and children"; Sir Henry Lawrence and his dying words: "Never surrender"; Nana Sahib who "sent in men who cut them" (250 women and children) "all to pieces, and their bodies were thrown into the well at Cawnpore"; "Englishmen were nearly mad when they heard the news"; the relief of Lucknow ("bearded soldiers cried like children as they took the little ones in their arms, and thanked God they were saved from the horrors of Cawnpore"). The rôle of the British in reprisals against the sepoy was underplayed: "Canning had great difficulty in preventing them from taking cruel revenge. But he was firm"¹⁴⁰.

The transfer of power from the EIC, the development of communications, education and job opportunities for "natives", all prepared the way for the Queen to become "Empress of India"¹⁴¹. British pride in India was epitomised in Buckley's unusual peroration at the end of her account of the Mutiny:

"Thus little by little, this great country of the East, which was full of ancient learning when Britain was inhabited by savages, is becoming more and more closely linked to the little island of the West, which is the centre of the British Empire"¹⁴².

This book, prescribed for juniors, demonstrated well the heightened language used when describing the "Black Hole", the retreat from Kabul and the Mutiny, in contrast to the more factual accounts (interlaced with enthusiasm and improving phrases) for the other events noted above. Because of their dramatic presentation, the three "favourite events" were bound to remain in the memory, more easily than the bald references to battles and Acts of Parliament.

Ince and Gilbert (1906 edition) was considerably shorter than Buckley, although it was written for seniors. References to India were found principally in the notes on wars during Victoria's reign¹⁴³.

A sketch of events leading up to the retreat from Kabul added:

"The British force ... was destroyed by treacherous Afghans. Out of sixteen thousand men (*sic*), only one Dr. Brydon, reached Jellalabad"

The authors noted the annexation of Sindh, Punjab and Oudh together with the Sikh and Burma wars. The Mutiny was described as:

"a rebellion of discontented natives ... The Sepoys were driven to revolt by a mistaken belief (*sic*) that the cartridges they were compelled to use were greased with a mixture made of cow's fat and hog's lard"

"One of the most terrible incidents ... took place at Cawnpore where the Europeans ... were massacred"¹⁴⁴.

Delhi and Lucknow were also mentioned as was the transfer of power from the EIC. A note was included on the Second Afghan War (1878-80), where "Lord Roberts occupied Kabul, made his famous march to Kandahar, and placed a third Amir upon the throne of Afghanistan"¹⁴⁵.

Fletcher and Kipling's book for juniors (1911) was concerned primarily to state the superiority of the British Empire. Referring to seventeenth century rivalry, Fletcher wrote:

"On the whole, during the seventeenth century, the English Company got the best of the trade with Hindostan into its hands"¹⁴⁶.

He summed up the eighteenth century:

"In India ... the native princes had, on the whole, inclined to the French side. One of them - Surajah Dowlah - took Calcutta in 1756 and allowed a number of English prisoners to be suffocated in a horrible dungeon called "the Black Hole"¹⁴⁷.

"Clive retook Calcutta and won a victory, against odds of 25 to one, at Plassey in 1757. That victory extended the power of the East India Company far into Bengal. In 1761, we took Pondicherry and swept the French out of all India"¹⁴⁸.

Of the growth of power on the part of the EIC, Fletcher wrote:

"The East India Company was now a sovereign power and the greatest military power in India. One of the favourite tricks of the Whigs was to accuse the Company and its agents of cruelty, extortion and so on ... Warren Hastings was so accused, and though he was acquitted, his trial dragged on for many years"¹⁴⁹.

There are two other short passages about India:

"Our rule had been infinitely to the good of all the three hundred millions of the different races who inhabit that richly peopled land"¹⁵⁰.

"In 1857, our carelessness and mismanagement of this vast Empire, together with the religious fear inspired among the Indians by the introduction of European inventions such as steam and railways, brought about ... a mutiny in our Indian army"¹⁵¹.

Fletcher does not criticise the Indians (although he held prejudiced attitudes towards Caribbean negroes, see p.95). It is interesting to conjecture whether his attitudes both to the Mutiny and to Indians were due to the influence of Kipling upon him.

Lady Calcott (juniors, 1913 edition) referred to the establishment of the EIC¹⁵², Clive and Lally¹⁵³ and the Mutiny. Of the Sepoys, she wrote: "They were supposed to be faithful to their English masters, but they had been discontented for some time"¹⁵⁴.

The cartridge grease was regarded "as a deadly insult"¹⁵⁵; Nana Sahib "played false"¹⁵⁶; the siege of Cawnpore "is one of the saddest stories in English history, but it is relieved by the splendid heroism of the defence of Lucknow"¹⁵⁷, and she included a passage on the bravery of Sir Henry Lawrence. Notably the "Black Hole" story was omitted, as it had been since the first edition in 1834.

Since the turn of the century, these books had, with the exception of Buckley been moderate in their reporting of India. The elementary school *Readers* however continued to present the Indians as masters of oriental cruelty. The *Jack Historical Reader* (1905) described Nana Sahib as "a fiend in human shape" and "a monster"¹⁵⁸ (the word with which Pringle described Siraj-ud-Daulah, see p.256). The *Cambridge Historical Readers* (1911) introduced pupils to the "Black Hole" at the age of seven to eight years:

"During the night, the poor captives cried for mercy and offered large sums of money to have the door opened. But their cruel jailers only laughed at their sufferings and soon most of the prisoners were dead"¹⁵⁹.

The next three volumes of this series of *Readers* also included accounts of the "Black Hole". Thus the pupils would be reminded of the grisly tale at least once a year for four years¹⁶⁰.

Conclusion

Until the First World War then, India received varying treatment. The principal events selected have already been outlined, and apart from embellishments (for example, Buckley's reference to the *chuppatties* during the Mutiny) writers chose their material from within a set framework. Although there are references to British brutality in a few books, and although some books after the turn of the century refrain from recounting Indian cruelty, there is a strong core of books which presented Indians in a negative light, through the favourite episodes of the "Black Hole" and the Mutiny; and also the Afghans continued to be remembered for their brutality in the Khurd-Kabul Pass. (The *Tower Reader* did, however, comment in 1911: "So many cruel things had been done, and the hearts of our men were so sore that they committed acts of revenge, which, may be, we should now like to forget"¹⁶¹).

Attitudes between the Wars

All the books in this next period which have been reviewed carry a coherent, rather than an episodic, account of the development of India. India had always been seen as an immense country and as a great responsibility within the Empire. The British attitude to India after the 1914-18 War underwent a radical change. Since the last quarter of the nineteenth century there had been considerable participation by Indians in local and national affairs. An atmosphere of partnership and progress had been apparent since the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 and the great Delhi Durbar in 1911. When war was declared in Europe in 1914, there was an outburst of loyalty to Britain. During the War, India assisted the Allied victory against Germany in a way which none could

deny and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1919 looked forward to self-government. For this reason, the attention to British-Indian history becomes comparable with that given to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The concept of "Greater Britain", Dilke's vision of the white-settled dominions, was widened to include India, even though India would never be a country governed by white settlers. This new status was recognised in two books about the Empire: Hughes, *Britain and Greater Britain in the Nineteenth Century* (1919) and Kermack, *The Expansion of Britain* (1925). In both these books written for pupils in secondary school, a chapter is devoted to Indian history, alongside that of the Dominions.

While the events in Indian history noted on p.253 are all included, treatment of them is extended and more attention is paid to the reforms of Bentinck who was Governor-General from 1828-35. Descriptive language is toned down.

Between the Wars, the following people and events were discussed: The establishment of the EIC¹⁶², Dupleix¹⁶³, the War in the Carnatic¹⁶⁴, Clive¹⁶⁵, Arcot¹⁶⁶, Bengal and Siraj-ud-Daulah¹⁶⁷, the "Black Hole"¹⁶⁸, Plassey¹⁶⁹, the end of the Anglo-French struggle for power¹⁷⁰, Hastings¹⁷¹, the Regulating Act¹⁷², the India Act of 1784¹⁷³, Cornwallis¹⁷⁴, the Mysore Wars¹⁷⁵, Wellesley¹⁷⁶, the Maratha Wars¹⁷⁷, Bentinck¹⁷⁸, the end of *suttee* and *thugee*¹⁷⁹, the Burma¹⁸⁰, Afghan¹⁸¹ and Sikh¹⁸² Wars, the annexations¹⁸³, the Mutiny¹⁸⁴, the transfer of power from the EIC¹⁸⁵, social progress¹⁸⁶, communal divisions¹⁸⁷, constitutional reform after 1858¹⁸⁸, Victoria as Empress of India¹⁸⁹, the Morley-Minto reforms¹⁹⁰, the 1911 Durbar¹⁹¹, India and the 1914-18 War¹⁹², the Montagu-Chelmsford Report¹⁹³, the Round-Table Conference 1931-32¹⁹⁴, the growth of nationalism since the nineteenth century, and civil unrest¹⁹⁵.

This is a comprehensive account of British involvement in India.

The general omission is the absence of social comment on the Indian people. Newton, for instance, writing for juniors in the 1930s, explained briefly the caste system¹⁹⁶, but there is no consideration in any of these books of the contrast between riches and poverty in India. The growth of national feeling was not fully appreciated, Newton wrote of the Round Table Conference:

"Behind the clamour and obstruction of the Congress party there was a deep and real desire on the part of educated and responsible Indians to obtain self-government as the Dominions had done under Queen Victoria"¹⁹⁷.

Warner and Marten (1942 edition) wrote of the same period for senior pupils:

"The problem Great Britain had to face in these distant lands was how to combine self-government with good government, and how to secure that under so-called self-government the weaker and more illiterate classes should receive due consideration"¹⁹⁸.

Nevertheless, the overriding impression which is conveyed by these books is pride in Britain's achievement in and for India.

There are differences of emphasis. The end of "suttee" and "thuggee" under Bentinck was now mentioned (see p.274). After the military tragedies of the nineteenth century in India, it must have seemed necessary to present India in the best possible light and social progress under British rule was especially significant. But the three favourite events of the nineteenth century were still included.

The "Black Hole"

Munro (seniors, 1922) wrote dramatically:

"A hundred and twenty-three of them were dead before morning; but their murder provoked measures in reply which led directly to the rise of the British Empire in Northern India"¹⁹⁹.

Mowat (seniors, 1931 edition) quoted Macaulay on *Clive*:

"Then was committed that great crime, equally memorable for its singular atrocity, and for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed". And continued:

"... Packed together in this narrow chamber they suffered awful agonies ... Many lost their self-control and fought like madmen, while their jailors laughed at them through the window bars..."²⁰⁰.

Warner and Marten accused Siraj-ud-Daulah, "who perpetrated the ghastly tragedy..."²⁰¹. For Newton, it was "the dreadful affair"²⁰² and Hutchins and Stephens (1938) wrote that the Viceroy "was infuriated with the British ... sacked Calcutta, captured 146 English men and women and shut them up ... in a room where there was not even standing room. Next morning 23 had survived, the rest had suffocated"²⁰³.

The use of such heightened language about the "Black Hole" had therefore continued in schoolbooks for almost a century.

The Retreat from Kabul

The retreat from Kabul was viewed more objectively. Hughes (1919) wrote:

"The fierce tribesmen harried the column as it straggled through the defiles of the Kabul river"²⁰⁴.

Other comments were:

"The troops were massacred, after a painful display of incapacity by their commanders" (Munro)²⁰⁵;

"This frightful catastrophe shook the foundations of British power in India, in as much as it was the first time that a regular British army had been defeated and destroyed by natives" (Mowat)²⁰⁶;

"Such a fearful disaster had to be avenged" (Warner and Marten)²⁰⁷.

Newton does not mention the event at all. The nineteenth century histrionics have disappeared. A greater degree of human suffering had been experienced in the Mutiny, the Boer War and the 1914-18 War. Nevertheless, the event still retained for some authors a sense of dramatic severity.

The Mutiny

The accounts of the Mutiny have now become longer (cp. the page references in note 184) for the Mutiny was seen to be central to an

understanding of Indian constitutional development. Writing in 1919, Hughes commented:

"Great Britain and India are thus jointly committed to the most interesting and important constitutional experiment in history"²⁰⁸.

His account of the Mutiny was restrained, though he described in some detail the massacre of Cawnpore²⁰⁹, and concluded:

"The vengeance wreaked upon the mutineers was as terrible as their crimes had been ... Many of the condemned sepoys were made to lose caste before execution, thus being robbed of their hopes for the next world"²¹⁰.

Munro noted that the Mutiny "is sometimes called in India the War of Indian Independence" and mentioned several of the reasons for the Mutiny (extension of direct British rule, the rapid development of Western ideas and inventions, the issue of military service overseas, the cartridge grease)²¹¹. He mentioned the British residents at Cawnpore who were "treacherously massacred", and briefly described the relief of Lucknow and Delhi.

Mowat recounted similarly the reasons for the Mutiny and included the effect on the sepoys of the disaster of the First Afghan War²¹². He wrote of "the gigantic tumult" at Delhi; Lieutenant Willoughby who "was cut down on the Meerut road"; the murder of women and children which "is the most awful condemnation of the whole movement, making the memory of it one of palpitating horror for all time"²¹³.

Mowat devoted eight pages to the Mutiny and included an engraving of "The Well at Cawnpore"²¹⁴ (although one of many wells, the inference was unmistakable). He included an anecdote about Nicholson Sahib at Jullundur who made a general of the Kapurthala State Army take off his shoes when he visited Nicholson²¹⁵. There was "the fearful massacre" at Cawnpore: "... bodies were hacked to pieces and thrown down a well"²¹⁶. One of the leading "mutineers" was described as a "vile Mahratta"²¹⁷. He wrote also of "the heroic Nicholson"²¹⁸ and the "noble Havelock"²¹⁹.

"The Mutiny had not broken the power of the British Raj. Rather it had shown, in the mighty deeds of small bodies of British and loyal native troops, the strength of our dominion and the incomparable leaders who wielded it"²²⁰ (The reference to "loyal native troops" might derive from the loyalty of many Sikh soldiers, especially at Lucknow).

Warner and Marten similarly referred to numerous reasons for the Mutiny, including "the railway threatened the caste system because people of different castes had to travel together in the same carriage"²²¹. "The Indian Mutiny", they wrote, "is, perhaps, the most tragic episode in our history"²²². British officers were "pitilessly shot"; women and children were "barbarously murdered". "All else pales before the horrors of Cawnpore". They included phrases such as the "murderous fire" of Nana Sahib; "the men were pursued and butchered"; "the slaughter"; "the horrible work was done"²²³. "The heroism of British soldiers must not lead us to forget the services of those natives who were loyal"²²⁴. "Touching stories are told of the fidelity shown by native servants towards the British women and children"²²⁵. "Stern punishment was meted out to those who deserved it, as the tragedies of the Mutiny, and especially of Cawnpore, made it impossible for the British to be altogether merciful"²²⁶.

Newton's account was brief and did not dwell on the horrors, although he implied them:

"It was a terrible time for the British women and children who were living in Northern and Central India, where the Mutiny raged"²²⁷.

While the impression was clearly conveyed that the "mutineers" were in a minority among the Indian people, the choice of adjectives and the frequent descriptions of the Cawnpore massacre assisted the establishment of the stereotype that Indians were treacherous, ruthless and cruel. A careful reading of the texts reveals, however, an ambivalence on the part of all these writers from between the wars. Munro and Newton underplayed

the events, while acknowledging their severity. The other writers continued the theme of sadness and shock of earlier writers and were inexplicit about British cruelty, unlike some of their nineteenth century predecessors.

Conclusion

The "Black Hole" and the Mutiny, therefore, remained as events for particular emphasis. Additional, in this period between the wars, were the references to "suttee" and "thugee" (see p.244 and note 179). The reason for their inclusion, *at this stage*, is obscure. (Lord Curzon in his two volumes on India (1925)²²⁸ did not mention these practices and barely refers to Bentinck). It is conceivable that part of the ambivalence towards Indians necessitated such references, even though the practices had been declared illegal in 1829-30. The reforms were part, also, of social progress in India which was a source of pride to the British.

Attitudes from 1947 to 1964

It is clear, after an examination of books published since 1947, that the selection of events in British-Indian history has now become established. The establishment of secondary education for all in 1944 together with the raising of the school leaving age from 14 to 15 years in 1947 led to an increasing number of books being published for use in secondary schools. A study of many of them shows that the list of events recounted on p.269 remains intact²²⁹. (Both numerically, and in content, these references are impressive. Understandably, the emphasis is on "what Britain has done for India"). There are more precise references to Dalhousie's reforms (1848-56)²³⁰ (presumably to study them in relation to the Mutiny); more references to developing nationalism²³¹ and the consequent constitutional developments in the twentieth century²³². Two books mentioned the massacre at Amritsar in 1919²³³. MacInnes' *The British*

Empire and Commonwealth. 1815-1949 (6th form, 1951) dealt in great detail with cultural background and the development of Indian nationalism after 1858²³⁴. Williams in his secondary school series *Portrait of World History* (1962-66) presented India in the context of world history²³⁵. Phraseology applied to, and the amount of space allotted to, the "Black Hole" and the Mutiny was now considerably modified and reduced. The pride in Britain's achievement in and for India was maintained. Writers were more reflective about the problems of India.

It is appropriate now to examine again the manner of presentation of those events which had excited special attention in the past: the "Black Hole"; (recently) *suttee* and *thuggee*; the retreat from Kabul; the Mutiny. To them must now be added the Amritsar massacre and the growth of Indian nationalism; for a more balanced view than hitherto, of the British in India had begun to appear.

The "Black Hole"

Carter and Mears (school certificate, 1948 edition) described Siraj-ud-Daulah as "a degenerate youth who conceived a violent hatred of the British"²³⁶. (The description of "degenerate" would seem to be part of the legend about him)²³⁷. "146 prisoners were shut up in the infamous 'Black Hole', a small guard room, from which 23 survivors emerged alive"²³⁸. The word "infamous" might apply either to its contemporary unpopularity or to the well-known episode itself.

Williams was similarly brief:

"Siraj ... locked up the prisoners for the night in a room only 18ft. by 14ft. and at the time (June) when the heat in Calcutta is unbearable. In the morning when the prisoners were let out it was found that most of the 146 of them had died in this "black hole". Anger at this unpremeditated crime, fear that private fortunes were threatened ... led to the British sending Clive with all the troops he could muster"²³⁹.

This account also repeats the traditional story. The crime, however, was

acknowledged as "unpremeditated". The name for the place was simply "this black hole".

Unstead (Juniors,1963) merely included a footnote: "The Nawab of Bengal captured Fort William and imprisoned 146 captives in the "Black Hole of Calcutta"²⁴⁰. McGuffie (1963) omitted reference altogether²⁴¹. The tendency therefore, in this period, was to underplay the episode.

Suttee and thuggee

Carter and Mears wrote: "Bentinck began by sternly suppressing some of the more odious Indian customs, e.g. the practice of *suttee* ..." ²⁴². The writers once again used a strong adjective ("odious") and inferred that there were many such customs.

Richards and Hunt (seniors,1950) wrote:

"The impulse to reform arose partly from a religious motive... and partly from the pride of men who were conscious of representing a higher civilisation. Well might they think so when confronted by some Indian practices of that time. The most shocking of these customs was *suttee* ... The practice had of course a religious basis ... Thugs were more feared because they - religiously - murdered their victims before robbing them..." ²⁴³.

Williams (1962) merely noted: "Lord Bentinck forbade the practice of *suttee*, and started a systematic suppression of the thugs" ²⁴⁴. The terms are unexplained. Southgate (14 to 15 years,1963 edition) regarded *suttee* and *thuggee* as being very difficult to prevent completely. "It was not easy to suppress (the thugs) because it was hard to find out who they were ... It would be too much to say that (*suttee*) was entirely stopped ... There were not many of the British and for many years ... *suttee* sometimes occurred in places where there were no British officers to prevent it" ²⁴⁵.

Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse("0" level,1964 edition) stated:

"Lord William Bentinck attacked two aspects of Hinduism. He arranged the suppression of the *Thugs*, who carried on extensive murder and robbery under the guise of sacrificing to Kali, the Hindu Goddess of Destruction. He also made illegal the Hindu practice of *Suttee*, according to which widows burned themselves to death on the funeral pyres of their husbands" ²⁴⁶.

Such brief reporting on the nature of these practices is to take the reforms out of context. All these editions were published after Majumdar's *An Advanced History of India* (1946) which showed that regulations about *suttee* had been mooted in the eighteenth century, with the support later of enlightened Hindu opinion. Thugs were recruited not only from Hindus but Moslems as well. They were regarded as a scourge throughout India²⁴⁷. *Hobson-Jobson* suggests that *suttee* was not a universal Hindu practice, but only practised among certain castes. Moreover, it was not confined to India, as Majumdar confirms. It had been known in the area of the Volga and as far south as Fiji and Bali²⁴⁸. The inference in schoolbook references is that both were *universal* Hindu practices.

The retreat from Kabul

The account of the event was now quite muted. For example, Carter and Mears, who frequently used strong words, merely wrote:

"Sixteen thousand persons perished in the retreat; a single white survivor escaped to Jalalabad to tell the tale of disaster"²⁴⁹.

Richards and Hunt were condemnatory of "one of the most disastrous and disgraceful episodes in British history"²⁵⁰. "... The Resident's troops, evacuating under treaty, were butchered by the hillmen as they struggled through winter snows towards the Khyber Pass ... An army had been destroyed, £15,000,000 had been thrown away that could have been well spent in India"²⁵¹. As MacInnes reminded his readers: "This disastrous Afghan enterprise seriously reduced British military prestige"²⁵². Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse wrote that "The British-Indian army ... was treacherously attacked as it went"²⁵³, and noted the figures involved, in a footnote.

The Mutiny

The sense of outrage and shock which was expressed in schoolbooks until the 1930s now, also, becomes less dramatic. Carter and Mears

described the events on one page. The strongest words were reserved for "the miscreant Nana Sahib" who captured all the British at Cawnpore" and then treacherously murdered them"²⁵⁴. This "left bitter memories, among the British on account of such devilries". The Mutiny "was stamped out with a good deal of harshness and unnecessary cruelty"²⁵⁵.

Richards and Hunt explained the background to the Mutiny and commented: "It was much less dangerous than its dramatic happenings make it appear"²⁵⁶. They referred to the "wholesale massacre" by British troops at Delhi and the Cawnpore "atrocities which was long remembered above all the horrors of the Mutiny". Furthermore, they summarised the feeling of the time: "The breach of all rules of war by both sides and the ruthless punishment of the rebels under martial law ... had already done irreparable harm. Racial hatred was thus the worst legacy of the Mutiny, and a lasting one"²⁵⁷, the first explicit statement about racial attitudes that is found in these books. Similarly, Lindsay and Washington (11 to 15 years, 1952) wrote: "The atrocities committed by both sides during the Mutiny raised a barrier of resentment and suspicion between British and Indians"²⁵⁸. MacInnes also, gave a sober account of the events and concluded: "It left behind a bitter spirit of mistrust and racial antagonism which neither side seemed able to forget"²⁵⁹. Williams devotes only 20 lines to the Mutiny which "was fought with a great deal of cruelty and heroism on both sides"²⁶⁰. No specific events were mentioned. Southgate referred to the British misreading of the effects of their work in India. "It was not understood that the Indians did not like western ways and that they preferred to live as they always had done, without having railways, post offices, schools and other things introduced by the British ... Since the Mutiny, India has been peaceful ... and Indian peasants have been left to cultivate their little plots of land ..."²⁶¹. McGuffie (1963) included a single sentence, referring

to "the deep disturbance" and "ferocious fighting"²⁶². Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse referred to "murder" and "brutal massacre" and concluded that not even Canning could "eradicate from British minds the terror caused by the Mutiny"²⁶³.

Writers in this period therefore dwelt progressively less on "incidents", but noted the effect of the Mutiny on Indian and British attitudes to one another.

The Amritsar Massacre

Amritsar (1919) became a symbol of British oppression as did Sharpeville become a symbol of white domination in South Africa in 1960. MacInnes surprisingly carried no mention of it. Richards and Hunt however wrote: "Racial hatred was embittered by a massacre at Amritsar in 1919, when General Dyer, after Europeans had been murdered in the town, ordered troops to fire on a packed crowd of Indians..."²⁶⁴.

Lindsay and Washington mentioned the event within the context of the 1919 India Act: "It was a grim start to the new régime"²⁶⁵. One further book from this period (Somervell, 1960 edition) commented, within the context of the Rowlatt Act: "At Amritsar in the Punjab, where several British subjects had been murdered with atrocious brutality General Dyer undertook to restore order by firing on an Indian mob and killing 379 persons. There will probably always be a difference of opinion as to whether Dyer's action was justified"²⁶⁶.

Somervell did not reveal that the "mob" in the view of historians was peaceful and that the "restoring of order" referred to the immediate cause, that is, the murder of the Europeans, which had occurred three days earlier. Spear traces Dyer's action back to the ruthless policy which had been established by Dalhousie in the Punjab.²⁶⁷ The incident is included in some schoolbooks from now on, because it is seen as a climactic event, in the long history of Anglo-Indian relations.

The growth of nationalism

Since 1919, schoolbooks have drawn attention to the nationalist movement, then over half a century old. References from this post-1947 period are listed above (see note 229 *passim*). The inter-relation between nationalism and constitutional reform was presented by books of the period fairly and without rancour. The movement towards self-government was traced through the Morley-Minto reforms, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, the 1919 Act, the Simon Commission, the Round Table Conference, the 1935 Act, the Cripps mission and the Independence Act of 1947. After 1964, books began to reflect upon the implications of self-government for India, Pakistan and their peoples.

Attitudes from 1964 to 1971

Books for secondary schools published in the last few years have placed a major emphasis on constitutional development, the rise of the Congress Party under Gandhi and Nehru, and the acute economic and social problems facing the sub-continent. The books cover increasingly the contribution of Jinnah and the Muslim League to the creation of Pakistan. They deal with Sino-Indian relations and India's role as a world power in condemning racial policy in South Africa.

What developments have taken place then, in this latest period, in the presentation of those events marked out for special attention by previous generations of writers? The "favourite events" have now always to be seen within the context of the still increasing amount of attention paid to the history of India²⁶⁸. (Fifty principal topics are included in note 268).

The "Black Hole"

McGuffie (seniors, 1965) regards Siraj-ud-Daulah as responsible for the tragedy and adds: "The heat of a June night in the 'Black Hole of Calcutta' was so great that only twenty-three were alive in the morning. Clive was sent to Bengal to avenge this deed"²⁶⁹.

Patrick (seniors,1967) however goes to the other extreme, prefacing his very brief account of the episode with the words "according to one story" and adding: "It is by no means certain that this did in fact take place"²⁷⁰. Soper (1965) and Dance (1967) omit reference altogether.

Suttee and thugee

Soper (secondary,1965) refers to *suttee*: "... Attempts were made to reform some of the local customs that offended Victorian morality. (It) ... was, not surprisingly, frowned on by middle-class Victorians (*sic*) and attempts were made to prohibit it"²⁷¹. (On a point of accuracy, *suttee* was suppressed in 1828. Victoria's reign began in 1837).

Elliott (CSE,1969) saw the reforms as part of Britain's policy of bringing improvements to India, but went on: "Every class of Indian society felt the British were destroying their culture, their customs and their values"²⁷². Dance and Newth (1967) both ignore Bentinck and these reforms.

The retreat from Kabul

Soper does not mention the retreat from Kabul, contenting himself with these words: "The First Afghan War had not been successful and the alleged invincibility of the British had been shown up as a myth"²⁷³. Dance and Newth do not refer to it.

The Mutiny

Soper refers to the General Service Enlistment Act ("an Act"), the cartridge grease, changes and reforms as being responsible for the Mutiny:

"It was in no sense a national uprising ... (It was not) the first Indian War of Independence. There was no national unity. The outbreaks of violence, fierce and horrifying as they were, represented local discontent and did not penetrate the whole of the Indian people. Indeed it was not even a total revolt of the army ... But it was a savage incident. Both sides committed outrageous atrocities and the uprising was put down with the utmost ferocity"²⁷⁴.

Richards and Quick ("O" level,1967) devote seven pages to the

Mutiny, thus emphasising its crucial importance²⁷⁵. Their account of the causes of the Mutiny is thorough. They deal with the events in Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore. Of the Cawnpore massacre, they comment:

"This may have been done because of the indiscriminate executions by the British at Allahabad and Benares... The British commander who took over the town was not satisfied merely with hanging the sepoys who had carried out this deed. He also ordered that they should first, under the lash, be made to lick up the blood of their victims from the floors and walls of the room in which they had been done to death".

They refer to the execution of the sepoys by being blown from the mouth of a cannon:

"Barbarous as it was, it was probably more humane than lengthy hanging, which for a high-caste sepoy also meant pollution at the hands of a low-caste hangman".

"One of the worst episodes was that in the Punjab, where forty-five mutineers awaiting execution died in a small room either from heat exhaustion or suffocation - an incident to set against the much better-known "Black Hole of Calcutta"²⁷⁶.

Dance, wrote a simpler account:

"In 1857, there was a big mutiny against the British. It was soon put down; but there was much bloodshed on both sides, and for a long time the English were very unpopular in many parts of India"²⁷⁷.

As Peacock (1968) writes: "(It) shook Victorian complacency to the core"²⁷⁸.

Newth (seniors, 1967) returns to the emotions of the nineteenth century:

"Thousands of English families had relations or friends (in India) and they were frantic with anxiety". Then "... Both sides behaved with terrible cruelty ... The Mutiny put an end to the possibility of happy or friendly relations between the races... Many Indians ... became impatient for the time when the British would leave"²⁷⁹.

Pitt (CSE, 1969) refers to the mutineers who "entered Delhi and slaughtered the women and children there", but he goes on to say that the danger of the situation was that the British "began to think of all eastern people as inferior..."²⁸⁰.

Edwards and Bearman (seniors,1971) explain the causes for the Mutiny. They continue: "The heroism displayed on both sides ... was overshadowed by atrocities on both sides". They refer to "the gulf created by bitter memories of the Mutiny between the British ruling class and those close lines they controlled, and the setback to hopes that the Indians might one day be 'trained to govern themselves'"²⁸¹. (They continue with accounts of constitutional advance, coupled with the difficulties of Indians obtaining responsible posts in the civil service; with the beginnings of nationalism and the rise of the Congress party).

The change in emphasis is then quite dramatic. Modern writers are concerned to place the Mutiny in perspective and refuse to fall into the trap of playing one side off against the other. Indeed, in these books Britain gets the worst of the argument.

The Amritsar Massacre

This change in emphasis is continued with an accelerated attention to the Amritsar tragedy. India is now represented as a great nation over which the British had lost control. Some of the British in India had lost control of themselves and General Dyer was an example of this failure. Soper refers to the effect of the massacre (and Dyer's order that Indians who passed the place where a woman missionary had been killed should "crawl") in this way:

"It was tragically those Indians most admiring of British methods and civilisation, those most anxious to emulate our ways, who became saddened and sickened and ultimately resentful to the point of wishing to break away from this "master race" and to cease having to cringe"²⁸².

Richards and Quick criticise the length of time Dyer's troops fired into the crowd and observe that Gandhi and Congress now began to demand total independence²⁸³. Nash and Newth (seniors,1967) refer to the "crawling

order" and to the firing which "continued steadily for ten minutes, whilst the screaming, panic stricken people struggled to get out through the narrow outlets ... The Amritsar affair enraged the Indians, and made them determined that they would not endure the humiliation of government by the British any longer"²⁸⁴.

This view is shared by Wood (1967)²⁸⁵ and by Richardson (1970)²⁸⁶. Bryant and Ecclestone (CSE,1968) see in the event Britain's loss of imperial nerve²⁸⁷ and Browne (seniors,1971) writes: "To many Indians, Amritsar was clear evidence of the true nature of the British Raj",²⁸⁸ and continues with an account of Gandhi's developing policy, including the salt tax campaign (his encouragement of the illicit manufacture of salt in protest against the two centuries' old tax on salt).

Finally, Watson ("O" level,1971) opens a chapter with the sentence: "General Dyer was a British soldier in India". After the shooting, "Dyer withdrew. The wounded were no concern of his. The senior British official in the Punjab expressed his approval, and, although elsewhere the politicians were much less pleased and Dyer was recalled, a public fund was launched in his support and £30,000 subscribed". Watson argues both the British and the Punjabi case but concludes, as his predecessors had done, that Dyer's "actions stiffened the determination of Indian nationalists to be free"²⁸⁹.

Conclusion

It is not necessary to trace India's constitutional developments from 1919 to 1947 through the eyes of these recent writers. They merely continue the account of their immediate predecessors, and after Independence, continue to stress India's role as a world power, while not ignoring the acute social and economic pressures of the whole sub-continent (cp. note 268). Rather, pausing at the current interpretation

of the Amritsar massacre, it is realised that the wheel has come full circle. Writers today describe with almost as much passion the rôle of the British in India, as did their predecessors of up to sixty years ago, when they described the Indian peoples themselves.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

A generation ago, if school leavers had been asked what they recalled of the history of India, many would have replied: "the Black Hole", Clive, the Mutiny; and some would probably recall Warren Hastings, Kabul, Cawnpore and Lucknow. The presentation of Indians was still that of a race who through brutality and treachery had betrayed humanity in general and the British Empire in particular. The oral tradition from the nineteenth century had been strong enough to ensure this. The "Black Hole of Calcutta" was a matter of common parlance (as it still is) and the Mutiny demonstrated at the very least, the unreliability and ruthlessness of some Indians.

The change in schoolbooks during the inter-war period of the 1920s and 1930s helped to widen the pupil's knowledge of British-India and the nation's increasingly urgent search for self-government, even if India prior to the arrival of the EIC and CIO was substantially ignored.

After 1945, as independence approached and then took place, there was an increasing emphasis on constitutional reform (there were, of course, more constitutional meetings to discuss as the twentieth century progressed) and on the liberalisation of Indian culture, through the impact of the West. The harshness of some aspects of British rule in India comes to be acknowledged much more clearly. Amritsar, for instance, is now included in the majority of relevant books as an example of this, and the acknowledgment of it in material for schools was a turning point in the understanding of what colonial rule sometimes involved. Gandhi became a well-known figure in Britain, even if sometimes his nationalist zeal mystified his British admirers and seemed to outweigh his blinding integrity. (There is

a long and excellent section on Ghandhi in Dyer's book in the *World Outlook* study series)²⁹⁰.

After Independence, the sheer size of the problems that confronted India and Pakistan captured the imagination of those who had come to care about the needs of the Third (or developing - or less developed) World. Thus, while some books in use in school today, published say before 1964, give cause for concern because the language they use to describe some events is misleading, the quality of schoolbooks improves year by year. This is evident at all levels, but it is worth noting that an increasing amount of material is becoming available for young school leavers. Of the books reviewed or noted from the period 1964 to 1971, those written or edited by Robottom, Bryant, Pitt, Elliott and Turnbull, for example, have all been prepared for students intending to sit for the Certificate of Secondary Education (see notes 268 *passim*, 272,280,287,290). This development in publishing is comparable to the emergence of the *Readers* at the end of the nineteenth century, when the presentation of India was in a different style and language altogether. Today, although India's past may still be substantially ignored, at any rate there is a solid attempt to present her as an ancient culture (see further p.417) invaded by the West, subsequently struggling for Independence and then being faced with the aftermath.

There has also been a noticeable change in popular culture, at any rate in film. The stereotype of the ruthless, cunning tribesmen of the North-West Frontier, or the gentle elephant boy (both springing from a romanticising of the Indians) has begun to be replaced by the Indian as a figure of fun. While this is regrettable and suggests an unease that still exists, there is plenty of material in contemporary schoolbooks to help correct this aberration.

INDIA IN FRENCH SCHOOLBOOKS

Introduction

It is hardly surprising that in contrast to the voluminous amount of material in British schoolbooks about India, the references in French books are few and brief. Indeed more space is devoted to India after Independence than to the French struggle for power in India in the eighteenth century. The period in question was from 1742 (when Dupleix was appointed Governor in Pondicherry) to 1761 (when Lally surrendered Pondicherry to the British). It was not a period of glory for France, and compared with subsequent colonial developments has never been presented to the French people as anything more than a brief interlude and a cause for embarrassment.

References in schoolbooks are extremely terse and relate almost exclusively to Dupleix and Lally, as the principal protagonists. Because of the continuing French interest in British imperial expansion there are occasional references to the Mutiny, and thereafter attention is confined to Independent India in the more recent books written for *classes terminales*.

Where references do exist to this twenty-year period in the history of eighteenth century France, Britain and India, they convey more about Frenchmen than about Indians. This is not surprising within the context of writing national history and it is still common to find phrases like (in 1952) "La perte de notre empire colonial"²⁹¹, (in 1954) "la perte de l'Inde"²⁹², (in 1970) "l'Inde est perdu"²⁹³. These phrases from schoolbooks published during the last twenty years confirm the phrase of Georges Hardy: "ces infimes débris d'un empire"²⁹⁴. They also add to an understanding of this statement in a schoolbook published in 1919: "Tous nos grands hommes d'État ont compris qu'un Empire colonial est nécessaire pour assurer la grandeur et la prospérité de la France"²⁹⁵.

India had contributed neither politically nor psychologically to the "grandeur" of France. She remains in French schoolbooks as a vehicle for criticising Louis XV. Nora, in his much cited essay on Ernest Lavisse, quotes Lavisse as saying:

"Sous son règne, par sa faute, la France cessa d'être la nation grande et glorieuse... Louis XV est le plus mauvais roi qu'ait eu la France"²⁹⁶.

Nineteenth century attitudes

Nuances exist in writing about India, because of the conflicts and rivalries of people who had put their stamp on the conquest and defence of French possessions. Lavisse (*cours élémentaire*, 1878) wrote:

"Dupleix avait commencé la conquête des Indes, les Anglais s'alarmèrent et firent de telles menaces que le Gouvernement français eut l'indigne faiblesse de rappeler Dupleix"²⁹⁷.

And again:

"(Lally Tollendal), le brave mais incapable successeur de Dupleix laisse prendre aux anglais tous nos établissements"²⁹⁸.

Lavisse was highly critical of Louis XV's government²⁹⁹, nor did he conceal his dislike of the British: "L'Angleterre voyait avec jalousie renaître la marine militaire de la France"³⁰⁰. After the recall of Dupleix, he wrote:

"Les anglais purent alors conquérir à leur aise un empire où ils comptent aujourd'hui deux cents millions de sujets"³⁰¹.

This criticism of the English was repeated by Jallifier and Vast (*cours supérieur*, 1886), who after a brief reference to Dupleix continued to discuss Clive and Hastings, in a passage that has already been quoted (see p.104).

"La gloire de ces deux hommes n'est pas pure... C'est une conquête de barbares, plutôt que d'hommes civilisés. Par leur témérité et leur cruauté, ces anglais rappellent les conquérants espagnols du Mexique et du Pérou: Fernand Cortez et Pizarre"³⁰².

Suérus (*cours moyen*, 1886) combined admiration for Dupleix with distaste for the English:

"Un homme de génie, Dupleix, à la fois habile et audacieux, avait heureusement tenu tête aux anglais, occupé dans la dernière guerre leur grande ville de Madras et défendu Pondichéry contre les attaques. Les obstacles de toutes sortes, le nombre supérieur de ses adversaires ... n'avaient pu arrêter ses étonnants progrès"³⁰³.

He also described the fate of Lally (two years imprisonment in England, two years in the Bastille and then execution) as a disaster:

"La ruine, la prison, la mort, telles étaient alors les récompenses réservées aux plus dévoués serviteurs de la France en pays lointains"³⁰⁴.

The other principal actor in the drama of the Carnatic was La Bourdonnais, the Governor of Mauritius, who quarrelled with Dupleix over the capture of Madras. Of him, Darsy and Toussenel wrote (*enseignement secondaire*, 1893):

"La Bourdonnais n'était pas un traître ... il ne voyait dans la compagnie des Indes qu'une association de marchands et ne servait qu'avec répugnance sous les ordres de Dupleix"³⁰⁵.

Other writers, such as Pigeonneau (1879), mentioned these men and events in a sentence or two³⁰⁶. Like Lavissee, Jallifier and Vast, Suérus and Darsy and Toussenel, all criticized Louis XV and the Treaty of Paris³⁰⁷. It was Paris that had failed, through failure to provide finance and supplies. It is understandable that after the victories of the English against the French at Arcot, Srirangam, Wandiwash and Pondicherry, French dreams of an empire in India were at an end. In the period of French colonial development, when these books were written, it was the French sense of "grandeur" which enabled them to hold up these men, who through their colonial and economic ambition had been sacrificed by the French court. Nora's view is that this was Lavissee's reading of the history of the French monarchy³⁰⁸. The "reading" has been sustained until very recently (see notes 345-49).

Attitudes from 1900 to 1945

These national heroes were not to be without their critics. The

Manuel de Mame (cours supérieur, 1901) for instance said of the Madras episode:

"En sa qualité de gouverneur, Dupleix avait le droit d'annuler la capitulation de Madras. Mais il eut tort d'accuser la Bourdonnais de trahison"³⁰⁹.

Lally had the reputation for severity and brutality in war (Spear and Majumdar, for instance, do not refer to this). Mélin (1904) qualified the charge by recording that he possessed "fougoueuse energie"³¹⁰.

Anti-British bitterness, also, continued. Baudrillart and Martin (*cours élémentaire, 1911*) summed up the French failure in India:

"Nous partis, ils s'y installèrent et ils y ont aujourd'hui 200 millions de sujets qui devraient être les nôtres"³¹¹.

This quotation epitomises the problem of the French material. While English books of this period bitterly criticised the Indians, the French writers, influenced probably by Lavissee, regarded Britain as the arch enemy. The Indians are not discussed at all. The reader was presented with a series of moral judgements. Thus Baudrillart and Martin criticized Louis XV³¹² and Viator (1912) joined Mame and those who regarded the fate of Lally-Tollendal as unjust³¹³. India now faded even further away from the interest of historians. Lavissee (*cours moyen, 1921 edition*) merely commented:

"Dans l'Inde, un français, Dupleix, avait commencé à conquérir pour nous un empire"³¹⁴.

Cahen (*classes de 1e, 1929*) wrote of British expansion in India in the nineteenth century³¹⁵. (It is worth recalling that both Jallifier and Vast and Wahl and Dontenville had referred to the Mutiny, the latter observing that "la répression fut sanglante et égala par sa violence les pires excès de la révolte"³¹⁶). Bernard and Redou (*certificat d'études primaires, 1937*) wrote of the signing of the "honteux" (scandalous) Treaty of Paris (1763), by which "l'Angleterre, toujours 'jalouse' de nos colonies, s'emparait de nos deux Empires des Indes et de l'Amérique du Nord"³¹⁷. The Vichy Government (see p. 79) continued this antagonism, requiring that special emphasis should be laid on the treachery of the British in the

eighteenth century, but there is no evidence that this instruction was transferred to the books themselves, in a stronger form than already existed.

Attitudes from 1945 to 1971

Ozouf and Leterrier published a book in 1950 for the *cours fin d'études*, which mentioned Dumas, Dupleix's predecessor. The paragraph was sympathetic to Dupleix:

"Sous des gouvernements habiles et énergiques. Dumas, puis Dupleix qui ont en gagner la sympathie des populations, la compagnie français des Indes orientales était devenue prospère et puissante. Avec une petite armée d'indigènes, les cipayes ... Dupleix refoule peu à peu la compagnie Anglaise rivale et acquiert à la France un empire de 30 millions d'habitants"³¹⁸.

Of the Comte de Lally, they judged that he was "brave mais maladroit"³¹⁹. (Clozier, Dépain and Guyomard (*cours fin d'études*, 1954) described him as "courageux, mais brutal")³²⁰.

Criticism of the Treaty of Paris continued. Le Ster (*cours fin d'études* 1952) described it as "le plus désastreux que la France ait jamais signée"³²¹. Pomot and Besseige (1954) used the same words, italicised³²². Audrin and Déchappe (*cycle terminale*, 1963) wrote:

"Le traité de Paris (1763) dépossède la France de ses plus beaux territoires d'outre-mer"³²³.

Such is the depth of feeling in France about this serious blow to French power and prestige in India, North America and the Caribbean that Clozier, Dépain and Guyomard compared France's loss in 1763 with the British experience in the American War of Independence:

"Sa concurrente victorieuse devait d'ailleurs subir une amputation analogue lors de la guerre d'indépendance des États-Unis d'Amérique. Ceux-ci appellent à l'aide la France qui prend ainsi sa revanche"³²⁴.

It is singular that two hundred years after the event, writers could still use the word "revenge".

Guillemain and Le Ster (*cours moyen*, 1953) continued the vigorous denunciation of Louis XV who had never understood that colonies "font la principale richesse d'un pays par les produits qu'elles lui procurent"³²⁵. Events in eighteenth century India continued to be discussed in this way (cp. Ligel (c.1954)³²⁶, Canac and Dupaquier (1959))³²⁷. Methivier (1954)³²⁸ Gautrot-Lacourt and Gozé (1960)³²⁹, Malet-Isaac (1961)³³⁰, Duroselle (1962)³³¹ follow the development (noted on pp.81-82). of relating French expansion overseas to that of Europe as a whole, and especially Britain. Books devoted to the nineteenth century usually mention the Mutiny³³².

Aronde, Bouillon and Rudel (*classes de 3e*, 1962) recalled the Dupleix episode. It was the familiar approach: criticism of the men in Paris as well as of the English:

"Dupleix se heurtait aux directeurs métropolitains de la Compagnie, qui ne voulaient pas le voir devenir une "puissance de terre", et préféraient aux conquêtes "beaucoup de marchandises et quelques augmentations de dividendes". La rappel de Dupleix fut décidé".

His successor Godeheu is criticised for making the treaty of 1754:

"Les deux organismes (EIC and CIO) s'engageaient à abandonner leurs conquêtes dans l'Inde; c'était pour les Français, une duperie (a trick) car les Anglais n'y possédaient alors presque aucun territoire"³³³

(From the British point of view, this is a misreading of the situation.

Clive had defeated the French forces at Arcot three years before.

Lawrence had laid siege to Fort St. David, and in the Carnatic, the armies of the EIC and CIO were openly at war). Later, the book referred to Clive, Hastings and the 1784 Act³³⁴.

Tudesq and Rudel (*classes de 2e*, 1961) referred in a sentence to the submission of the Marathas and the Afghan and Sikh wars³³⁵ Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel (*classes de 1e*, 1962) explained the causes for the Mutiny against the background of rapid social change and the economic

threat of cheap goods from Europe, together with the growing effect of population pressure, as a result of "la paix anglaise" (i.e. the Pax Britannica).

"Ce bouleversement provoque la révolte des soldats indigènes (cipayes) in 1857 ... La mutinerie réprimée ... Ici, pas d'autonomie ... despotisme éclairé d'une minorité étrangère, ce gouvernement montre la défiance que les masses indigènes pratiquement non assimilées inspirent à des conquérants peu nombreux"³³⁶. "L'Inde était pour les Anglais un legs avantageux (a profitable legacy) du siècle précédent"³³⁷.

Apart from the reasons for the Mutiny given by Girard and his colleagues, the approach was similar to that of British writers during the 1960s. There were also references to developments after 1858 and to the Second Afghan War³³⁸. They included economic and demographic information and referred to investments of "10 milliards de francs - or", to 30 million deaths from famine between 1860 and 1900 to the existence of 200,000 Indian students in 1914, to the rise of the Congress party and Indian nationalism³³⁹.

Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel (*classes terminales*, 1962) devoted a chapter to India since 1858³⁴⁰. As in the previous book, the writers considered India in a more incisive way than their British counterparts. They pointed out for instance that improvement in hygiene produced a demographic imbalance. The death rate fell. The birth rate rose by 1935.

"C'est une véritable marée humaine, à laquelle les Anglais ne savent comment faire face"³⁴¹. Or again:

"En politique, l'Angleterre se montra assez libérale. Dans le domaine économique, elle cantonna les Indiens dans une médiocre vie agricole qui ne pouvait leur suffire"³⁴².

Sentou and Carbonell (*classes terminales*, 1965) also devoted a chapter to India³⁴³. They considered caste, religion, tradition, geographical factors, language and developments since Independence, including "la misère du monde rural"³⁴⁴.

Two books for the *classes de 4e* published in 1970 take us back to the eighteenth century. Aldebert and Billerey give a much more objective account of Dupleix:

"Aux Indes, la politique habile de Dupleix, gouverneur de 1741 à 1754 étend l'influence française au Décan" (Dupleix's chief influence was in the *Carnatic* - 1742-54 and previously in Bengal, not the Deccan), "mais cette expansion est jugée coûteuse et peu utile. Dupleix est rappelé et sa politique abandonnée. Pendant la guerre de Sept Ans, Robert Clive reprend cette politique au profit de l'Angleterre, s'impose au Bengale par la victoire de Plassey et chasse les Français de leur comptoirs"³⁴⁵.

They quote a sentence of Voltaire's:

"La nation française a eu jusqu'ici du grand et ruineux commerce de l'Inde"³⁴⁶.

Coquerelle and Cloet similarly strike a new note:

"L'Angleterre, au contraire de la France, s'intéresse aux colonies".

They summarise in a paragraph the establishment of factories (*comptoirs*) in Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Pondicherry and Chandernagore; the anarchy that resulted from the death of Aurengzeb; the work of Dumas, and then of Dupleix.

"Dupleix veut ruiner les comptoirs anglais ... mais sa politique ambitieuse coûte cher; elle inquiète Paris et le ministre ... le rappelle in 1754. Les positions occupées sont abandonnées"³⁴⁷.

Of Lally-Tollendal:

"Lally-Tollendal, courageux mais maladroit avec ses subordonnés et brutal avec les indigènes, est battu; l'Inde est perdue"³⁴⁸.

Of the Treaty of Paris, simply:

"Traité douloureux pour la France; pourtant les Français se félicitent d'avoir gardé les Antilles, les précieuses îles à sucre"³⁴⁹.

Bonifacio and Michaud (*classes de 3e*, 1971) deal with world history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is brief, but it carries a passing reference to "la terrible révolte des cipayes"³⁵⁰, and to developments in India since Independence³⁵¹.

Conclusion

The presentation of India by French writers may be seen in three principal areas: the period 1742-61, the Mutiny, the period after 1947. During the last twenty years, a study of the Dupleix period has been confined normally to pupils of 13 and 14 years of age. The emphasis is on the Anglo-French struggle, still, rather than the conquest of the Carnatic. Indians are hardly ever mentioned and then only in reference to sepoys. Until recently, in books dealing with the eighteenth century, antagonism towards the British has been uniformly apparent. Louis XV is castigated and the Treaty of Paris seen as an unmitigated disaster. The descriptive language used has, traditionally, been emotional. There is an indication that this century-old tendency is now being corrected.

Since the 1960s, there has been some interest in the period of the Mutiny. Books written for *classes terminales* deal with India after 1947. While being more radical in their judgements about the legacy from British India, they are not as detailed in their description of constitutional advance. The French have not been involved in India for over two hundred years. Their approach to twentieth century India is therefore uncomplicated and objective. Because of the non-involvement of France in the process of independence, it is not the purpose of this study to go beyond a mere acknowledgement that French concern for the presentation of contemporary world history demands that modern India be studied in this way.

NOTES

Chapter VII

1. p.24. B.Gardner. *The East India Company*. Hart-Davis.1971.
2. p.107. H.Tinker. *South Asia*. Pall Mall.1966
3. p.67. P.Spear. *A History of India*. vol.2. Pelican.(1956) 1968.
4. p.107. Tinker. *op.cit.*; p.67. Spear *op.cit.*
5. p.638. R.C.Majumdar, H.C.Raychauduri and K.Datta, *An Advanced History of India*. Macmillan.1946.
6. p.12. P.Spear. *The Oxford History of Modern India*. Oxford.1965.
7. p.13. *ibid.*
8. p.15. *ibid.*; p.56.Gardner. *op.cit.*
9. cp. pp.3-30. H.Dodwell. *Dupleix and Clive*. Methuen.1920.
10. p.16. Spear. *op.cit.*
11. p.190. Spear. *India*. University of Michigan Press.1961.
12. p.665. Majumdar. *op.cit.*; p.100 P.Woodruff. *The Men who ruled India: The Founders*. Cape.1953.
13. p.208. M.Edwardes. *A History of India*. Thames and Hudson.1961; pp.133-43. M.Bence-Jones. *Clive of India*. Constable.1974.
14. p.669. Majumdar. *op.cit.*
15. p.20. Spear. *The Oxford History*.
16. quoted p.158. C.B.A.Behrens. *The Ancien Régime*. Thames and Hudson.1967.
17. pp.79-80. G.Hardy. *Histoire Sociale de la colonisation française*.
18. p.90. Bence-Jones. *op.cit.*
19. pp.74-76. Gardner. *op.cit.*; pp.95-96. Woodruff. *op.cit.*
20. p.35. Spear. *The Oxford History*. (He does not mention the incident in *A History of India*. vol.2. Pelican.1968).
21. p.202. Spear. *India*; p.90. Bence-Jones. *op.cit.*
22. p.78. Gardner. *op.cit.*
23. p.29. Spear. *The Oxford History*. (*Ad valorem*: goods were taxed according to their estimated value).
24. p.111. Woodruff. *op.cit.*
25. p.124. *ibid.*
26. p.77. Spear. *The Oxford History*.
27. p.829. ed.D.C.Douglas. *English Historical Documents*. vol.XI. 1783-1832. Eyre and Spottiswood.1959.
28. quoted p.253. G.S.Graham. *A Concise History of the British Empire*. Thames and Hudson.1970.
29. *ibid.*
30. p.247. Spear. *India*.
31. p.326. Woodruff. *op.cit.*
32. p.350. *ibid.*

33. pp.171-208. D.Kincaid. *British Social Life in India.1608-1937*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.(1938) 1973.
34. p.352. Woodruff.
35. J.Lunt comments in his introduction to Kincaid's book that "As recently as 1938 we took rifles and ball ammunition with us to church on Sundays lest we were surprised by a mutiny of the Indian troops, as the 60th Rifles had been in Meerut ..." (p.xviii).
36. p.143. Spear. *A History of India.*; p.282. Gardner. *op.cit.*
37. pp.157 and 201. Bolt. *op.cit.*
38. p.780. Majumdar et al. *op.cit.*
39. p.781. *ibid.*
40. p.783. *ibid.*
41. p.143. Spear. *A History of India.*
42. quoted p.782. Majumdar et al. *op.cit.*
43. quoted p.9. B.N.Pandey. *The Break-up of British India*. Macmillan.1969.
44. p.51. V.G.Kiernan. *The Lords of Human Kind*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1969. (Kiernan gives the incorrect date of 1886 for the first National Congress).
45. p.77. Pandey. *op.cit.*
46. p.258. Graham. *op.cit.*
47. p.191. Spear. *A History of India*. vol.2; p.346. Spear. *India*; p.107. Pandey. *op.cit.*
48. p.206. Spear. *A History of India.*
49. p.219. *ibid.*
50. p.238. *ibid.*
51. p.239. *ibid.*
52. p.2430. N.Maxwell. *The British Empire*. BBC-Times Life.1973
- (* see footnote on p.253)
53. *Clive*: cp. p.128. Mangnall; p.284.W.F.Collier. *History of the British Empire*; p.631. *Graphic History*; p.445. A.J.Evans and C.S.Fearenside. *English History.1714-1837*. Clive.1898; p.114. Pringle. *op.cit.*; p.102. *Chambers Historical Reader*. Book 3.(CHR) London.1884; pp.174-75. *Illustrated Historical Reader* Bk.4.(IHR) Collins.1886; pp.68,72-3. *Patriotic Historical Reader* Bk.5.(PHR) Collins.1898.
54. *Black Hole*: see below.
55. *Plassey*: cp. p.285. Collier; Mangnall. *ibid.*; *Graphic History*. *ibid.*; Pringle. *ibid.*; p.304.*Patriotic History of British Empire* (PHBE) Collins.1900.
56. *Hastings*: cp. p.294. Collier; p.637. *Graphic History*, p.447. Evans and Fearenside; p.117. Pringle; pp.155-59. *Improved Historical Reader*. Bk.6. London.1885; p.74. PHR; p.318. PHBE; p.116. CHR
57. *Mysore*: cp. p.129. Mangnall; p.118. Pringle; p.98. PHR; p.318 PHBE.
58. *Marathas*: cp. Mangnall. *ibid.*; p.462. Evans and Fearenside; p.98 PHR.

59. *Afghanistan*: see below.
60. *Sikhs and Punjab*: cp. pp.133 and 27. Mangnall; p.236.Cooper; p.322. Collier. *ibid.*; p.633. Gleig; pp.713-17. *Graphic History*; p.369 *PHBE*; p.137. Pringle.
61. *Burma Wars*: cp. p.133. Mangnall; p.236. Cooper; p.606. Gleig; pp.692 and 720. *Graphic History* (p.693. "The British bayonet forced its resistless way on to Yandahoo"): pp.340 and 369. *PHBE*; p.127. (1st Burma war only). Pringle.
62. *The Mutiny*: see below.
63. cp. p.606. Gleig; p.433. Evans and Fearenside; pp.172,175. *IHR*; pp.69,175. *ibid.*
64. p.284. Collier; pp.434-44 Evans and Fearenside; p.172. *IHR*: p.69. *PHR*.
65. p.294. Collier; p.148. Evans and Fearenside; p.69. *PHR*.
66. p.451. Mrs.Markham.
67. p.547. *ibid.*
68. p.128. Mangnall.
69. p.95. Cooper.
70. p.285. Collier.
71. p.472. Gleig.
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231. ditto.
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CHAPTER VIII

*THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA: FIVE EXAMPLES OF PRESENTATION**General Introduction*

The phrase "the Scramble for Africa" came into popular use in an article in *The Times* on 15 September 1884. The *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests that it had been used in relation to territorial rivalries before that. In France, Jules Ferry used the word "steepelchase" to describe the same process¹.

The origins of the "scramble" were extremely complex but in general it arose out of the struggle for power in Europe after 1870. European rivalries were projected outside Europe altogether, especially in Africa. The aspirations of Leopold II of Belgium in the Congo Basin led to the convening of the Berlin Conference of 1884. It is acknowledged that the conference led to an acceleration of European influence and control in Africa, although the history of European interest in the continent indicates that France and Britain had already begun to stake their claims. This was especially true of France.

Certainly before 1884, the British government had no clear conviction that the country needed colonies in Africa. Lord Salisbury, for instance, said: "When I left the Foreign Office in 1880 nobody thought about Africa. When I returned to it in 1885, the nations of Europe were almost quarrelling with each other as to the various portions of Africa they could obtain"². This view was typical, although it requires qualification as will be seen.

The British, like the French, were already involved in Africa by 1884, although after that date, colonisation was seen as a matter of prestige and "leverage" in the struggle for the balance of power in Europe.

The five examples of British and French involvement in Africa chosen for this study do not belong to the post-1884 "scramble" as such. They do nevertheless demonstrate the manner in which British and French involvement in Africa has been presented in schoolbooks. The two major areas of "settlement" were Algeria and South Africa. They have received extensive treatment in French and British books respectively. Senegal and Gold Coast will also be examined because of the military and social pressures imposed upon them in the nineteenth century by France and by Britain. Direct conflict of interest arose in Morocco at the turn of the century but the Morocco settlement of 1904 is barely mentioned in French schoolbooks and in British schoolbooks, its presentation leaves much to be desired.

*NOTES**Chapter VIII (General Introduction)*

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(1) FRANCE AND ALGERIA.

Introduction

Phoenicians used ports on the Algerian coast from the twelfth century B.C.¹. After they had overthrown Carthage in 146 B.C., the Romans began their occupation of North Africa, in the area covered by present-day Tunisia. Later they extended their control to the territory known today as Algeria and at that time an independent Berber chiefdom. By the middle of the third century A.D. Christianity was flourishing², but the Berbers retained their independence in the South-West. The country was successively conquered by the Vandals in the fifth century, by the Byzantines in the sixth century and by the Arabs in the seventh and eleventh centuries, Islam becoming the dominant culture. In the sixteenth century, Spanish attacks on the North-West coast of Algeria were rebuffed with the help of two Turkish corsairs, the Barbarossa brothers, who subsequently became rulers of the country. Under the Turks (who dominated Algeria for three centuries), Arabs and Berbers (see further p.111) fused into one people and Algeria became an entity for the first time³.

Turkish interest concentrated on the coast, rather than the hinterland. Privateering was a prime source of revenue and also a means of waging a *jihad* (holy war) against the christians⁴. In the seventeenth century it is known that some 35,000 christians were held prisoner in Algiers⁵. Spain, France and Britain by degrees swept the corsairs from the Mediterranean. The population of Algiers declined as a result and the economy of the country shrank.

During the eighteenth century relations between Algeria and France became closer, particularly because of the proximity of Marseilles. Algerian wheat and olives were exchanged for European goods. During the Napoleonic Wars, Algeria was a main source of supply to maintain the French in Italy and Egypt. Later, Louis XVIII (1815-24) negotiated commercial treaties with Algeria.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, however, a complicated commercial scandal had been discovered, involving French and Algerian agents and two Jewish merchants from Leghorn, Joseph Bacri and Neftali Busnach. In an attempt to gain a monopoly of the Algerian export trade, they appear to have involved the Dey (governor) of Algiers, who in turn fell into considerable debt to them⁶. Talleyrand had some rôle in the affair also. (Bacri wrote from Paris in 1803 to his brother: "I could count on nothing if I did not have the lame one in my hand")⁷. When therefore, the Dey wrote to Paris asking the French government to settle their bills for cereals purchased by the Directoire, and when also the financiers exercised pressure on Talleyrand in the interest of the Dey's debt to them, a strong tension had developed between Paris and Algiers.

The appointment of Deval as consul in Algiers in 1819 led to a rapid deterioration in French-Algerian relations. The Dey believed that Deval was a tool of Bacri and Busnach⁸ and asked for him to be removed. When in April 1827, a meeting took place between the Dey and Deval, the Dey, alleging Deval's insulting manner about the French government's failure to reply to the Dey's letters and also his derogatory attitude to Islam, struck him with a fly-whisk. This celebrated episode was the reason given for the invasion of Algeria by France, three years later, together with the traditional complaints about Algerian attacks on French shipping and piracy in the Mediterranean. (D.W.Brogan, the distinguished political historian, in fact, gives these as the grounds for the French expedition, together with Charles X's desire to gain popularity at home⁹, but does not explain the Bacri-Busnach affair. Nor does he set Charles X's action within the context of the need "to gratify the army which had been frustrated by the collapse at the end of the Napoleonic régime")¹⁰. The French King knew also that the seizure of Algeria would be popular in south-eastern France, for a strong Algerian policy, beneficial to trade, might dissuade the merchants of Marseilles from committing themselves to the

growing opposition to the government in Paris¹¹. A "passing craze for *la gloire*" and a longstanding economic evil thus led France to Algeria¹². It was to be a long struggle.

The conquest of Algeria

In May 1830, 37,000 men sailed from Toulon. Before the end of the month, Algiers had fallen and the Dey's treasury was in French hands. In July, the Dey Husain signed an act of capitulation. Barbour comments wryly: "On the financial side, the Algiers expedition was a rare example of an enterprise entirely covered by the sums 'recovered' on the spot"¹³. 55 million francs was captured and France had made a seven million franc profit on the venture.

What took place in those first weeks is reminiscent of so much colonial expansion. The French knew little of the Algerian people. They knew them to be Arab, Muslim and ruled by a Turkish minority. The official proclamation announced that they had come to liberate Algeria from the Turks. Turkish officials were immediately deported, or ignored. They, for their part in the affair, abandoned their offices and carried off or destroyed their files. By a mistake in the official proclamation, the Algerians were addressed as *Maghariba* or Moroccans. There was a lack of interpreters. Nor did the French know what to do in Algeria. Charles X's hopes for survival did not materialise. News of the success of the Algerian expedition did not reach Paris until 9th July. At the end of the month, there were three days of revolution and on 2nd August, Charles abdicated. In that time, only two messages had passed between Paris and Algiers, one asking for 60 camels and the other for a collection of insects and herbs¹⁴.

It was not an auspicious beginning. Three weeks after the capture of Algiers, a French column was almost totally destroyed at Blida. The army's glib announcement that the whole operation would be over in fifteen days was without foundation. Oran and Médéa submitted to the French, but

the whole of the Algiers area was not under French control until 1834 and Constantine, not completely until 1848.

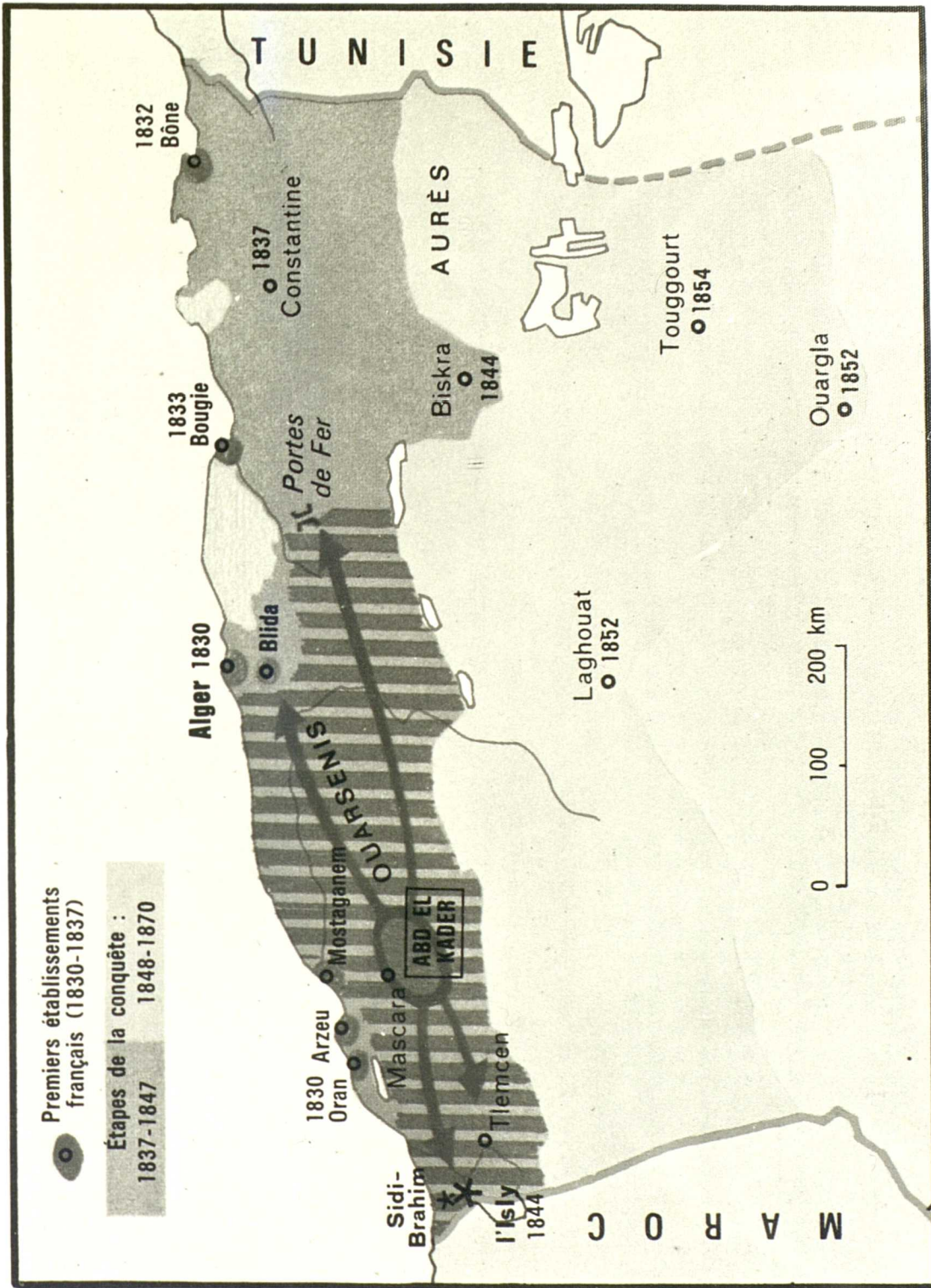
After the initial siege of Algiers, the French government could not decide whether to withdraw, occupy the coastal areas, set up a puppet Arab or Turkish government, or parcel out Algeria by international agreement. In the event, France decided to stay, but she forgot the unifying force of Islam. Some of the best mosques were taken for churches, Muslim feasts ceased to be legal holidays. Tribal lands were confiscated. National symbols were destroyed. The muslims began to speak of a *jiḥād*. Abd al-Qadir declared it, in 1832. He welded together the communities of western and central Algeria, organised an administration, built up an army which inflicted a number of defeats on the French, and set up Islamic schools¹⁵.

Peace was signed in 1834, but Abd al-Qadir was back at war in 1835. General Clauzel was defeated by guerillas at Constantine, under Ahmed Bey, whom the French now attempted to set against Abd al-Qadir. In 1837, Bugeaud was sent to Algeria and he negotiated the Treaty of Tafna, by which Abd al-Qadir was given the province of Oran (apart from Oran itself) and the ports of Arzew, Mostaganem and Mazagran. War still continued. In 1841, General Bugeaud was appointed Governor and ordered to rid Algeria of Abd al-Qadir.

"Soldiers", he said, "you have often beaten the Arabs. You will beat them again, but to rout them is a small thing; they must be subdued"¹⁶.

Earlier, when addressing the French National Assembly, he had said: "We must lead a great invasion of Africa, in the style of the Franks and the Goths"¹⁷.

He adopted a scorched earth policy. Conventions of war were ignored by both sides. The French were victorious at Mazagran (1840) and at the *smalah* or camp of Abd al-Qadir at Taguin in 1842. They were defeated by



THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF ALGERIA

Source: p.311. L.Girard et al. *Le Temps des Révolutions*.1966 (a schoolbook for *classes de 3e*).

the Arabs at Sidi Brahim in September 1845, when 82 men were surrounded in a marabout or shrine for three days and only 14 survived. A French colonel, Pélassier lit fires at the mouth of a cave in Dahrah, in which 800 people had taken refuge. All but ten were asphyxiated¹⁸, (a much worse occasion than the "Black Hole").

Barbour recalls a saying of Bugeaud in 1846:

"We have burnt a great deal and destroyed a great deal. It may be that I shall be called a barbarian, but I have the conviction that I have done something useful for my country"¹⁹.

He goes on to comment: "The historians of these campaigns mention 300 villages burnt in the campaign of 1851; men, women and children killed; 18,000 trees cut down"²⁰. (Similar destruction of life and property took place in the final war in the 1950s and early 1960s. Then, half a million French troops were required in France's attempt to preserve French Algeria).

Algeria in the second half of the nineteenth century

Abd al-Qadir surrendered in 1847. He was one of the few enemies of France who has commanded French respect. In his exile in France, he was treated with honour and then subsequently pensioned off to live in Damascus where he became a close friend of Sir Richard and Lady Isabel Burton. (Lady Burton wrote: "... He was surrounded by five hundred faithful Algerines. He divided his time into prayer, study, business and very little sleep. He loved the English, but he was loyal to Louis Napoleon")²¹.

After 1847, the Kabyles to the east of Algiers, resisted the French for several years, even though Algeria was declared French in 1848. Atrocities abounded. The Kabyles were defeated in 1857 (the year of the massacre of 157 muslim devotees at Tishkert). They rose again in 1871 and held down 80,000 French troops, in 300 engagements for a year. At the end thousands were executed or transferred to France; animals and land were confiscated, together with 180,000 rifles; a fine of 60,000,000 gold francs

was imposed. Not even this chastisement quelled their independent spirit and another rising was put down in 1879²².

Apart from the miseries of war, (up to 1869, 300,000 French soldiers and colonists had died²³; the number of Algerian dead will never be known), there was a plague of locusts in 1866, drought in 1867 and cholera in 1868. However, in 1863, Napoleon III, who called Algeria "un boulet attaché aux pieds de la France" had brought about a drastic change in policy. In that year, he condemned the confiscation of land by colonists and wrote in a public letter to the Governor:

"L'Algérie n'est pas une colonie proprement dite mais un royaume arabe, les indigènes ont, comme les colons, un droit égal à ma protection et je suis aussi bien l'empereur des Arabes que l'empereur des Français"²⁴.

Colonization decreased and military government came to an end in May, 1870. Permanent representation in the National Assembly was established in September of the same year. (It is sometimes said that, weakened in spirit by defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the French provisional government acceded to the settlers' demand for civil government. France's surrender at Sedan did not occur until September. The reorganisation however, took place earlier in the year through the recommendations of a Commission of Enquiry, appointed in 1869). By the 1880s there were 200,000 French settlers in Algeria²⁵. (Hardy, who is extremely reticent about Algeria, gives 245,000 as the figure for the *European* population in 1872, so the increase in the size of the European community was swift). By 1906, there were nearly 600,000 Europeans in the country. Over 350,000 were French²⁶. They were predominantly small wine growers from the south of France, who had gone to Algeria after their vineyards had been attacked by disease²⁷. Spaniards, Italians and Maltese had also come to find employment or to set up as small traders.

Many of the early French agricultural colonists, gave up farming after some years and moved to the towns, selling their land to wealthy

individuals and companies. Immigrants certainly contributed to economic development, but they also caused social and political problems, because of their great numbers.

The Growth of Algerian Nationalism

The Muslims had for several decades resisted the French conquest. Now that it was a fact, they found that the best land and the best paid jobs had gone to the Europeans and the expansion of their own numbers had increased their poverty. By the 1930s, many had migrated to France. Social unrest found expression in political movements, beginning among the Algerian workers in Paris in 1923. Vichy's anti-semitic policies during the Second World War were accompanied in Algeria by anti-muslim violence, according to Barbour and Brace²⁸. For example, 27 muslims were killed by asphyxiation in Zeralda prison in 1942. In 1945, the carrying of Algerian flags in the victory celebration at Sétif resulted in police action and a subsequent revolt in which many Europeans were killed. Reprisals cost the lives of 10,000 Muslims. The event gave Algerians an increased sense of nationhood. (Its effect may be compared with the massacre of Amritsar in India, more than twenty years before).

The final rebellion against the French began in 1954. By that time there were one million French in Algeria. In addition, during the eight years war from 1954-62, France deployed half a million soldiers, of whom at least 20,000 died. It is thought that half a million Algerians died. It was the fiercest and most expensive war in colonial Africa, costing the French £1,000 million in 1958 alone²⁹. De Gaulle's attempts to ameliorate the situation in order to preserve French Algeria, once he was in power, infuriated the settlers who regarded such attempts as undermining their position. In the end, convinced of the representative character of the National Liberation Front (FLN), De Gaulle moved swiftly towards peace. The Evian agreement was signed by France and the FLN in March 1962. In July, independence was declared. This was followed by a short civil war,

at the end of which most settlers left the country.

Ben Bella emerged as the first head of state. One of the prime architects of the FLN, he had spent most of the Algerian war in a French gaol, and never gained the confidence of the FLN combatants. He was succeeded by Boumédiène, in a near bloodless *coup* in 1965. One hundred and twenty years had passed since the exile of Abd al-Qadir.

ALGERIA IN FRENCH SCHOOLBOOKS

Until the 1880s, most schoolbooks ended at 1815, with the addition of a chronology of events from 1815-48³⁰. There were exceptions, like Loiseau (1868) and Pigeonneau (1879) who devoted four pages and eight pages respectively, to Algeria³¹. After 1880, it became usual to describe the conquest of Algeria in some detail and the amount of space devoted to this theme is considerable, throughout the period³². Because there is little change in attitude until about 1948, the material will be studied under topics.

Reasons for the Invasion of Algeria

The reasons given for the French invasion are trivial: piracy and "the fly-whisk" being the most common. Suérus (1886) for instance, mentioned piracy and the consul being hit with a fan: "un coup d'éventail"³³. (In French, the words used for the object with which the consul was struck vary between "éventail" (fan) and "chasse-mouches" (fly-whisk, like a fan). Suérus also suggested that the expedition was "pour les intérêts de notre commerce"³⁴.

Wahl and Dontenville (*classes de 3e*, 1887) included this paragraph:

"Nous avons depuis longtemps des griefs sérieux contre Hussein Dey. Ce prince par son insolence mit le comble à ces nombreux actes de piraterie, à des violations flagrantes des traités et du droit des gens. Il frappa publiquement le consul français. Deval, d'un coup de chasse-mouches, puis sans respect pour le pavillon parlementaire fit tirer le canon contre les vaisseaux d'un de nos envoyés. La Bretonnière, chargé d'une dernière mission de conciliation. Une expédition fut résolue"³⁵.

Similarly, Hubault (*cours supérieur*, 1887) commented:

"Les côtes d'Afrique étaient demeurées un repaire de piraterie: Alger semblait en être le centre. Là, sous la suzeraineté de la Porte Ottomane, un ramas de Turcs, de Maures et d'Arabes insultait et rançonnait le commerce de toutes les nations... Hussein... en 1827... avait osé frapper le consul de France"³⁶.

Melin (*cours supérieur*, 1904) gave as the reason for the conflict, the looting by pirates of two ships and when Deval went to protest to the Dey, "Celui-ci le frappa insolemment de son éventail à la figure et le mit à la porte de son palais"³⁷.

According to Mame (*cours moyen*, 1906), one French ship had been attacked; Deval demanded reparations and "le Dey se mit en colère et donna au représentant de la France un coup de chasse-mouches"³⁸.

Vitte (1907) referred to "les corsaires barbaresques" and "un coup d'éventail"³⁹. The reasons given for the invasion therefore remained similar and Lavissee (1921) continued this pattern⁴⁰. By 1935, Cahen, Ronze and Polinaiis (*cours supérieur*), writing shortly after the centenary of the invasion expressed the origins of the war very briefly and with a certain ambivalence:

"Assez imprudemment ils avaient engagés une expédition contre l'Alger, malgré l'opposition de l'Angleterre, pour venger une prétendue injure faite à notre consul en 1827. L'aventure réussit brillamment"⁴¹.

Even though the invasion fleet was not despatched for three years after the "fly-whisk" episode, it was the latter which became a principal source of emotion when French historians sought to justify Charles X's action. Cahen, Ronze and Polinaiis spoke of an "avenging" expedition and it is notable that this kind of language figured continuously in school-books. Courval (1883) and Viator (1896) described the Dey's behaviour as "une insulte"⁴². Drioux (1889) and Mélin (1904) wrote of "insolence"⁴³, Others, from Mame (1910), referred to the event as "une injure" to France⁴⁴. French action in Algeria provided "un châtement exemplaire" (Ségond, 1917)⁴⁵. For writers in the 1930s, the Dey had committed "un outrage"

(Fritsch,1933)⁴⁶ and "un affront" (Guillemain and Le Ster, 1936)⁴⁷. It was the Dey who had become the focus of France's provocation.

After 1945, writers began to describe more of the complexity behind France's action in Algeria in 1830. Ségond (*cours moyen*,1945), Isaac, Alba and Pouthas (*classes de 1e*,1950), Ozouf and Leterrier (*cours moyen*, 1953), Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas (*classes de 3e*,1960), Tudesq and Rudel (*classes de 2e*,1961) all referred to the delivery of the cereals to the Directoire⁴⁸. Methivier (*classes de 1e*,1954) mentioned "les causes profondes", including "la piraterie extravagante et paradoxale des barbaresques", "l'imbroglie financier" and "le coup d'éventail". He added:

"Les coups de canon d'Alger sur les vaisseaux parlementaires justifiaient amplement un blocus qui fut d'ailleurs inopèrent"

He described the immediate cause of the expedition as "un besoin de prestige extérieur et l'intérieur"⁴⁹.

Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas (writing for 14 to 16 year olds, *classes de 3e*) were, however, even more forthright: "Le prétexte de la conquête de l'Algérie fut un incident futile".

They described the negotiations about the cereals and affair of the "fly-whisk" and then ask how long France was to stay in North Africa: "La majorité de l'opinion publique y était opposée - à l'exception des commerçants de Marseilles. Louis Philippe, absorbé par des difficultés de toutes sortes, désireux de garder de bon rapports avec l'Angleterre... se décida à occuper tout au plus quelques villes sur la côte: Oran, Bougie, Bône, Mostaganem. C'est ce qu'on appela *l'occupation restreinte*"⁵⁰.

Even here then, there was an attempt to underplay the events of 1830. There was no mention of Charles X's attempt to improve his position in France by arousing enthusiasm for the Algerian enterprise. Tudesq and Rudel (*classes de 2e*) do however acknowledge the signal failure of Charles's policy⁵¹.

The Battles

Most books have described the military conquest in terms of lists of battles. Pigeonneau (*enseignement secondaire spécial*, 1879) presented the siege of Algiers (1830) in dramatic style, concluding with these words:

"Tout à coup une gerbe de feu s'élève dans les airs, une explosion formidable ébranle la ville et la rade et le fort disparaît au milieu d'un nuage de poussière et de débris"⁵².

Vincent (*écoles primaires*, 1880) complimented the army:

"(La conquête) fut remplie par des nombreux et brillants faits d'armes parmi, lesquels on cite la défense de Mazagran par le capitaine Lelièvre et ses soldats contre 12,000 arabes; le ravitaillent de Milianeh, la prise de la Smalah..."⁵³.

The two battles which vied for inclusion in some books were Mazagran, mentioned by Vincent above, when the French were victorious, and Sidi Brahim, where they were defeated by the Arabs. In terms of the total military conquest of Algeria, it is interesting that nineteenth century historians chose these battles for special reference, their inclusion still being noticeable in books published since 1950. Hanotaux, in his military history, includes an illustration of Mazagran,⁵⁴ but there is no reference in the text. Weygand mentions neither event⁵⁵, although Hanotaux does include a brief reference to Sidi Brahim⁵⁶.

Suérus (1886), Audrin and Déchappe (1951) and Hallynck (1952) referred to both battles⁵⁷, while Tudesq and Rudel (1961) followed earlier writers, Renaudin (1878), Ammann and Coutant (1884), Mélin (1904) and Mame (1906)⁵⁸, in recalling neither event. Zévort (1923) mentioned only Mazagran⁵⁹. Ségond (*cours moyen*, 1945 edition) described Mazagran as a bloody affair with sabre and bayonet. He gave figures: three dead and 16 wounded out of 123 French troops; 600 Arabs killed out of a force of 10,000⁶⁰. (Audrin and Déchappe mentioned 15,000 Arabs)⁶¹. Hallynck referred to "une résistance héroïque"⁶².

Win or lose, the French became proud of the Algerian campaign. Lavissee (*cours moyen*, 1921) wrote: "Dans les villes et villages de France, on racontait les combats d'Afrique"⁶³. A number of writers, spanning the whole period under review, omit reference to Mazagran and report the French defeat at Sidi Brahim. These include Wahl and Dontenville (1887), Vitte (1907), Rogie and Despiques (1908), Lavissee (1921), Cahen, Ronze and Polinais (1935), Ligel (1950) and Methivier (1954)⁶⁴. Lavissee introduced his description of Sidi Brahim with the words: "Pendant cette guerre nos soldats ne furent pas toujours vainqueurs, mais ils furent toujours braves"⁶⁵. Such views were still to be found in the 1950s in two books for the *classes de 1e*, Hallynck (1952) writing "anecdotally" of the officer in charge shouting to his men: "Défendez-vous jusqu'à la mort"⁶⁶, and Methivier referring to "un glorieux combat de trois jours"⁶⁷.

The Treaty of Tafna (1837)

Tafna has received attention because of its importance, as the first major territorial agreement. Late nineteenth century attitudes were uniformly hostile. Vincent (1880) described it as "assez avantageux pour le chef arabe"⁶⁸ (Abd al-Qadir). Zévort (1881) called it "un traité déplorable"⁶⁹. Wahl and Dontenville (1887) regarded it as "un traité qui devait avoir les plus déplorables effets"⁷⁰. Some seventy years later, Huby (*classes de 1e*, 1953) wrote of "une véritable triomphe diplomatique de l'Emir"⁷¹, and that "Abd el-Kader était ainsi désigné par les français eux-mêmes comme le seul maître d'un territoire dont il ne possédait en réalité qu'une faible partie"⁷². Tudesq and Rudel (*classes de 2e*, 1961) referred to the Treaty as "moyennant la reconnaissance en termes équivoques, de la souveraineté française"⁷³.

The Personalities

Without doubt, the folk hero of the Algerian conquest was Abd al-Qadir. Pigeonneau (*enseignement secondaire spécial*, 1879) wrote of his great heart

and character "subissant l'influence de notre civilisation et dompté par nos idées, après l'avoir été par nos armes"⁷⁴. Vitte (*cours supérieur*, 1907) wrote of him at his death as "constamment l'ami dévoué de France"⁷⁵. Rogie and Despiques (*cours moyen*, 1908) regarded him as "le héros de l'indépendance algérienne"⁷⁶. Lavissee (*cours moyen*, 1921) wrote: "Il excita les arabes à défendre leur religion et leur pays contre la France. Il était éloquent et brave"⁷⁷. He was "intelligent et brave" (Guillemain and Le Ster, 1938)⁷⁸ and for Liget (*certificat d'études primaires*, 1950), he was "un adversaire de grand classe... musulman convaincu et d'une haute foi, guerrier courageux, poète d'une belle sensibilité"⁷⁹. He was "pieux" (Fournier, 1954) and "habile et brave" (Bonifacio and Maréchal, 1956)⁸⁰. Baron (1958) recalled that he was awarded the *Légion d'honneur* in 1860⁸¹.

Bugeaud, presented as the conqueror, is mentioned in most books. Hubault (*cours supérieur*, 1887) quoted Bugeaud's famous phrase: "Il faut que nous fassions une France nouvelle par l'épée et par la charrue"⁸². Rogie and Despiques (1908) wrote rather cynically: "Il prétendait gagner l'Algérie par la paix et le travail et il voulait coloniser par la charrue"⁸³. Cahen, Ronze and Polinaiis (*cours supérieur*, 1938) who referred to him as "le père Bugeaud" claimed that "il est un des plus remarquables pionniers de l'Algérie d'avant 1848"⁸⁴. Tudesq and Rudel (1961) described him as having "une réputation de proconsul"⁸⁵.

Savary, Pélissier, Lamoricière and others are frequently mentioned⁸⁶. Pélissier's part in the asphyxiations at Dahrah is mentioned rarely, the only references being found in Suérus (1886), Viator (1908), Rogie and Despiques (1908) and Methivier (1954)⁸⁷.

Attitudes to the Conquest

Loiseau (*cours élémentaire*, 1868) described the conquest as "la plus grande et la plus féconde en résultats du règne de Louis Philippe"⁸⁸.

Zévort (1881) wrote of "un véritable prolongement de la France"⁸⁹. Courval (1883) saw the army restoring to France "l'éclat de ses anciennes gloires"⁹⁰. Darsy and Toussenel (1893) echoed Loiseau⁹¹, as did Mélin (1904)⁹². Viator (1895) saw it as "la glorieuse et utile expédition"⁹³. Blanchet (*cours élémentaire*, 1895) sounded a discordant note: "Les fautes commises par les vainqueurs furent nombreuses et graves. Ils ne connaissent ni les races, ni le sol de cette Afrique dont ils tenaient la clef". The administration and the economy were in ruins⁹⁴.

In spite of their previous cynicism, Rogie and Despiques (1908) believed that Algeria had gained civilisation. "C'est une nouvelle France de l'autre côté de la Méditerranée"⁹⁵. Baudrillart (1913) wrote similarly⁹⁶. Abbé Mélin (1919) writing for the *cours élémentaire*, regarded the expedition as "(une) brillante école de guerre"⁹⁷. Malet-Isaac (1930) continued the concept of "la nouvelle France"⁹⁸. Lavissee (*cours élémentaire*, 1936) wrote of "l'action bienfaisante" and that "la France veut que les petits Arabes soient aussi bien instruits que les petits Français", which proved that France was "bonne et généreuse" to the peoples whom she had conquered⁹⁹.

In 1948, Personne and Ménard (*classes de 3e*) wrote of "l'honneur d'avoir fondée cette France Africaine"¹⁰⁰. Liget (*certificat d'études primaires*, 1950) wrote: "C'est vraiment une autre France qui a été créée là-bas dans le respect de ces coutumes et croyances indigènes"¹⁰¹. Finally Ozouf and Leterrier (*certificat fin d'études*, 1953) wrote with enthusiasm that Algeria is "véritablement une France Méditerranéenne"¹⁰². But after 1945, attitudes expressed by some writers were different (see p.324) and after the outbreak of the Algerian war in 1954, attitudes to the conquest began to change. Methivier (*classes de 1e*, 1954) wrote of "les tâtonnements contradictoires des débuts héroïques autant que maladroits"¹⁰³. From the serene belief in "French Algeria" epitomised in the series of quotations above, attitudes tightened; there was greater objectivity and

textual changes occurred in some post-1954 editions. Tudesq and Rudel (*classes de 2e*, 1961) give what must have been one of the first objective accounts of the conquest¹⁰⁴, though two years previously Canac and Dupaquier (1959), writing for the *cours élémentaire*, remarked:

"En Europe le gouvernement de Louis Philippe pratique une politique de paix. Au contraire en Algérie, il mène une guerre très dure contre les arabes, espérant établir des colons français sur leurs terres"¹⁰⁵.

Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas (*classes de 3e*, 1961) wrote also in concise detail of the early wars against Abd al-Qadir, the attack on the Smalah and the battle of Sidi Brahim. They referred also to the Battle of Isly¹⁰⁶. Methivier had however gone further in describing Isly as the cause of the Sultan's abandonment of Abd al-Qadir, in return for France's withdrawal from Morocco¹⁰⁷.

From colonisation to Independence: changing attitudes

Until the 1940s, references to Algeria were confined to the first period of the conquest up to 1848. However, Maurel and Equy (*certificat d'études primaires*, 1942) included an account of the organisation, administration and agricultural development of Algeria¹⁰⁸. Traditionally there had been a strong tendency to blame the Algerians themselves for what occurred after 1830. Trous and Girard (*cours moyen*, 1950) for instance wrote of the Arabs, who

"poussés par leur ardeur religieuse et par l'attrait du pillage, attaquèrent sans cesse les soldats et les premiers colons français, ainsi que les tribus ayant acceptés notre protection"¹⁰⁹

In addition the concept of "la mission civilisatrice" still presented the French as superior to the Arabs, as Semidei has pointed out¹¹⁰, for France built roads, schools and hospitals, and the "colons" had built farms and developed the land¹¹¹. The Algerians, for their part, were "civilised" by such achievements.

On the other hand, Malet and Isaac (*philo-maths*, 1948) denounced

the inequality and abuses resulting from the colonisation of Algeria¹¹². Isaac, Alba and Bonifacio (*philo-maths*, 1953) declared that "l'élite indigène espéra que la métropole appliquerait, au moins dans une certaine mesure, le principe du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Mais bien rares étaient les Français qui s'intéressaient à leur Empire et se préoccupaient de ses besoins matériels et moraux"¹¹³. An additional example of the increasing ambiguity of the Algerian situation is to be found in Liget publications for the *cours élémentaire* between 1946 and 1957: the change in chapter heading from "conquête de l'Algérie" to "Conquête et colonisation de l'Algérie"¹¹⁴; and the change in text from: "L'Algérie par sa fertilité et son commerce a dédommagé (compensated) la mère patrie des sacrifices d'hommes et d'argent exigés par la conquête" to an alternative sentence about the need for respect by France for the customs and beliefs of the indigenous peoples¹¹⁵.

The actual conquest, after 1848, of Kabyle, and an account of Bugeaud's policy of total submission as the prelude to rehabilitation and assimilation, was mentioned by Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas (1960). This policy, they described as "winning over" the Kabyles to France¹¹⁶.

Isaac, Alba, Bonifacio, Michaud and Pouthas (*classes de 1e*, 1961) described the conflict between Napoleon III's conception of Algeria as "une royaume arabe" and the view of the colonial lobby that Algeria was "un simple prolongement de la France métropolitaine"¹¹⁷. Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel (*classes de 1e*, 1962) described the tension between the Muslim and French communities, the revolt of 1871 and the subsequent development of the Algerian economy¹¹⁸. Bonifacio and Michaud (*classes de 3e*, 1971) refer to the difficulty of definition arising from Napoleon III's statement, but pay very little attention to the conquest which is summarised in two sentences:

"La principale acquisition de la France dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle fut l'Algérie. Sa conquête, réalisée principalement par le général Bugeaud, fut assurée par la reddition d'Abd el Kader en 1847; elle s'acheva, dix ans plus tard par la soumission des Kabylès"¹¹⁹.

This declining interest in twentieth century Algeria was amply demonstrated in Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel (*classes terminales*, 1962) who included only three paragraphs on Algeria (the third being removed in the 1972 edition)¹²⁰. The first two paragraphs stated concisely the fact of the war (in five lines), and in twelve lines on independence they mentioned in one sentence the violent emotions that had been provoked. Genet (*classes terminales*, 1962 edition), however dealt more sharply with criticism of the colonists ("les résistances inutiles") and a comment on De Gaulle's policy:

"La crise Algérienne n'est pas réglée bien que le Général ait proposé la paix des braves en 1958... Il est aux prises avec une armée peu sûre et un groupe de français d'Algérie décidés à tout pour ne pas quitter le pays gens qui... ne comprennent pas qu'on ne change pas le cours de l'histoire"¹²¹.

(This book, first published in 1947, showed a change in the 1958 edition, where it included accounts of the development of nationalist parties in the French colonies, including reference to Ferhat Abbas and "le problème algérien (qui) reste un des plus graves que la France ait à résoudre")¹²².

Clearly then, apart from Genet, references to contemporary Algeria became muted during the 1960s. A brief comment by Chaulanges (*cours moyen*, 1962), "La guerre se poursuit en Algérie dont le statut n'est pas fixé", may be compared with a replacement sentence in the 1963 edition of the same book: "Enfin, après une guerre meurtrière de plus de six ans l'Algérie devient à son tour une République indépendante"¹²³. Bonifacio (*classes terminales*, 1966) was similarly brief: "La crise de beaucoup la plus grave est la crise Algérienne. Elle débute en 1954 puis se transforme en une guerre qui se perpétue sans qu'on puisse lui donner une solution jusqu'en 1962"¹²⁴.

Sentou and Carbonell (*classes terminales*, 1970) give little space to Algerian independence. They prepare the ground with a short account (one page) of Ferhat Abbas and the development of Algerian nationalism in the 1930s¹²⁵. They do not describe the Algerian war or its aftermath. They do however include as a *Document* at the end of a chapter on the Muslim World, the preamble of the 1963 Algerian constitution¹²⁶. There are occasional references to the fact of independence¹²⁷.

Bonifacio and Michaud (*classes de 3e*, 1971) is the only book studied which describes the war of independence. After the events in Tunisia and Morocco, "il n'en fut pas de même en Algérie où la présence d'un million de Français rendait une solution beaucoup plus difficile". They refer to the riot at Sétif in 1945 and then the beginning of the rebellion in 1954. They mention the figure of half a million French soldiers in Algeria, refer to international concern expressed through the United Nations Assembly and note the eventual granting of independence¹²⁸.

Conclusion

With very few exceptions, authors of schoolbooks (from the *cours élémentaire* to the *classes terminales*) wrote with pride on the conquest of Algeria for about a century. After the 1939-45 war, it became clear to observers that serious questions must be asked about the continued viability of French Algeria as a stable community. Beginning with Malet-Isaac in 1948, accusations against France's rôle in Algeria were heard increasingly. The outbreak of war in 1954 created a situation of disillusionment in metropolitan France, which was reflected in the schoolbooks of the 1960s. For the ten years prior to 1971, the lack of reference to Algeria in books for senior pupils on contemporary history has been most noticeable. It is possible that Bonifacio-Michaud in their book for 14 to 16 year olds (1971) began to break new ground in this respect.

It is also singular that in say, Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel and in Sentou and Carbonell (currently two of the most popular books for the *classes terminales*) while the references to Algeria are slight, references to Indo-China are extensive¹²⁹. In spite of Dien-Bien-Phu, it remains preferable to write of ex-colonial Indo-China than to write of ex-colonial Algeria. After a decade of Algerian independence, it is still inappropriate to discuss those traumatic events from 1954 onwards, through the medium of schoolbooks¹³⁰.

NOTES

Chapter VIII (1)

1. p.207. Barbour. *A Survey of North West Africa*. Oxford.1962.
2. *ibid*.
3. p.211. *ibid*.
4. p.87. Omer-Cooper, Ayandele, Afigbo and Gavin. *op.cit*.
5. p.212. Barbour. *op.cit*.
6. cp. p.184. E.A.Ayandele. "The Magrib in the Nineteenth Century". ed. Anene and Brown. *op.cit*.; pp.13-14. E.Behr. *The Algerian Problem*. Penguin.1961.
7. p.14. Behr. *op.cit*.; "The lame one": Talleyrand had a club foot from infancy (see pp.10-11. J.Orieux (tr.P.Wolf). *Talleyrand - the Art of Survival*. Secker and Warburg.1974).
8. p.91. Omer-Cooper et al. *op.cit*.
9. p.49. D.W.Brogan. *The French Nation from Napoleon to Pétain: 1814-1940*. Hamish Hamilton.1957.
10. p.4. ed. Colin Legum. *Africa: a handbook to the continent*. Blond. 1961; cp. p.212. Barbour. *op.cit*.
11. p.2. L.Confer. *France and Algeria: the problem of civil and political reform, 1870-1920*. Syracuse University Press.1966.
12. p.177. Roberts. *op.cit*.
13. p.213. Barbour. *op.cit*.
14. p.214. *ibid*.
15. p.92. Omer-Cooper et al. *op.cit*.
16. p.43. *ibid*.
17. p.20. Behr. *op.cit*.
18. p.21. Behr. *op.cit*. (Cobban: p.112. vol.2. *op.cit*. claims that 600 were killed and mentions no survivors).
19. p.5. ed. Legum.*Africa: a handbook*. cp. p.218. Barbour. *A Survey of N.W.Africa*.
20. *ibid*.
21. p.486. Isabel Burton. *The Life of Captain Sir Richard F.Burton*. vol.1. Chapman and Hall. London.1893. (There are some thirty entries concerning Abd al-Qadir in the British Museum Catalogue)
22. pp.218-19. Barbour. *op.cit*.
23. p.177. Roberts. *op.cit*.
24. pp.30-31. Ganiage. *op.cit*.; p.120 Hardy. *op.cit*.; p.176. Cobban. *op.cit*. vol.2.
25. pp.179-182. Roberts. *op.cit*.
26. p.118. Hardy. *op.cit*.; p.232. Roberts. *op.cit*.
27. p.98. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit*.

28. p.219. Barbour. *op.cit.*; pp.39-41. R. and J.Brace. *Ordeal in Algeria*. D.van Nostrand. New York.1960.
29. p.214. E.A.Ayandele. ed. Anene and Brown. *op.cit.*
30. cp. pp.311-28. Lavissee. *La première année*. pp.474-77. Ducoudray. (Lavissee still included such a table of events in the 1925 edn. of *Histoire de France*, pp.409-10.
31. pp.222,229-31. Loiseau; pp.243-50. Pigeonneau.
32. e.g. pp.243-51. Wahl and Dontenville. 3e (1887); pp.804-07. Darsy and Toussenet (1893); pp.160-67. Blanchet. (1895); pp.206-08 Lavissee. (1921); pp.172-74. Malet-Isaac. (1929); pp.327-31. Ségond. (1945); pp.325-28. Ligel (1950); pp.603-17. Huby. (1953); pp.216-19. Ozouf and Leterrier. *Notre livre d'histoire*. (1953); pp.483-90. H.Methivier. *Les débuts de l'époque contemporaine*. Paris. 1954; pp.96-97. Bonifacio and Maréchal.(1956); pp.479-83. Tudesq and Rudel. (1961); pp.436-39. Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas. (1961); pp.226-27. Bonifacio and Michaud. (1971).
33. p.255. Suérus.
34. *ibid.*
35. p.180. Wahl and Dontenville.
36. p.5 appendix. Hubault.
37. p.509. Mélin.
38. Mame. (1906); quoted p.53. Cerati. *op.cit.*
39. p.339. Vitte.
40. p.197. Lavissee. (1921).
41. p.312. L.Cahen, R.Ronze, E.Polonais. *Cours d'histoire. 1789-1848*. Paris.1935.
42. p.210. Abbé Courval. *Petite histoire de France*. Paris.1883; p.132. Viator. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1896?
43. p.188. Drioux. *Petite histoire de France*. Paris.1889; p.509. Mélin.
44. p.95. Mame (Réunion de professeurs). *Histoire de France*. Paris.1910?; p.255. A.Baudrillart. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1913?; p.330. E.Ségond. *Histoire de France*. Hatier. Paris.1917; p.771. C.S.Viator. *Histoire de France*. Fontaines-sur-Saône.1920?
45. p.331. Ségond. (1917).
46. p.138. Collection Fritsch. *Histoire nationale et régionale de 1610 à nos jours*. Colmar.1933?
47. p.113. H.Guillemain and Le Ster. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1936.
48. p.238. Ségond. *Histoire de France*. 1945 edn.; p.486. J.Isaac, A.Alba, Ch.Pouthas. *L'époque révolutionnaire*. Paris.1950; p.218. Ozouf and Leterrier. (1953); p.436. Isaac, Alba, J.Michaud, Pouthas. *De la Révolution de 1789 à la Révolution de 1848*. Hachette. Paris. 1960; p.480. Tudesq and Rudel.
49. see pp.482-84. H.Methivier. *Les débuts de l'époque contemporaine*. Paris.1954.
50. pp.436-37. Isaac, Alba, Michaud, Pouthas.

51. p.481. Tudesq and Rudel.
52. p.245. Pigeonneau.
53. p.516. P.Vincent. *Histoire de la France et du peuple français*. Paris.1880.
54. p.301. G.Hanotaux. *Histoire Militaire et navale: 1789 à 1920*. (*Histoire de la Nation Française. vol.8*) Paris.1927.
55. Général Weygand. *Histoire de l'armée française*. Flammarion. Paris. 1961.
56. p.325. Hanotaux. *op.cit.*
57. p.262. Suérus; p.90. E.Audrin and M. and L.Déchappe. *Notre France: son histoire*. Paris.1951; pp.638,640. P.Hallynck. *Les Débuts de l'époque contemporaine. 1789-1851*. Masson. Paris.1952.
58. *cp. inter alia*. J.C.L.Renaudin. *Précis d'histoire de France*. Paris. 1878; Ammann and Coutant. *op.cit.* 1884.
59. p.169. E.Zévort. *L'histoire nationale*. Paris.1923.
60. pp.330-31. Ségond.
61. p.90. Audrin and Déchappe.
62. p.638. Hallynck.
63. p.208. Lavissee (1921)
64. p.248. Wahl and Dontenville; p.354. Vitte; p.271. Rogie and Despiques; p.207. Lavissee. (1921); p.313. Cahen, Ronze and Polinai; p.327. Ligel. *Toute notre histoire*. Paris.1950?; p.491. Methivier.
65. p.207. Lavissee.
66. p.640. Hallynck.
67. p.491. Methivier; *cp. also* p.438. Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas.
68. p.515. Vincent.
69. Zévort. *Histoire de France*: quoted p.63. Cerati. *op.cit.*
70. p.244. Wahl and Dontenville.
71. p.609. Huby.
72. p.608. *ibid.*
73. p.481. Tudesq and Rudel.
74. p.250. Pigeonneau.
75. p.354. Vitte.
76. p.218. Rogie and Despiques.
77. p.206. Lavissee. (1921).
78. p.191. Guillemain and Le Ster. (1938).
79. p.324. Ligel.
80. p.144. J.Fournier. *Histoire de France*. Robert. Lyon.1954?; p.97 A.Bonifacio and P.Maréchal. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1956.
81. p.383. Baron; *cp. p.12. appendix*. Hubault.
82. p.10. *appendix*. Hubault.

83. p.270. Rogie and Despiques.
84. p.334. Cahen, Ronze and Polinai.
85. p.483. Tudesq and Rudel.
86. e.g. p.244. Wahl and Dontenville; p.262. Suérus; p.271. Rogie and Despiques; Viator (1908): quoted p.68. Cerati. *op.cit.* p.639. Hallynck; p.490. Methivier; p.438. Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas; p.481. Tudesq and Rudel.
87. p.262. Suérus; Viator. (1908): quoted p.68. Cerati.*op.cit.*; p.271 Rogie and Despiques; p.490. Methivier.
88. p.229. Loiseau.
89. Zévort. (1881): quoted p.71. Cerati.
90. p.213. Courval.
91. p.807. Darsy and Toussenal.
92. p.528. Mélin.
93. p.132. Viator. (1896).
94. p.160. Blanchet.
95. p.272. Rogie and Despiques.
96. p.255. Baudrillart. (1913).
97. p.500. J-B.Mélin. *Nouveaux éléments d'histoire de France*. Bloud. Paris.1919.
98. Malet-Isaac. *L'époque contemporaine*. Hachette. Paris.1930: quoted p.61. Samidei. *op.cit.*
99. p.166. E.Lavisse. *Histoire de France*. Paris.1936.
100. p.79. Personne and Ménard.
101. p.328. Ligel.
102. p.218. Ozouf and Leterrier.
103. p.484. Methivier.
104. pp.481-83. Tudesq and Rudel.
105. Section 43. M.Canac and J.Dupaquier. *Couleurs d'histoire*. Paris.1959.
106. pp.436-39. Isaac, Alba, Michaud, Pouthas.
107. p.490. Methivier.
108. p.225. B.Maurel and J.Equy. *Histoire de France des origines à nos jours*. vol.2. De Gigord. Paris.1943.
109. p.104. A.Troux and A.Girard. *Histoire de France*. Hachette. Paris.1950.
110. p.75. Semidei. *op.cit.*
111. p.116. Guillemain and Le Ster. *Histoire de France*. Éditions de l'école. Paris.1957.
112. p.284. Malet-Isaac. *Histoire Contemporaine*. (1948 edn).
113. p.569. Isaac, Alba and Bonifacio. *Histoire Contemporaine*. 1953.
114. p.455. Ligel. (1948); p.325. *ibid.* (1950?)

115. p.256. Ligel. (1946); p.328. Ligel. (1957).
116. p.438. Isaac, Alba, Michaud and Pouthas.
117. p.400. Isaac, Alba, Bonifacio, Michaud and Pouthas.
118. pp.369-71. Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel.
119. pp.226-227,232. Bonifacio and Michaud.
120. pp.460,464. Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel. (1962 edn.); p.538. (1972 edn.).
121. Genet. (1962 edn.): quoted p.122. Cerati. *op.cit.*
122. pp.539,710. Genet. (1958 edn.).
123. M. and S.Chaulanges. *Histoire de France*. Delagrave. Paris.1962: quoted p.121. Cerati. *op.cit.*; cp. pp.156-57. Chaulanges. 1963 edn.
124. p.126. A.Bonifacio. *Le monde contemporain*. Hachette. Paris.1966.
125. pp.174-75. Sentou and Carbonell.
126. p.476. *ibid.*
127. pp.464,468,473. *ibid.*
128. p.267. Bonifacio and Michaud.
129. pp.494-95. Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel; pp.519-31. Sentou and Carbonell. (The 1970 edition shows a printing of *172e mille.*).
130. During the last decade, the importance of Algeria has been recognised in British schoolbooks cp. Williams; York; Browne; Richardson; Edwards and Bearman.

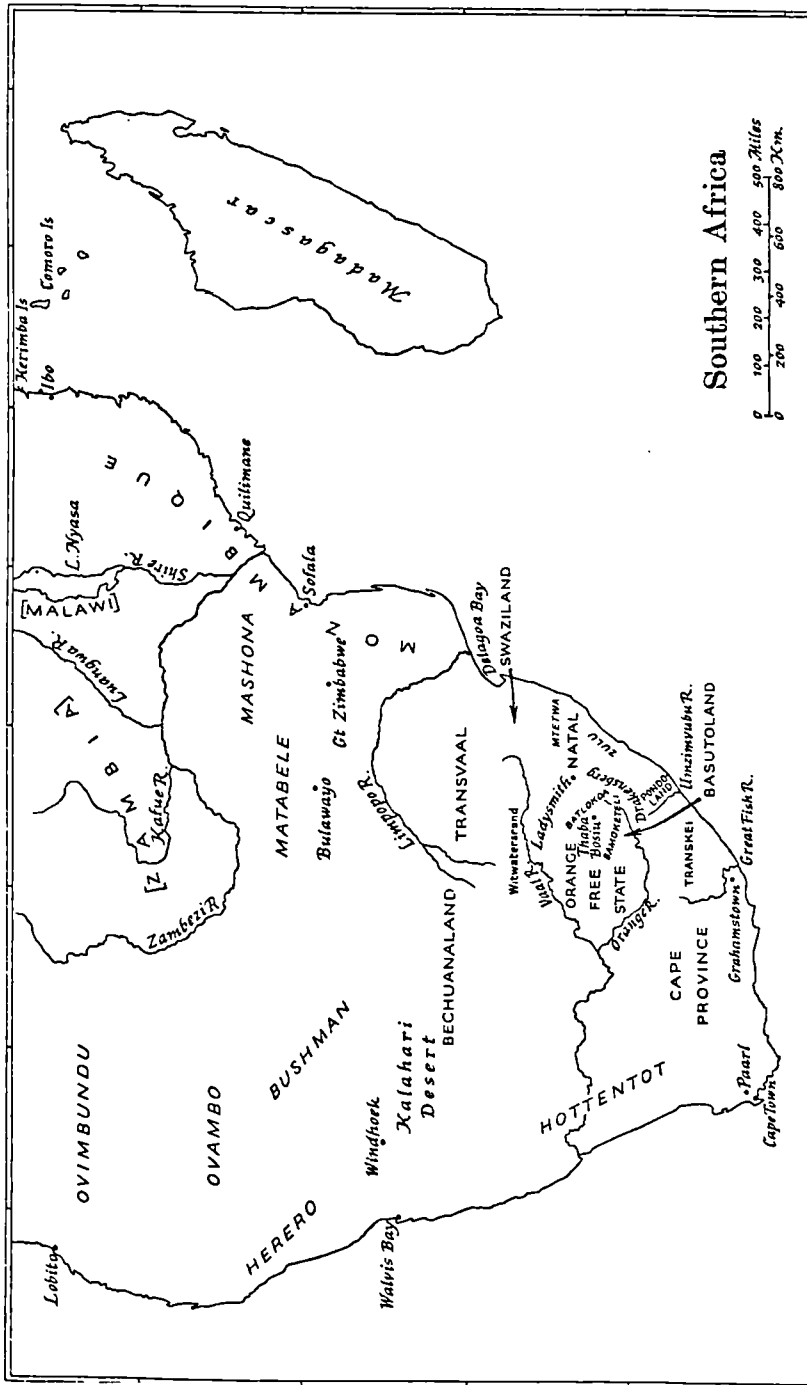
(2) BRITAIN AND SOUTH AFRICA

Early migrations

It is often stated, especially in contemporary South Africa, that Europeans were living in South Africa before the Africans themselves arrived. This is not substantiated by modern archaeology and anthropology.

Nearly all the African peoples who live south of the Equator speak closely related languages. These people are known as *Bantu* (= people; from *mntu*, a man). Bantu is a philological word, created from *abaNtu* during the nineteenth century. It is a word not favoured by Africans today, because of its emotive use by white South Africans and because of its connection with the current South African policy of *Bantustans*, the eventual setting up of separate African "states", within the Republic. Nevertheless, it continues to be the word used by historians, including African historians, to describe the third wave of migrants who entered Africa South of the Sahara through Egypt and Sudan (which they probably reached some 10,000 years ago)¹. They had been preceded by the Khoi² (called "Hottentots" by eighteenth century Europeans in Southern Africa, because of the stammering and "clicks" in the language (*Oxford English Dictionary*) and by the San (called "Bushmen" after the Dutch word *boschjesman* or the eighteenth century English word "Boshees-men" (*OED*)). These two latter groups are now referred to collectively as the Khoisan peoples.³

By far the largest group was the Bantu and Omer-Cooper believes that they reached Central Africa "in the first four centuries AD"⁴. Morris claims that they were south of the Zambezi by the fourteenth century⁵, Marquard that they were living in the area which is now South Africa from 1500⁶. The Portuguese explorer, Bartholomew Diaz was attacked by Hottentots at Mossel Bay, east of the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. They appear to have been pressed down the atlantic coast by the Bantu, who were diverted in their progress to the south by the Kalahari



SOUTHERN AFRICA

Source: p.265. B.Davidson. *Africa*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.1966.

Desert. The Bantu then moved to the south-east. By the sixteenth century, they occupied what came to be known as Transvaal, and subsequently filtered through the Drakensberg Mountains to the Indian Ocean, to the area that was to become Cape Province. The Bantu went as far south as the Great Fish River. This was, writes Morris, "the last free movement, and therein lies the Bantu tragedy. History had offered them a continent, and had given them 10,000 years to fill it, and they had dallied a little too long"⁷.

The arrival of the Europeans

In 1652, Van Riebeeck landed at the Cape of Good Hope and established a staging post for the Dutch East India Company. He was followed by Dutch settlers who came to farm and to strengthen the East India Company's post against foreign attack. (They, in turn, were joined by French Huguenot refugees between 1688 and 1700). The land was not as fertile as in Europe. Production costs were high and exporting difficult. Some were driven into the interior for economic reasons. This expansion led to conflict with the indigenous people. The Hottentots complained that their land was being taken from them and there was war from 1658-60, after which the Hottentots offered little resistance⁸. In 1702, a party of Dutch settlers encountered Bantu at Algoa Bay, near the Fish River⁹. This was an early intimation that there were Africans with a more developed social and political system than the Hottentots and the Bushmen who had been encountered nearer to the Cape. The Hottentots, after 1660 increasingly broke away from conflict with the Dutch. Either they moved further into the interior or they became herdsmen to the settlers or servants on the farms. This development, together with the importation of slaves from the East Coast and Madagascar, led to miscegenation between Hottentots, slaves and Europeans, giving rise to the Cape Coloured population.

During the eighteenth century, the increasing demand for meat encouraged cattle farming. The trekking farmers (*trekboere*), having no freehold, were continually moving their herds into new pastures. It was this group of people who became ruthlessly independent, both of the government at the Cape and of the use of land in the interior. Often they came into conflict with Bushmen and even organised hunting parties to kill the adults, taking the children away to be their herdsmen. In one such hunting party, 250 Bushmen were killed¹⁰. This development of independence and self-sufficiency, together with the existing use of Hottentot labour on the farms, led to the settlers' conviction that they were naturally superior.

By the end of the eighteenth century, there were about 17,000 settlers, with as many slaves¹¹. The trekking farmers had pushed east and by the 1770s had begun to settle on the Fish River in close proximity to the Xhosa. Quarrels over land and cattle led to wars in 1779 and 1793. In 1795, Britain seized the Cape from the Dutch East India Company, restored it to the Dutch Government in 1802 and occupied it finally, in 1806, for strategic reasons, during the Napoleonic Wars.

In 1820, Britain encouraged emigration and 5,000 settlers arrived in the eastern areas. Furthermore, government, law and currency reform, together with the abolition of slavery in 1833, began to create a more ordered society. The attempt for thirty years to establish English as the official language, together with the Ordinance of 1828, which established the principle of equality for "all free persons of colour"¹² displeased the frontier farmers, as did the bringing of former slaves within the same legal framework, after 1833. Moreover, the trekkers' hunger for land brought them increasingly into conflict with Africans, and they were shocked when in 1836, the British Government returned to the Bantu land on the frontier east of the Great Fish River, which had been annexed to the colony (as Queen Adelaide Province) in 1834. This amalgam of causes led to some

of the Boers trekking west of the Bantu across the Orange River. Known as the Great Trek, some 10,000 people left the Cape between 1836 and 1846, hoping that the British would leave them in peace.

The Rise of the Zulus

During the eighteenth century, the Bantu had been searching for new land, but found themselves blocked on the south-east coast by the Boers. New land could therefore only be obtained at the expense of neighbouring communities. By the early nineteenth century, the Zulus had become established under Shaka as a formidable military force. After Shaka had been assassinated by his half-brother Dingane in 1828¹³, the Zulus became firmly established in the south of northern Natal.

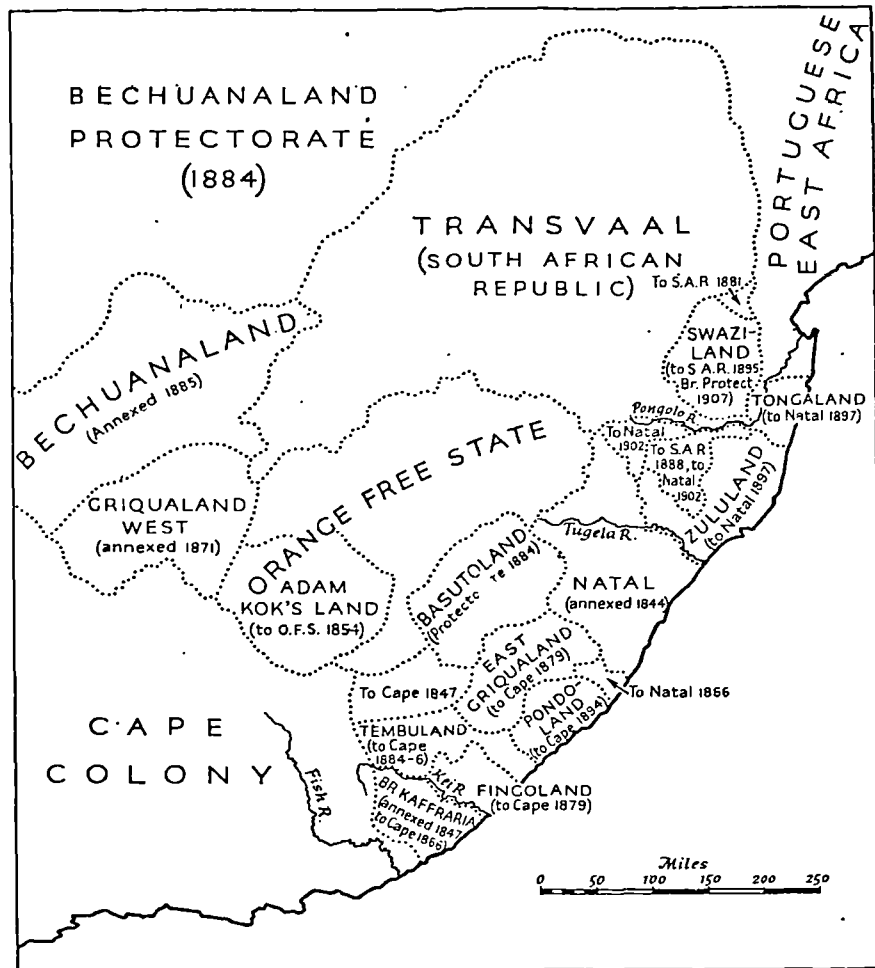
The turbulence created by the Zulus caused a great deal of realignment among the Bantu in Southern Africa¹⁴, and as the trekkers moved north-east after 1836, they came into conflict with various communities of Africans. In 1837, the Ndebele (the Matabele) were pushed across the Limpopo River, defeated by the Boers. Later, in 1838, the Boers overcame Dingane at the Battle of Blood River and by 1839, had taken the Zulu land in Natal proclaiming a Boer Republic. The British Government did not countenance this movement beyond the borders of the Cape. Mindful, therefore, of potential pressures from the Boers along the coast of the Indian Ocean, and also from the Bantu along the frontier, Britain annexed Natal in 1845.

The Trek Boers and the shaping of the future

Many Boers now moved back across the Drakensberg Mountains and continued to be a law to themselves. In order to help stabilise the situation the British government made a half hearted attempt to enter into treaty negotiations with the Bantu living in the area between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers. Britain, however, did not provide them with any protection

against the Boers. Moshesh of Basutoland, for instance, found that temporary grazing rights granted to the Boers became changed unilaterally into permanent settlement, with the Boers buying and selling Basuto land among themselves¹⁵. War in the west in Griqualand in 1845 and in the east, in the Xhosa war of 1846 led Sir Harry Smith, the Governor of Cape Colony, first to annex the lands of the Xhosa (as British Kaffraria) in 1847, then to annex the area between the Orange and the Vaal as the Orange River Sovereignty (1848). But in 1852, at the Sand River Convention, Britain recognised the Boer Republic of the Transvaal, north of the Vaal River, and in 1854, at the Bloemfontein Convention, recognised the Orange Free State, between the Vaal and the Orange. In 1866, British Kaffraria was added to Cape Colony. By now there were some 300,000 Europeans in South Africa and between one and two million Africans¹⁶. The economy of Cape Colony began to expand through sheep farming, while Natal became sugar producing (with Indian labour). Transvaal and the Free State however were less developed and there were only some 70,000 Europeans¹⁷. This was to change completely after the discovery of diamond deposits in 1868. The consequence of the discovery, apart from becoming the source of enormous wealth, was that the process whereby the African peoples lost their independence was now accelerated.

This process had been assisted by the two Conventions ("the lowest point of British policy in South Africa")¹⁸. The British promises of the 1820s and 30s (see p.341) were ignored and "the Bantu were left to fight it out with the Boers as best they could"¹⁹. Even by 1856-57, the situation seemed so desperate to the Xhosa that they followed the prophecy of a woman, Nonquase. She claimed that if on a certain day, the cattle were killed and the grain destroyed, the Europeans would be driven into the sea. Obedience to the prophecy resulted in a disastrous famine. Thousands died and thousands moved south-west to find work in the Cape²⁰.



SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THE SAND RIVER AND BLOEMFONTEIN CONVENTIONS: 1852-1854

Source: p.251. E.A.Ayandele et al. *The Making of Modern Africa*. vol.1.

The opening of the diamond mines, also, increased the demand for labour. From all over Southern Africa, Africans converged on Kimberley. Both Oliver and Atmore and Morris record that those who obtained work were regularly paid wages in rifles and ammunition²¹ and future wars became even more destructive.

Annexations and increasing tension

Moshesh of Basutoland found his people in growing conflict with the Orange Free State. The wars of 1858 and 1865 over frontier rights, cattle raids and mutual land hunger only ended when Britain acceded to the demands of Moshesh that Basutoland should be annexed and therefore protected by Britain. Called Lesotho today, this country was annexed in 1871, remaining ever since an economic satellite of white South Africa. In 1871 also, the area on the west of the Free State, known as Griqualand West, was also annexed by Britain, because of its diamond deposits. In 1872, the Cape was given internal self-government and the intention of the non-racial franchise was that black and white should come together to work for the good of South Africa, leaving Britain free to withdraw. Outside the Cape, the Boers would not cooperate. In 1877 when Transvaal was bankrupt and unable to contain the Swazi and Zulu on its frontiers, Britain took over the republic. This plan misfired, for Britain inherited a quarrel between Transvaal and the Zulu King, Cetewayo, over disputed lands known as the Blood River territory. Seeking to win over the Transvaalers, the British launched an attack on the Zulus in 1879, but through remarkable mismanagement (being unable to open their ammunition boxes), the regiment was destroyed at Isandhlwana. The Zulu armies were finally defeated at Ulundi, and Cetewayo imprisoned in Cape Town. In 1881, the Transvaalers declared war and in the First Anglo-Boer War, the British were defeated at Majuba Hill. In 1884, Britain recognised Transvaal as the "South African Republic".

The Great Trek of 1836 had therefore resulted in the throwing together of black and white in a way which could never have been anticipated. South Africa had begun to emerge as a potential entity, but at the price of increasing instability among the Bantu: the authority of chiefs undermined, land taken away, and the people with little alternative but to become servants and labourers for the Europeans.

White rule in Southern Africa consolidated

The partition of Africa by the 1880s had already become a bloody business. This chapter deals with five examples of European intervention in Africa in the nineteenth century. Nowhere were the results of intervention more dramatic than in the coming conflict between the British and the settlers in South Africa.

In 1886, gold was discovered in Witwatersrand in the Transvaal. The significance of this discovery was not lost on Paul Kruger, who was President of the Transvaal from 1883 to 1902, nor on Cecil Rhodes, who extended his mining interests from Kimberley to Witwatersrand and was from 1890 to 1896, Prime Minister of Cape Colony. Kruger dreamt of a united white South Africa under the Boers. Rhodes believed in a federated South Africa, where Boer, Briton and even Bantu would live in harmony, within the wider community of the British Empire. He dreamed of the opening up of the whole continent with a railway from Cairo to the Cape. Kruger was still circumscribed in the "seventeenth century Afrikaner ethos"²². Rhodes was the British expansionist.

The British South Africa Company (belonging to Rhodes) was given a Royal Charter in 1889 and empowered to develop the region between Bechuanaland and the Zambezi. In 1891, the company was allowed to move north of the Zambezi also. These are the territories now called Rhodesia and Zambia, respectively. The British Government foresaw that there could be dangers and that Rhodes' commercial enterprise might well

endanger the independence of the Ndebele and the Mashona. There was considerable opposition in London²³.

In 1886, Rhodes achieved a treaty with Lobengula, King of the Ndebele, giving him exclusive mining rights on Lobengula's lands. In 1890, Rhodes sent police and settlers to occupy Mashonaland, north of Bulawayo, which Lobengula regarded as his vassal. Outraged, Lobengula complained to the High Commissioner at the Cape. Rhodes had a plan which was designed to outflank the Portuguese sphere of influence in Mozambique, and obtain a route to the sea, surrounding Transvaal at the same time. The promised, or expected, gold in Mashonaland was comparatively small. In danger of bankruptcy now, Rhodes turned again to the lands of the Ndebele, encouraging agents and settlers to search for gold in the Bulawayo area. The settlers provoked a conflict with the Ndebele. Lobengula was defeated in 1893 and died on his way north to seek refuge with the Ngoni. Machine guns were used by the settlers in the final defeat of the Ndebele and Mashona in 1896²⁴.

During this period, Rhodes was urging Kruger to defend the security of Transvaal. In Transvaal, the internal situation was becoming tense. An increasing number of foreigners (*uitlanders*) had come to service the mines. They became critical of traditional Boer government and Rhodes believed that he could encourage the *uitlanders* to revolt and establish a government more amenable to his plans for South Africa.

In 1896, when Rhodes (with the agreement of Joseph Chamberlain)²⁵ had laid his plans with Jameson his colleague, he decided that they were premature. Jameson, however, waiting with troops in Bechuanaland decided that the time was ripe, entered Transvaal, was ambushed and forced to surrender. The failure of the "Jameson Raid" meant political ruin for Rhodes. The Kaiser sent a congratulatory telegram to Kruger.

The Second Anglo-Boer War: 1899-1902

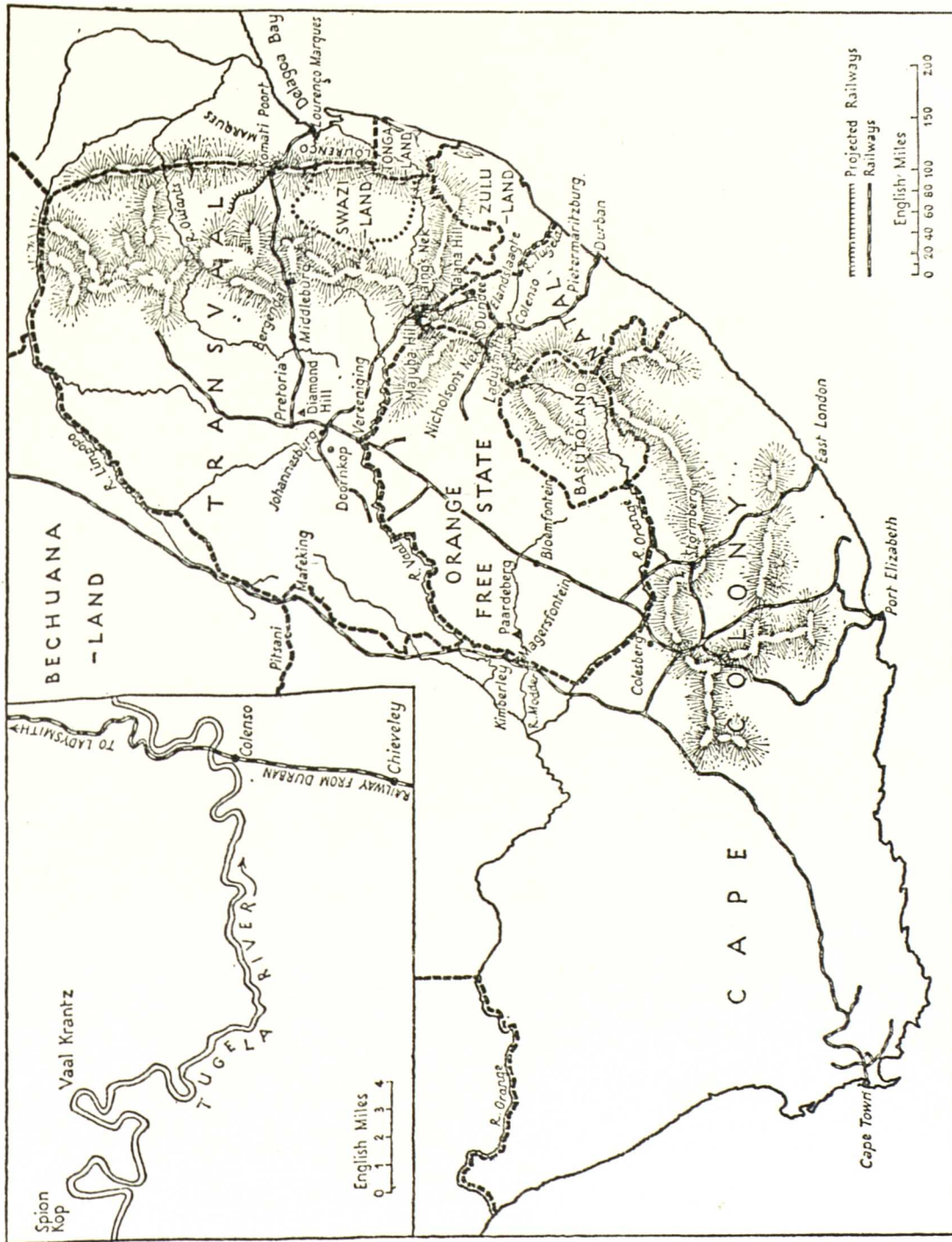
Chamberlain, supported by the High Commissioner in South Africa, Milner, still believed that the Boers could be anglicised. For a number of years, Kruger had failed to fulfil his promise of franchise for the *uitlanders*. Early in 1899, the latter petitioned the crown for support. Milner and Chamberlain described the position of British subjects in Transvaal as that of "helots" (serfs)²⁶. Contemptuous of the British after Majuba, Kruger declared war, joined by the Orange Free State. Britain eventually put nearly half a million men into the war, against a population, which in Lloyd George's phrase "did not exceed that of Flintshire and Denbighshire"²⁷. H.H.Fowler, a leading Liberal M.P. summed up the situation:

"It was not a war for the obtaining of the franchise, nor for the rights of the Uitlanders, but for nothing less than British supremacy in South Africa. That supremacy meant our continuance as one of the Great Powers of the World"²⁸.

The Boers fought the British for two years. Roberts and Kitchener had to salvage Buller's early defeats. The first scattered British forces were besieged at Ladysmith, Mafeking and Kimberley. But during 1900 they were relieved and Pretoria and Bloemfontein captured also. Transvaal and the Orange Free State were annexed and Kruger left Transvaal, to die in exile. The wild rejoicing in Britain was premature. The war continued for another eighteen months. The devastation was grave. Boer farms were destroyed. 60,000 Boers were herded into over 40 "concentration camps" (the first time such measures had been used in war). Lack of hygiene caused very many deaths (in 1901, 34 per cent of those in the camps) through typhoid and measles²⁹. Many of the British died from fever also.

Twentieth century developments in South Africa

By 1902, the Boers were willing to compromise and at the Treaty



SOUTH AFRICA: 1899-1902

Source: Map.4. R.C.K. Ensor. *England 1870-1914*.

of Vereeniging (1902) gave up their independence. They agreed to postpone any decision about the African franchise until responsible government had been restored. South Africa was now in British hands. The Boers felt even more bitterness for Britain than they did before 1899. Asquith was not hopeful about the Bantu question. *The Times* of 29 January 1903 quoted him as saying in Hull that "it was only a charlatan who could pretend to have in his pocket a solution to the native question in South Africa". There should have been no illusions about this problem. In 1892, for instance, Smuts (a future Boer leader and statesman) had written: "The race struggle is destined to assume a magnitude on the African continent such as the world has never seen;... the unity of the white camp will not be the least necessary condition... of warding off (or, at worst, postponing) annihilation"³⁰. (For nearly 60 years, Smuts played a leading part in international politics and the development of the British Commonwealth. At home, his penetrating mind never made any constructive attempt to unravel the problem of race relations).

Internal self-government was granted to Transvaal and the Free State in 1906 and 1907. But in defending the liberties of the Afrikaners, the Liberal Government ignored Britain's obligations to the Bantu, Coloured and Indian populations. By May 1910, the Act of Union had become a fact and South Africa was a British Dominion. In spite of Cape Colony's liberal tradition towards all races, Transvaal and the Free State refused to grant the franchise to non-Europeans. Thus, Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal and Free State came together, (Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland remained under British protection) but there was no vote for Africans outside Cape Province.

Subsequent history has revolved around the desire of the majority of Afrikaners to redress the defeat of 1902 and to re-establish the ideals of separatism implicit in the Great Trek. The non-white franchise was

gradually whittled away until the Natives Representation Act of 1936, supported by Smuts, brought it to an end. The Native Lands Act of 1913 had already prevented Africans from acquiring land outside their own areas.

Since 1948, the electorate has continued to vote for *apartheid* (segregation). In 1960, Harold Macmillan spoke of "the winds of change" in Africa. The speech, which was made to the South African parliament, was widely interpreted as Britain serving notice to South Africa that her racial policies were not acceptable. As if to underline the point, there was an African revolt in East Pondoland, demonstrations against the pass laws in urban centres, the killing of 69 Africans at Sharpeville and increasing militancy on the part of African political parties.

Events now moved swiftly, for after a referendum in which white voters in October 1960 had voted, with a four per cent majority³¹, for republican status, the government applied to remain as a republic within the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in March 1961 was so critical of South African racial policies that Verwoerd, the Prime Minister, withdrew his country from the Commonwealth altogether.

But as Oliver and Fage have written:

"Most Africans ... wish only for a fair share in the united South Africa, of which they are an integral part. The Nationalist victory can never be complete as long as it has to face the increasingly desperate opposition of the twelve million South Africans - out of a total population of fifteen millions - to whom God has chosen not to give white skins"³².

SOUTH AFRICA IN BRITISH SCHOOLBOOKS

Nineteenth century attitudes

Nineteenth century books contain few references to South Africa. The Cape was remote and the region only gained popular interest during the Second Anglo-Boer War. The earlier references are concerned with

the so-called "Kaffir" Wars, a term still used in some works of reference³³ for the wars with the Bantu in the south-east, principally the two Xhosa wars of 1835-36 and 1850-53. Collier (seniors, 1866) wrote: "A war with the Caffres, our troublesome neighbours at the Cape, broke out in the same year (1851); and it was not until 1853 that they were subdued"³⁴. Mangnall (1869 edition) referred to "the Kaffir War at the Cape of Good Hope"³⁵. Gleig (1879) mentioned "the Kaffir Wars"³⁶. Pringle (Locals, 1899) however, writing at the turn of the century wrote of "a Kaffir War" in 1852-53 and added: "A mere resistance to British rule appears to have been the cause of it, added, probably, to a desire for plunder and bloodshed inextinguishable in savage tribes"³⁷. (The effect of the Boer migrations was not widely appreciated at that time). Later Pringle spent three pages on South African events. He described Cetewayo's feeling of insecurity in Natal, the defeat of the British at Isandhlwana, the defeat and imprisonment of Cetewayo. He then dealt with the problems of the Transvaal, the victories by the Boers over the British at Lang's Neck, Ingogo River and Majuba Hill, the establishment of Transvaal as the "South African Republic". The discovery of gold, the agitation of the *uitlanders* and Jameson's Raid ("nothing better than a filibustering expedition") were described also. There was a reference to the complicity of the British Government in the Raid: "Many important personages were found to be in sympathy or in collusion with the raiders"³⁸(cp. note 25). Later, Pringle dealt with the British South African Company (Rhodes is only mentioned in connection with the name "Rhodesia") and the conflict with Lobengula: "His warriors were mown down like hay by the machine guns"³⁹.

The *Readers* were not very concerned about South Africa. Collins (1899) observed: "The Kaffirs, the Zulus, the Matabele and the Bechuanas objected to the white man's presence in their lands and were

not afraid to encroach on what was regarded as colonial territory"⁴⁰.

The Patriotic History of the British Empire (1900) referred to "trouble with the Zulus", the Transvaal War⁴¹, the war with Cetewayo and the British defeat at Majuba⁴².

Attitudes in the early twentieth century

Hitherto, the emphasis had been on the wars with the Zulu nation with side references to the Boers. Hassall (seniors, 1901) mentioned the annexation of Natal⁴³ and later described the battles of Isandhlwana and Ulundi⁴⁴. He also discussed the changing attitude to colonies:

"In 1880, there was a general impression that the colonies were not a source of strength to the Mother Country. There was no appreciation of the possibilities of British extension in South and East Africa"⁴⁵.

As an example of this "extension" he referred to Rhodes' concession from Lobengula, but noted that Lobengula "was harassed by both Portuguese and Boers"⁴⁶. He referred to the Jameson Raid and to the Boers' stocks of arms⁴⁷. In reflecting, during the Anglo-Boer War, about the reasons for its outbreak, he declared:

"Any sign of weakness on the part of Great Britain would be resented all over the Empire. It was absolutely necessary to establish in the mind of the civilised world and especially of the African world, that any violation of our frontiers would be instantly punished ... The white races south of the Zambesi should have equal rights"⁴⁸.

Clearly Hassall was perturbed by the war and its implications:

"The present House of Commons is manifestly unable to assure that continuity of policy so essential to the existence of a vast Empire". The South African War was "the greatest political event in the history of the British Empire since the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars"⁴⁹.

Fearenside writing a year later (matriculation, 1902) dealt only briefly with South African affairs: the Great Trek⁵⁰, the Zulu Wars⁵¹ and the South African War⁵². But concluding his account of the war

he added: "The universal rejoicing at the conclusion of this great struggle found fitting expression in the coronation of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra"⁵³.

Buckley (juniors, 1904 edition) made her distaste for the Boers quite clear. In her first reference to the Cape, she ascribed its lack of development to "the Dutch Boers, who had settled there before the English came (and) were always quarrelling with the natives, and involving the English in petty wars"⁵⁴. She also described, in three and a half pages, some of the events leading up to the 1899 war, beginning with the annexation and restoration of the Transvaal after the defeat at Majuba Hill. Gladstone had made it a condition of renewed independence that "All white men should have equal rights. The truculent and wily Boers took this as a sign of weakness on our part"⁵⁵. She also mentioned the conquest of the Matabele and Mashona, the grievances of the *witlanders* who were (mistakenly, by her), said to have invited Jameson to defend their rights. She continued: "This foolish move on the part of the *witlanders* put the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, in a very difficult position"⁵⁶. Kruger hoped "to turn the English out of South Africa". A brief account of the war included acclaim for the support received from the white dominions⁵⁷, and ended with a note that when Mafeking was relieved "the English... went nearly wild with joy"⁵⁸. After "the harassing guerilla war" of 1901 the Boers surrendered and "matters began to improve in Africa"⁵⁹.

Ince and Gilbert (seniors, 1906 edition) mentioned the Great Trek ("Resenting the abolition of slavery in 1833, they resolved to emigrate")⁶⁰ and some of the Wars. Smith was praised for his annexation of the Orange River Sovereignty and his victories over "Kaffirs and Basutos", but his work was undone with the Sand River and Bloemfontein Conventions, with the granting of independence to the Boers⁶¹. They mentioned the British defeat at Isandhlwana, and the defeat and imprisonment of Cetewayo⁶²;

the British defeat at Majuba Hill; the independence of the "South African Republic"⁶³; and finally the "Great Boer War", where the authors' antagonism to the Boers is again evident. Kruger "hated everything British". The Jameson Raid "only increased the animosity of Kruger to everything British". After a short account of the principal sieges (Ladysmith, Kimberley, Mafeking), the capture of Pretoria and the annexation of Transvaal, "it took Lord Kitchener two years more to force the Boers to make peace"⁶⁴.

Fletcher and Kipling (juniors, 1911) were brief: "In South Africa we had not only really fierce savages like Zulu and Kaffirs, but also a large population of Dutch farmers and traders who had been settled there since the middle of the seventeenth century. They were called the "Boers" ... They treated the native Kaffirs very badly and objected when we tried to protect these against them"⁶⁵. The war "led to an outburst of patriotism all over the Empire and our other colonies sent hundreds of their best men to help us"⁶⁶. Fletcher and Kipling, then, who have been criticised elsewhere in this study for their racial attitudes (see p.95) also regarded the Boers with hostility because of their discriminatory attitude to the Bantu. (This view is confirmed by Moore in *Kipling and the White Man's Burden*)⁶⁷.

Callcott (juniors, 1913 edition) noted that the "Boers refused to live under British rule any longer and went off to live by themselves... The English had trouble with the natives as well as with the Boers... There was some terrible fighting (with) a very powerful tribe of black men called the Zulus, who wanted to drive out the English". Simplifying for juniors, she gave as the reason for the Anglo-Boer War the refusal of the Boers to enfranchise "the English": "As you already know, Englishmen like to take part in the government of the country, wherever they are, and after a time war broke out"⁶⁸.

In all these books, regardless of the age-group for which they were written, references to South Africa were confined to the Boers' desire for independence, wars with the Zulus, the first and second Anglo-Boer Wars, and the issue of franchise for the *uitlanders*. The second war, which became the focus of such strong emotion in Britain receives sparse treatment. Detestation for the Boers was universal and admiration for the Zulu nation, as well as fear of their warriors, emerges clearly from these texts.

Attitudes between the Wars

After the first World War, references to South Africa increased in number considerably, and during the inter-war period more space is devoted to a description of the history of South Africa than in any other period, before or since. Hughes (seniors, 1919), for instance, gave 20 pages to South Africa; Munro (1922) 7 pages; Kermack (1925) 21 pages; Mowat (1931) 25 pages; Warner and Marten (1932) 32 pages; Newton (1933) 18 pages. From now on, the history of South Africa in the nineteenth century was presented as a struggle between the British and the Boers. The Africans play a secondary rôle. The military strength of the Zulus or the obstinacy of Lobengula created problems which became complicated further by Britain's insistence that Africans should enjoy equality before the law.

The principal events and people considered during this period were as follows: the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope⁶⁹; the Dutch East India Company⁷⁰; the African races⁷¹; the Kaffir Wars⁷²; the Zulus⁷³; Shaka⁷⁴; Dingane⁷⁵; the Great Trek⁷⁶; the annexation of Natal⁷⁷; Transvaal and the Orange Free State⁷⁸; diamonds⁷⁹; Cetewayo⁸⁰; Isandhlwana⁸¹; Ulundi⁸²; the First Anglo-Boer War and Majuba Hill⁸³; gold⁸⁴; Kruger⁸⁵; the South African Republic⁸⁶; the *uitlanders*⁸⁷; Rhodes⁸⁸; Lobengula⁸⁹; the Matabele and Mashona⁹⁰; the Jameson Raid⁹¹;

the franchise⁹²; the second Anglo-Boer War⁹³; Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking⁹⁴; guerilla warfare⁹⁵; concentration camps⁹⁶; the Treaty of Vereeniging⁹⁷; the Act of Union⁹⁸.

Each author did not, of course, refer to every event in this list, but it is noticeable that Newton, the imperial historian, writing for juniors omitted: Isandhlwana, Ulundi, Majuba Hill, the Jameson Raid, Mafeking, guerilla warfare and the concentration camps.

Hughes did not fall into the usual error of confusing the Zulus with the Bantu as a whole⁹⁹. (They were mentioned in most books because of their military distinction). Also, while emphasising the Boer's desire for independence throughout, Hughes added that the British and the Boers were "determined to bury the memories of old quarrels and to make a fresh start"¹⁰⁰.

For Munro (seniors) the "frequent troubles" with the "natives" were secondary to the relation between Britain and the Boers¹⁰¹. After the Act of Union, "the great native question was already helping to reconcile Boers and Britons"¹⁰². (Munro refers to "Britons" who were living in South Africa). Kermack (seniors) blamed Anglo-Boer alienation on the sudden riches of the minefields in addition to the issue of equality among the races. In spite of his earlier concern for equality, he ignored the Bantu at the end of his account of South Africa¹⁰³.

Mowat (seniors) wrote objectively of the relations between British and Boers and concluded: "It is the 'native problem' that looms largest and causes most anxiety to thinking men in South Africa, a problem which is at once a tremendous burden and an opportunity"¹⁰⁴. Similarly Warner and Marten (seniors): "It was the native question which first produced friction between Boer and Briton"¹⁰⁵. They wrote of "embittered feeling" between Dutch and British¹⁰⁶, "the wise spirit of compromise and toleration" in 1909, but noted that "the question of granting the natives a

vote was left to each state to deal with ... It was settled in the negative"¹⁰⁷.

Newton's attitude to the Boers was the same¹⁰⁸. He ignored, however, the future of Africans in the Union of South Africa, preferring to congratulate the British government for the arrangements made for Basutoland and Swaziland¹⁰⁹. Thus, apart from Mowat and Warner and Marten, the writers of these books do not appear to have displayed any awareness of what the future might have in store for the peoples of South Africa.

Attitudes from 1948 to 1964

With the exception of MacInnes' specialised book for sixth forms on the Commonwealth (1951: 64 pages on South Africa), rather less space is now allotted to South African history, among the books consulted: Carter and Mears (school certificate, 1948 edition: 8 pages); Richards and Hunt (seniors, 1950: 10 pages); Lindsay and Washington (11-16 years, 1952: 7 pages); Derry and Jarman (seniors, 1956: no pages); Peacock ("O" and "A" levels 1960: 7 pages); McGuffie vol.3 (seniors, 1963: 10 pages); Southgate (1963 edition, 10 pages); Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse ("O" levels, 1964 edition: 16 pages).

Reassessment of Britain's nineteenth century policies in South Africa was beginning and Somervell (seniors, 1960 edition) conveyed the discomfiture well: "The spontaneous delight of the popular press of the whole continent at our misfortunes was an uncomfortable revelation"¹¹⁰. The principal events already noted above still retain their place¹¹¹, although the descriptive material is briefer. There is now greater criticism of the Boers¹¹², references to the Kaiser's telegram to Kruger after the Jameson Raid¹¹³, more attention to Kitchener's concentration camps during the second Anglo-Boer War¹¹⁴, and specific references to the contemporary issue of *apartheid* and race relations¹¹⁵.

With this greater detachment, hastened no doubt by the political developments in South Africa, since the Afrikaner Nationalist party came to power in 1948, the struggle in the last century and a half has, for writers of history, become predominantly the story of the Boers and the Afrikaners. The Hottentots and the Bantu have become incidental to the account and the reasons for the conflict with them are substantially ignored. (Southgate maintained an interest in the Bantu throughout his chapter on South Africa, but the emphasis was on the Boers. He referred several times to "the black men" and introduced the reader to the plight of the Bantu, with the sentence: "South Africa contained a large native population")¹¹⁶. Shaka, Dingane, Cetewayo and Lobengula (and occasionally Moshesh)¹¹⁷ are still remembered, as is the defeat of the British at Islandhlwana at the hands of the Zulu *impis* (regiments).

The British defeat by the Boers at Majuba Hill is still recalled, and the incessant drive towards economic development and Boer independence dominates the story. The incidental way in which the Bantu flit in and out of the story is in itself a statement of "white" superiority. The history of the indigenous peoples is submerged beneath the developing history of the Boers.

The 1951 edition of MacInnes included the hope that the unity of South Africa could be maintained. The 1960 edition added a note that now "the policy of apartheid was actively pursued"¹¹⁸. Richards and Hunt suggested that "to secure social justice and a satisfactory standard of living in the same country for both Europeans and natives - to say nothing of immigrant Indians - will tax all the resources of Union statesmanship"¹¹⁹. Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse stated that "South Africa, after the Union, was a 'racial aristocracy'"¹²⁰. Writers now interpreted the development of South African history as one of potential racial conflict. In the later books to be reviewed in this study, and as the history of the country

develops further, the justification for their fears may be seen.

Attitudes from 1964 to 1971 and conclusion

The more recent books still present the same people and events¹²¹, but again more briefly than in the 1948 to 1964 period: McGuffie vol.4 (seniors,1965: 3 pages); Williams vol.3 ("O" levels 1966: 7 pages); Richards and Quick ("O" level,1967: 12 pages); Dance (seniors,1967: 6 pages); Elliott (CSE 1969: 1 page); Newth (seniors,1967: 2 pages); Pitt (CSE,1969: 3 pages); Edwards and Bearman (seniors,1971: 5 pages). Kesteven (seniors,1970) is a resource book on the Boer War (90 pages)¹²². Watson ("O" level,1971) is a specialised study of the Commonwealth since 1919 and gives 14 pages to South Africa. Books dealing with twentieth century history, only, include: McGuffie vol.5 (seniors,1964: 3 pages); Brett ("O" level,1966: 5 pages); Nash and Newth (seniors,1967: 6 pages); Browne (seniors,1970: 1 page); Richardson (seniors,1970: 2 pages).

While the majority of references which have been noted in books published since 1919 remain, it is interesting to see that reference to the Dutch East India Company has been omitted, that the "Kaffir" Wars are mentioned only in Williams, and that Shaka and Isandhlwana are mentioned only in Richards and Quick. Nearly a century after the event, Isandhlwana is an aberration in the British military record and not worthy of comment in the majority of schoolbooks. The Zulu nation, however, have remembered it with pride as their final triumph¹²³, before defeat at Ulundi. Morris in *The Washing of the Spears* reminds us that the only memorial to honour the Zulu nation is a plaque fixed to an archway in Ulundi. It reads

"IN MEMORY OF THE BRAVE WARRIORS WHO FELL HERE IN 1879

IN DEFENCE OF THE OLD ZULU ORDER"¹²⁴.

For Kesteven (1970), author of the Chatto and Windus *Studies in English History* series, the Zulus and the indigenous peoples of South Africa had little part to play in the preparation for the drama of the

Boer War¹²⁵. Understandably the warmth expressed for the Boers in this book is matched by the single sentence on the final page: "The question of the natives' voting rights was left undecided"¹²⁶.

These books, published since 1964, bring up to date a story that began in the seventeenth century. They refer to the customary events and add more detailed references to the work of Smuts and Hertzog¹²⁷. Malan and Verwoerd¹²⁸. They trace the rise of the African political parties and African leaders like Luthuli. More recently they refer also to the tragedy of Sharpeville¹²⁹, which like the Battle of Wounded Knee or the Amritsar Massacre, has become an international symbol of oppression. From the confused patriotism of the books published in the early twentieth century, we have therefore moved, in books about contemporary history at least to a realisation of what occurs, in political and social terms, when one group within a community acts on the basis of ethnic superiority. Directed, in the main, at older children, these books reflect the evolving interpretation of events and policies and attempt to involve the reader in one of the major issues of the contemporary world.

NOTES

Chapter VIII (2)

1. p.25. D.R.Morris. *The Washing of the Spears*. Cape.1966.
2. p.25. R.Oliver and A.Atmore. *Africa since 1800*. Cambridge.1969.
3. p.193. J.D.Omer-Cooper et al. *The Making of Modern Africa*. vol.1. Longmans Green and Co.1968.
4. p.15. *ibid*.
5. p.25. Morris. *op.cit*.
6. p.2. L.Marquard. *The Peoples and Policies of South Africa*. Oxford. 1962.
7. p.26. Morris. *op.cit*.
8. p.207. Omer-Cooper. *op.cit*.
9. p.88. ed. R.Oliver. W.M.Macmillan. "South of the Limpopo". *The Dawn of African History*. Oxford.1969.
10. p.6. Marquard. *op.cit*.
11. p.25. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit*.
12. p.9. Marquard. *op.cit*.
13. p.107. Morris. *op.cit*.
14. pp.54-60. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit*.
15. p.243. Omer-Cooper. *op.cit*.
16. p.61. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit*.
17. p.167. R.Oliver and J. D.Fage. *A Short History of Africa*. Penguin.1968.
18. p.250. Omer-Cooper. *op.cit*.
19. p.251. *ibid*.
20. p.62. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit*.; p.254. Omer-Cooper. *op.cit*.
21. p.62. Oliver and Atmore. *ibid*.; p.234. Morris. *op.cit*.
22. p.192. Oliver and Fage. *op.cit*.
23. pp.234. *seq*. R.Robinson and J.Gallagher with A.Denny. *Africa and the Victorians*. Macmillan.1961.
24. p.125. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit*.; p.214. Omer-Cooper. *op.cit*. vol.2.
25. pp.426 *seq*. Robinson and Gallagher.*op.cit*.; for a full examination of the Liberal Party's involvement see J.Butler. *The Liberal Party and the Jameson Raid*. Oxford.1968.
26. p.221. Omer-Cooper. *op.cit*.; p.242. G.S.Graham. *A Concise History of the British Empire*. Thames and Hudson.1970.
27. quoted p.242. Graham. *op.cit*.
28. quoted p.178. H.G.G.Matthew. *The Liberal Imperialists*. Oxford.1973.
29. p.21. Marquard. *op.cit*.
30. p.188. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit*.

31. p.30. Marquard. *op.cit.*
32. pp.229-30. Oliver and Fage. *op.cit.*
33. cp. p.53. Segal. *op.cit.*; p.162. Oliver and Fage. *op.cit.*; p.117. Graham. *op.cit.*; pp.9-10. Marquard. *op.cit.*
34. p.325. Cooper.
35. p.133. Mangnall.
36. p.633. Gleig.
37. p.142. Pringle.
38. pp.145-47. *ibid.*
39. p.149. *ibid.*
40. p.79. *Collins' Alternative Geography Reader*. vol.3. *The British Empire*. London.1899.
41. p.359. *Patriotic History of the British Empire*.
42. p.387. *ibid.*
43. p.547. Hassall. *A class book*.
44. p.571. *ibid.*
45. p.572. *ibid.*
46. p.579. *ibid.*
47. p.582. *ibid.*
48. p.585. *ibid.*
49. p.589. *ibid.*
50. p.316. Fearenside.
51. p.343. *ibid.*
52. pp.352-54. *ibid.*
53. p.354. *ibid.*
54. p.346. Buckley.
55. p.365. *ibid.*
56. p.366. *ibid.*
57. p.367. *ibid.*
58. p.368. *ibid.*
59. *ibid.*
60. p.129. Ince and Gilbert.
61. p.127. *ibid.*
62. p.128. *ibid.*
63. p.128. *ibid.*
64. p.129. *ibid.*
65. p.238. Fletcher and Kipling
66. p.239. *ibid.*
67. p.62. K.Moore. *Kipling and the White Man's Burden*. Faber.1968.
68. pp.282-83. *ibid.*

69. *Cape of Good Hope*: p.202. Hughes; p.322. Munro; p.60. Kermack; p.881. Mowat; p.702. Warner and Marten; p.201. Newton.
70. *DEIC*: p.204. Hughes; p.64. Kermack; p.202. Newton.
71. *African races*: pp.204-05. Hughes; pp.67-8. Kermack; p.703. Warner and Marten; p.204. Newton.
72. *Kaffir Wars*: p.206. Hughes; p.323. Munro; p.68. Kermack; p.882. Mowat; p.706. Warner and Marten; p.204. Newton.
73. *Zulus*: p.207. Hughes; p.70. Munro; p.939. Mowat; p.207. Newton.
74. *Shaka*: p.207. Hughes; p.70. Munro; p.939. Mowat.
75. *Dingane*: pp.207-8. Hughes; p.70. Munro; p.709. Warner and Marten; p.207. Newton.
76. *Great Trek*: p.207. Hughes; p.324. Munro; p.69. Kermack; p.883. Mowat; p.705. Warner and Marten; p.205. Newton.
77. *Annexation of Natal*: p.208. Hughes; p.356. Munro; p.70. Kermack; p.884. Mowat; p.705. Warner and Marten; p.207. Newton.
78. *Transvaal and Orange Free State*: p.208. Hughes; pp.356-7. Munro; p.71. Kermack; p.884. Mowat; pp.705-06. Warner and Marten; p.208. Newton.
79. *Diamonds*: p.209. Hughes; p.357. Munro; p.72. Kermack; p.709. Warner and Marten; p.226. Newton.
80. *Cetewayo*: p.209. Hughes; pp.886-7. Mowat; pp.706-8. Warner and Marten; p.228. Newton.
81. *Isandhlwana*: p.211. Hughes; p.358. Munro; p.887. Mowat; p.708. Warner and Marten.
82. *Ulundi*: p.211. Hughes; p.358. Munro; p.887. Mowat; p.708. Warner and Marten.
83. *1st Anglo-Boer War*: p.212. Hughes; p.358. Munro; p.890. Mowat; p.708. Warner and Marten.
84. *Gold*: p.71. Kermack; p.710. Warner and Marten; p.229. Newton.
85. *Kruger*: pp.217-19. Hughes; p.358. Munro; pp.882,941-42. Mowat; p.709. Warner and Marten; p.229. Newton.
86. *South African Republic*: p.358. Munro; p.891. Mowat; p.708. Warner and Marten; p.229. Newton.
87. *Vitlanders*: p.215. Hughes; p.74. Kermack; pp.941-2. Mowat; p.710. Warner and Marten; p.230. Newton.
88. *Rhodes*: p.214. Hughes; p.78. Kermack; p.938. Mowat; p.709. Warner and Marten; p.233. Newton.
89. *Lobengula*: p.78. Kermack; pp.939-40. Mowat; p.235. Newton.
90. *Matabele and Mashona*: p.215. Hughes; p.78. Kermack; pp.939-40. Mowat; p.235. Newton.
91. *Jameson Raid*: p.217. Hughes; p.940. Mowat; pp.710-11. Warner and Marten.
92. *Franchise*: pp.215,217. Hughes; p.74. Kermack; pp.941-2. Mowat; p.710. Warner and Marten; p.238. Newton.

93. *2nd Anglo-Boer War*: pp.219-21. Hughes; p.389. Munro; p.74. Kermack; pp.944-48. Mowat; p.711-12. Warner and Marten; p.237. Newton.
94. *Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking*: pp.219-20. Hughes; p.389. Munro (Ladysmith); p.74. Kermack (not Mafeking); pp.946-47. Mowat; pp.711-12. Warner and Marten (not Mafeking).
95. *Guerilla warfare*: p.221. Hughes; p.75. Kermack; p.948. Mowat; p.713. Warner and Marten.
96. *Concentration camps*: p.221. Hughes; p.946. Mowat.
97. *Vereeniging*: p.221. Hughes; p.389. Munro; p.75. Kermack; p.948. Mowat; p.713. Warner and Marten; p.238. Newton.
98. *Act of Union*: p.223. Hughes; p.948. Mowat; p.713. Warner and Marten; p.254. Newton.
99. p.207. Hughes.
100. p.223. *ibid.*
101. p.356. Munro.
102. p.391. *ibid.*
103. pp.74,69. Kermack.
104. p.882. Mowat.
105. p.704. Warner and Marten.
106. p.711. *ibid.*
107. p.713. *ibid.*
108. pp.226,229,237 etc. Newton.
109. p.255. *ibid.*
110. p.52. Somervell.
111. *Cape of Good Hope*: p.859. Carter and Mears; p.380. Richards and Hunt; p.167. MacInnes; p.144. Lindsay and Washington; p.159. Peacock; p.243. McGuffie vol.3; p.280. Southgate; p.174. Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse.
- DEIC*: pp.175,188. MacInnes; p.247. McGuffie vol.3; p.280. Southgate; p.174. Hutchins. et al.
- African races*: p.860. Carter and Mears; p.380. Richards and Hunt; pp.171-73. MacInnes; p.248. McGuffie vol.3; p.280. Southgate; pp.177-78. Hutchins et al.
- Kaffir Wars*: p.859. Carter and Mears; p.381. Richards and Hunt; p.172. MacInnes; p.281. Southgate.
- Zulus*: p.885. Carter and Mears; p.381. Richards and Hunt; pp.173, 180. MacInnes; p.146. Lindsay and Washington; pp.283-84. Southgate; p.178,183. Hutchins et al.
- Shaka*: p.178. MacInnes; p.178. Hutchins et al.
- Dingane*: p.859. Carter and Mears; p.180. MacInnes; p.179. Hutchins et al.
- Great Trek*: p.859. Carter and Mears; p.381. Richards and Hunt; p.173. MacInnes; p.144. Lindsay and Washington; p.250. McGuffie vol.3; p.281. Southgate; p.179. Hutchins et al.

111. *Annexation of Natal*: p.859. Carter and Mears; p.381. Richards (cont) and Hunt; p.180. MacInnes; p.144. Lindsay and Washington; p.250. McGuffie vol.3; p.282. Southgate.
- Transvaal and Orange Free State*: pp.859-60. Carter and Mears; pp.180-85. MacInnes; p.144. Lindsay and Washington; p.250. McGuffie vol.3; p.282. Southgate; pp.180-81. Hutchins et al.
- Diamonds*: pp.382-83. Richards and Hunt; p.192. MacInnes; p.146. Lindsay and Washington; p.250. McGuffie vol.3; p.283. Southgate; p.183. Hutchins et al.
- Cetewayo*: p.885. Carter and Mears; p.382. Richards and Hunt; pp.188, 193-94. MacInnes; p.146. Lindsay and Washington; pp.276-77. Hutchins et al.
- Isandhlwana*: p.885. Carter and Mears; p.382. Richards and Hunt; pp.195-96. MacInnes; p.251. McGuffie vol.3; p.285. Southgate; p.278. Hutchins et al.
- Ulundi*: p.885. Carter and Mears; p.383. Richards and Hunt; p.196. MacInnes; p.251. McGuffie vol.3; p.285. Southgate; p.279. Hutchins et al.
- 1st Anglo-Boer War*: p.383. Richards and Hunt; p.197. MacInnes; p.146. Lindsay and Washington; p.251. McGuffie vol.3; p.285. Southgate; p.279. Hutchins et al.
- Gold*: p.384. Richards and Hunt; p.202. MacInnes; p.146. Lindsay and Washington; p.252. McGuffie vol.3; p.285. Southgate.
- Kruger*: pp.925-27. Carter and Mears; p.384. Richards and Hunt; pp.198-205. MacInnes; p.148. Lindsay and Washington; p.285. Southgate; p.279. Hutchins et al.
- South African Republic*: p.383. Richards and Hunt; p.279. Hutchins et al. (Richards and Hunt place "South African Republic" within inverted commas).
- Vitlanders*: p.925. Carter and Mears; p.384. Richards and Hunt; pp.205-14. MacInnes; p.146. Lindsay and Washington; p.252. McGuffie vol.3; p.285. Southgate; pp.279,284. Hutchins et al.
- Rhodes*: p.922. Carter and Mears; pp.383-84. Richards and Hunt; pp.203-15. MacInnes; p.147. Lindsay and Washington; p.252. McGuffie vol.3; pp.240,283. Southgate; p.280. Hutchins et al.
- Lobengula*: p.921. Carter and Mears; pp.203-04. MacInnes; p.283. Hutchins et al.
- Matabele and Mashona*: p.921. Carter and Mears; pp.381-84. Richards and Hunt; pp.204-14. MacInnes; p.147. Lindsay and Washington; p.251. McGuffie vol.3; pp.273,178. Hutchins et al.
- Jameson Raid*: p.926. Carter and Mears, (Chamberlain said to be ignorant of plans); p.385. Richards and Hunt; pp.204 seq. MacInnes; p.148. Lindsay and Washington; p.252. McGuffie vol.3; p.284. Hutchins et al.
- Franchise*: p.926. Carter and Mears; p.146. Lindsay and Washington; p.285. Southgate; p.284. Hutchins et al.
- 2nd Anglo-Boer War*: p.927. Carter and Mears; p.216. MacInnes (a brief description only); pp.386-88. Richards and Hunt; p.149. Lindsay and Washington; p.286. Southgate; p.285. Hutchins et al.

111. *Ladysmith, Kimberley and Mafeking*: p.927. Carter and Mears; p.386.
 (cont) Richards and Hunt; p.216. MacInnes (Ladysmith only); p.150.
 Lindsay and Washington; p.253. McGuffie vol.3; p.286. Southgate;
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 Hunt; p.217. MacInnes; p.150. Lindsay and Washington; p.253.
 McGuffie vol.3.
Vereeniging: p.929. Carter and Mears: p.388. Richards and Hunt;
 p.218. MacInnes; pp.150,183. Lindsay and Washington; p.254. McGuffie
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 p.220. MacInnes; p.184. Lindsay and Washington; p.123. Happold.
This Modern Age; p.254. McGuffie vol.3; p.287. Southgate; p.288.
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112. *Criticism of the Boers*: pp.168-72,175,216. MacInnes; p.147. Lindsay
 and Washington; pp.248-50. McGuffie vol.3; pp.176,180-83. Hutchins
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113. *Kaiser's telegram*: p.926. Carter and Mears; p.284. Hutchins et al.
114. *Concentration camps*: see references in note 111.
115. *Apartheid (and the increasing problem of race relations)*: p.249.
 Clement. *The Story of Britain* (3). 1948; p.389. Richards and Hunt;
 p.230. MacInnes; p.251. Happold; p.288. Southgate; p.289. Hutchins
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116. p.280. Southgate.
117. cp. p.187. MacInnes.
118. p.230. *ibid.* (1960 edition).
119. p.389. Richards and Hunt.
120. p.289. Hutchins et al.
121. *Cape of Good Hope*: p.101. Williams vol.3; p.61. Dance; p.212.
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121. *Transvaal and Orange Free State*: p.103. Williams vol.3; p.61.
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- South African Republic*: p.128. Richards and Quick (event referred
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- Uitlanders*: p.237. McGuffie vol.4; p.104. Williams vol.3; p.161.
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- Rhodes*: p.236. McGuffie vol.4; p.103. Williams vol.3; p.154.
 Richards and Quick; p.132. Dance; p.213. Newth; p.85. Elliott;
 p.108. Pitt; p.244. Edwards and Bearman.
- Lobengula*: p.104. Williams vol.3; p.154. Richards and Quick;
 p.214. Newth; p.85. Elliott; p.244. Edwards and Bearman.
- Matabele and Mashona*: p.236. McGuffie vol.4; p.103. Williams vol.
 3; p.154. Richards and Quick (including the use of machine guns);
 p.244. Edwards and Bearman.
- Jameson Raid*: pp.232,237. McGuffie vol.4; p.104. Williams vol.3;
 p.22. Brett; p.163. Richards and Quick; p.214. Newth; p.86.
 Elliott; p.108. Pitt; p.246. Edwards and Bearman.
- Kaiser's telegram*: p.163. Richards and Quick; p.108. Pitt; p.246.
 Edwards and Bearman.
- Franchise*: p.104. Williams vol.3; p.86. Elliott; p.243. Edwards
 and Bearman.
- 2nd Anglo-Boer War*: pp.232-33. McGuffie vol.4; pp.103,105.
 Williams vol.3; pp.160-68. Richards and Quick; p.134. Dance;
 p.214. Newth; p.18. Wood; pp.85-6. Elliott; p.108. Pitt; p.14.
 Barber; p.247. Edwards and Bearman; p.19. Turnbull vol.2; pp.3,
 158. Bailey.
- Ladysmith, Kimberley, Mafeking*: p.237. McGuffie vol.4, (Kimberley
 only; a reference to Rhodes); p.25. Brett; p.164. Richards and
 Quick; p.108. Pitt.

121. *Guerilla warfare*: p.233. McGuffie vol.4; p.27. Brett; p.167. (cont) Richards and Quick; p.134. Dance; p.214. Newth; p.109. Pitt; p.249. Edwards and Bearman.
- Concentration camps*: p.27. Brett; p.167. Richards and Quick; p.216. Newth; p.109. Pitt; p.249. Edwards and Bearman.
- Vereeniging*: p.28. Brett; p.167. Richards and Quick; p.216. Newth; p.109. Pitt; p.249. Edwards and Bearman.
- Act of Union*: p.145. McGuffie vol.5; p.105. Williams vol.3; p.46. Brett; p.186. Richards and Quick; p.134. Dance; p.86. Elliott; p.109. Pitt; p.19. Turnbull vol.2; p.158. Bailey; p.29. Watson.
- Criticism of the Boers*: p.163. Richards and Quick; p.130. Dance; p.11. Browne.
- Apartheid*: p.146. McGuffie vol.5; p.302. Firth and Adcock; pp.355-58. Williams vol.3; pp.233,309. Brett; p.218. Dance; pp.180-85. Newth; pp.261,267. Barber; p.306. York; p.201. Browne; p.281. Richardson; pp.159-61. Bailey; pp.140-45. Watson. See also, pp.281-83,374. Bryant and Ecclestone *op.cit.*
122. G.R.Kesteven. *The Boer War*. Chatto and Windus.1970.
123. p.387. Morris. *op.cit.*
124. p.614. *ibid.*
125. see pp.20-26. *passim*. Kesteven.
126. p.78. *ibid.*
127. p.145. McGuffie vol.5; p.302. Firth and Adcock; p.232. Brett; p.263. Barber; p.281. Richardson; p.249. Edwards and Bearman; p.159. Bailey; pp.29-34. Watson.
128. pp.281-82. Richardson; pp.159-61,160,169. Bailey; pp.140-42. Watson.
129. p.282. Richardson; p.160. Bailey; pp.143-45. Watson.



WEST AFRICA IN RECENT TIMES

Source: p.10. W.A.Lewis. *Politics in West Africa*.
Geo. Allen and Unwin.1965.

(3) FRANCE AND SENEGAL

The early history

The Portuguese are the first Europeans said to have reached the mouth of the Senegal river in 1444-45¹. In the early seventeenth century, French merchants began to trade there and encouraged by Richelieu began to establish permanent buildings at the estuary in 1638. In 1659 they chose the island of Guet N'Dar, also within the estuary as their headquarters, and called it, in future, St.Louis. In 1677, the island of Gorée (to the south) was captured from the Dutch. St.Louis and Gorée were to become the focal point of French power along the coast of West Africa². In the second half of the seventeenth century Colbert hoped that Senegal would provide slaves for the sugar plantations in the Antilles, but his expectations were not fulfilled. In spite of the energetic work of Brue from 1697 to 1720, when French influence (trade, religion and exploration) spread inland to Bambuk and south to the area which is now Guinea-Bissau, there was a lack of capital, which prevented development. Between 1664 and 1758, six French West African companies foundered. Moreover, the Senegambian region was not lucrative as far as the slave trade was concerned³. The population, especially in the north was not large and eventually France was compelled to enter the slave markets of the Guinea Coast instead. The gum trade had a moderate success over the years, and there was also trade in gold, ivory and hides.

In St.Louis and Gorée, there were growing Afro-European communities. St.Louis, by the end of the eighteenth century had a population of 600 Europeans out of a total of 7,000. Co-habiting on a permanent basis between the communities became common. The French called it Afro-French *métissage* (or cross-breeding) and it was a system accepted by local custom. Children of these interracial "marriages" were sometimes educated in France. Africans were on French payrolls also, and were sometimes able

to set up in commerce on their own account. This was an early example of the assimilated indigenous community, and the mulatto community which sprang from it in St.Louis has ever since been called the "St.Louisiens". During the nineteenth century, proportionately fewer such couples shared a home. Better communications with France, and an increase in military population, led to fewer long-term domestic relationships between the races on the island. While assimilation involved the introduction of European institutions (the army, the law courts and civil government), the mulattos of St.Louis never apparently abandoned completely, their African culture⁴, though some "consciously accepted standards and values of their European rulers and in return claimed the rights which they believed such an acceptance could bring"⁵.

The British occupied St.Louis during the Seven Years' War and held it from 1758 to 1778. In 1776, a long petition in English (which no one in St.Louis had understood before 1758) was presented to the British Secretary of State⁶. The petition complained that O'Hara, the British Governor of Senegal, had been abusive, had sold free Africans into slavery, and wished to abolish the Catholic religion in Senegal. When the French returned after the war, they did not find a subservient people. Indeed the St.Louisiens petitioned the States-General in 1789 to end the monopoly of the Senegal Company. Hargreaves suggests that there was a certain "ethnocentric intolerance"⁷ on the part of the French, which cannot have been eased when in 1802, the African and mulatto population removed the Governor from office.

The first half of the nineteenth century

During the Napoleonic Wars, St.Louis fell to the British again (1809). When the island was reoccupied by France after the Second Treaty of Paris (1815), the French attitude to Senegal was changing. Many believed that coastal "forts" were a waste of time, and there was no

clear policy until the appointment of Faidherbe as Governor in 1854.

Under Louis XVIII (1814-24) there were attempts to reach agreement about farmlands with local chiefs. Cotton, coffee, olives, dates and coconut began to be grown by French settlers. But the schemes were not successful and "settlement" never became a serious problem for the country. In 1833, colonial subjects were granted the full rights of French citizens and about 12,000 Africans and mulattos in West Africa were accorded this status⁸. In the short-lived Second Republic (1848-52) Senegal was granted a right to send a deputy to the National Assembly in Paris. In 1854, the authoritarianism of Louis Napoleon confronted Senegal. Their right to elect a deputy was withdrawn (it was restored in 1871) and they were subjected to rule by imperial decree. In fact, this was the first period of great colonial expansion and in 1850, a government commission had promised that "le Sénégal serait assuré d'un riche et fécond développement"⁹.

Louis Faidherbe

There was a general feeling in Europe, at this time, that as a result of reports from explorers, the European powers must move inland, if they were to benefit from their footholds on the coast. So upon his arrival as Governor in 1854, Louis Faidherbe concentrated on "pacifying" the hinterland. He consolidated his position against the Muslim states of the lower Senegal valley. A fort was established at Medina in 1855. He diverted a threatened *jihad* (holy war) by al-Hajj 'Umar, in 1860 ('Umar's *jihads* were motivated by both material and spiritual considerations, according to Fage¹⁰ and he was deeply hostile to the French¹¹). A demarcation of territorial interests, diverted 'Umar from moving west and by 1863 he had moved through Ségou and Macina, to take Timbuctu¹², well to the East of Senegal. Faidherbe also established a certain control over Walo, defeated the Trarzas and pushed into the Sine, Saloum and Casamance valleys, thus going some way south of the Gambia into the area where there had been rivalry with the British and where a foothold

was maintained until 1857. He intervened in Futa Tora and Cayor; established groundnuts to expand the economy¹³; occupied Rufisque and Dakar to provide outlets for exports. Faidherbe wished to open up the overland route between Dakar and St.Louis. To achieve this, during a disputed succession to the throne of Cayor in 1861, he nominated his own *dame*l (or chief). The choice was not popular and Lat-Dior, who had assumed leadership of an Islamic revival, was recognised by his people as *dame*l. Fearful now of the danger of a religious war in Senegambia (and also concerned for their groundnut crop), the French sought cooperation from Lat-Dior, instead.

Faidherbe had two periods as Governor of Senegal, 1854-61 and 1863-65. During this time he supervised intense military activity (what S.H.Roberts has called "his delightfully simple policy of "Peace or Powder")¹⁴. He reorganised the civil administration, added hinterland to coastal stations, and by agreements and personal contact with African leaders whom he regarded as both good muslims and loyal French citizens, created a system of checks and balances to assist the pacification of the area. (One result of this policy had been to direct al-Haaj 'Umar's empire to the East). He initiated a study of African culture. His battalion of "tirailleurs sénégalais" provided a stable and efficient army. After the defeat of the Trarzas, he sent explorers into the Mauretanian desert to investigate trade routes to North Africa. He hoped to extend the colony to Futa Jalon, south of the Gambia, to go inland to the Niger and so to obstruct the British trade monopoly in the Delta. His emissary to the Niger was held for two years in Ségou. By the time he returned to St.Louis, Faidherbe had retired and Louis Napoleon and his ministers wished to forget Faidherbe's schemes, because of the increasing complexity of European politics.

The end of Lat Dior's resistance

There was a gap of fifteen years before the French government attempted to capitalise on Faïdherbe's work. In 1880, the National Assembly voted funds for the construction of a railway line from Dakar to St. Louis. There followed a bitter opposition from Lat-Dior. Work on the railway began in 1882. Governor Brière de l'Isle imposed a new *damele* on Cayor. Lat-Dior now carried on incessant war against the French. He knew, as Crowder shows, that the railway would be the end of his independence¹⁵. Dispossessed of his country, he died fighting the French in 1886. The final defeat of Senegalese opposition was in 1887, when the Islamic army of Mahmadou Lamine was defeated in Upper Gambia. The French during the next few years moved swiftly across the Sudan and conquered the Sahara from Algeria to Lake Tchad, linking these new areas of influence with their existing outlets on the Guinea coast. The Dakar - St. Louis railway was opened in 1885. (But the Kayes - Bamako (on the Niger) railway took from 1882 to 1906 to complete and the Kayes - Dakar railway, from 1907 to 1924). The region was not well organised, because of lack of communications and the Sudan, upon which hopes had been pinned, proved to be a poor market for European goods. The emphasis turned again to the West Coast and in Senegal the production of groundnuts became a profitable export. The economy as a whole was depressed and the economic contrast between the coast and the interior very marked. Furthermore, what was to be meant by "assimilation" became a source of conflict for the next half century.

Independence

Senegal became independent within the French community in 1959. The total population of the country was about 3,100,000, the French numbering only about 40,000, of whom about 30,000 lived in Dakar¹⁶. It is a poor country by any standards. In 1964, 70% of its exports were in groundnuts

and oilseed products¹⁷.

The most famous Senegalese are undoubtedly Blaise Diagne, who represented Senegal in the Chamber of Deputies from 1914-34 and Sédar Senghor, the first President of Senegal. Diagne was the first African to sit in the House of Deputies. Faced with the necessity of continual compromise, he earned the reputation of being conservative. Severely criticised by the colonial historian, Suret-Canale¹⁸, he does nonetheless receive admiring comments (as well as some critical ones) in Webster and Boahen's book for West African schools: "Diagne was hailed and admired by Negroes all over the Black World ... as someone who was a symbol of black ability and a rebuke to all those who were writing about the inherent inferiority of the African race"¹⁹. Senghor, a poet of international reputation, guided his country to independence and with Aimé Césaire of Martinique created the idea of *négritude*: "the affirmation of the values of African culture"²⁰.

The importance of Faidherbe

This has been an extremely brief account of the confrontation between France and Senegal. Nothing has been said, for instance, of the region before the arrival of the Portuguese and during the period of French occupation, apart from a few references to interaction between the French and the indigenous peoples, little has been said of the impact of the French on the people themselves. This epitomises the problem of how colonial history should be presented in schools.

Senegal and Faidherbe's policy are today, however, of considerable importance in the study of French colonial history. Georges Hardy wrote of Faidherbe in his classic account of French colonialism:

"Pour Faidherbe, la colonisation-civilisation n'est pas un vain mot. C'est même la seule qu'il admette et pour la faire accepter des indigènes eux-mêmes, il ne conçoit d'autre méthode que l'établissement de la confiance par la recherche de toutes les occasions de contact"²¹.

Ganiage and Brunshwig see him as a forerunner in colonial military conquest²². Oliver and Fage wrote: "It was left to a young army officer, Louis Faidherbe, to show what might be made of the Senegal"²³. Roberts summarised his period of government:

"He transformed a cordon of stagnant and isolated ports into a big territory, and added a hinterland to the coastal stations in order to give the colony balance" and to facilitate " a logical and methodical expansion inland"²⁴.

SENEGAL IN FRENCH SCHOOLBOOKS

Inevitably ignored in British schoolbooks, Senegal and Faidherbe have not been discussed to any extent in French books either.

Nineteenth century attitudes

Jallifier and Vast (*cours supérieur*, 1886) referred to Senegal within the context of a generalised discussion about colonies. Countries like Senegal

"sont malsains, mais les français n'ont pas besoin de s'y établir en grand nombre. Il suffit de faire travailler les nègres du pays pour obtenir en grande quantité de l'huile, la gomme, le caoutchouc, l'ivoire, les bois de teinture et d'ébénisterie" (cabinet work)²⁵.

Faidherbe is listed among the great French colonisers, such as Bugeaud, Garnier, Courbet and Brazza²⁶.

Darsy and Toussenel (1893) and Blanchet (1895) referred to Senegal in a catalogue of other colonial territories²⁷. Aulard and Debidour (*cours moyen*, 1894) were more specific: "(Napoleon IIIe) étendit, grâce au colonel Faidherbe, nos établissements du Senegal"²⁸. The books (already noted in other contexts) written by Loiseau, Cons, Vincent, Zévort, Ammann and Coutant and Suérus (for *enseignement primaire*) and Pigeonneau and Wahl and Dontenville (for *enseignement secondaire*) did not mention Senegal at all.

Attitudes from 1900 to 1945

Aulard and Debidour (*cours supérieur*, 1904) devoted a mere twelve lines to a discussion of Algeria, New Caledonia, China, Cochín-China, Cambodia, Faidherbe and Senegal²⁹. *Le Manuel de L'École Libre (cours supérieur*, 1907) however carried a sentence:

"Pendant que les expéditions en Extrême Orient agrandisaient notre empire colonial d'une riche province, le général Faidherbe étendait nos possessions du Sénégal, en fondant des postes sure à la partie supérieure de ce fleuve"³⁰.

Vitte (1907) (like *L'École Libre*, written for Catholic schools) used precisely the same words³¹.

Others mentioned Senegal only in passing: Mélin (1904)³²; Rogie and Despiques (1908)³³; and Viator (1912), who wrote of the country within the context of the explorations by Binger: "(Il) va du Sénégal à la côte d'Ivoire à travers le pays de Kong"³⁴. (Binger, incidentally, exploded the myth that the "mountains of Kong" existed)³⁵.

Rogie and Despiques (*cours moyen*) included the Senegal wars in their general attack on war as an instrument of colonial policy:

"Malheureusement les méthodes de colonisation ont trop souvent péchés par la violence. On a prétendu que la guerre était légitime contre des 'races inférieures'..."

But war, massacres, pillaging had only brought hatred from the conquered. Therefore, "la France ... veut imposer ses colons aux indigènes non par la force des armes, mais par les bienfaits de la civilisation"³⁶.

(Possibly they had in mind not only Faidherbe, but also the wars in the 1890s to suppress the Mandinka Empire, to the east of Sierra Leone and Côte d'Ivoire).

Lavisse (*cours moyen*, 1921) listed the territories in Asia and Africa which had been colonised by France³⁷, and then continued to reflect on the usefulness of the colonies for French commerce and industry³⁸. Senegal is embraced in his summary on West Africa:

"Dans l'Afrique occidentale, elle a fait cesser l'esclavage et mis fin aux atrocités des petits rois, pillards et massacreurs"³⁹.

Histoire contemporaine depuis le milieu du XIXe siècle, first published for the *cours Malet-Isaac* in 1929 (*philo-maths*), continued this description of Senegal as a remote African territory. It was a country where there was "une grande variété de peuplades nègres, des nomades musulmans, belliqueux et pillards"⁴⁰. Their editions passed through the publication years of 1930, 1951 and 1953, before in 1961 there was mention of Faidherbe and his work (see note 44).

Guillemain and Le Ster (*cours moyen*, 1941) writing for Catholic schools recorded also mere generalities. During the nineteenth century in Africa, France fought slavery and the missionaries "soignent les indigènes malades dans leurs hôpitaux et dispensaires, les instruisent dans leurs écoles, leur enseignent le catéchisme, leur faisant sans cesse du bien et leur apprenant ainsi à aimer Dieu et la France"⁴¹.

Attitudes from 1945 to 1971

The first clear statement about Senegal, in these books under review, after 1945 was found in Clozier, Dépain and Guyomard (*classes de fin d'études*, 1954). Faidherbe was now accorded his place in French history (Georges Hardy's assessment of his work had been published in his *Histoire Sociale de la Colonisation Française* in 1953):

"Il inaugure une méthode de colonisation qui inspirera nos grands coloniaux de la fin du XIXe siècle, il s'applique à connaître à fond l'esprit, les moeurs et les langues des populations au contact desquelles il se trouve... Grâce à cette politique humaine, le Sénégal est devenu une vaste colonie quand Faidherbe revient en France en 1865"⁴².

Senegal was ignored by Personne and Ménard (*cours complémentaires*, 1948) and by Bonifacio and Maréchal (*cours moyen*, 1956). It was mentioned in the context of *L'Afrique Noire* by Methivier (*classes de 1e*, 1954), Liget (*certificat d'études primaires*, 1954) and Baron (1958)⁴³. Isaac, Alba and Bonifacio (*philo-maths*, 1961) gave a page to Senegal and Faidherbe (who was now mentioned in the *cours Malet-Isaac* for the first

time): "De la lignée des grands coloniaux français, il fut comme Dupleix, un fondateur d'Empire"⁴⁴. The same year (*classes de 1e*, 1961) Isaac, Alba, Bonifacio, Pouthas and Michaud mentioned Senegal also, and described Faidherbe as: "Le commandant de génie au Sénégal"⁴⁵. Later they amplified the comment, describing how

"... des comptoirs français de la région, celui-ci intreprit en effet aussitôt de transformer ces comptoirs en colonie, en conquérant leur arrière pays; il sut aussi trouver les modes de conquête et de colonisation appropriés au nouveau champ d'action. En 1865 - année du départ définitif de Faidherbe - le Sénégal s'étendait jusqu'au cours supérieur du fleuve dont il porte le nom; son commerce - la traite des arachides - avait triplé; des missions d'exploration avaient été envoyées plus loin encore vers l'intérieur, en direction du Niger supérieur"⁴⁶.

There is, however, no account of how this development took place.

Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel (*classes de 1e*, 1962) included a briefer reference:

"Faïdherbe ... assure la sécurité du pays contre les Musulmans en encadrant les noirs (tirailleurs sénégalais). Le Sénégal devient mieux qu'un comptoir, une colonie qu'il veut relier au Niger et à l'Algérie. Le port de Dakar est fondé... Faïdherbe a été le précurseur d'un empire africain"⁴⁷.

Later in the book, (concerning Africa at the end of the century), Senegal appeared, perhaps characteristically now, in small print:

"Le Sénégal, colonie plus ancienne, a déjà beaucoup changé; il possède les chemins de fer, l'essentiel de la production d'arachide et le port moderne. Dakar, un régime d'assimilation politique s'y applique à quatre villes où les Blancs et les Noirs élisent des conseils locaux et un député"⁴⁸.

Two books for *classes terminales* bring the history up to the present day: Sentou and Carbonell (1965 edition) and Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel (1968 edition). Both dealt in depth with African culture and nationalism. The second of the two books ignored the African countries specifically during the inter-war period, presumably because as Sentou and Carbonell point out, political nationalism was virtually unknown prior to 1939⁴⁹.

Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel wrote excellently about decolonisation against the background of African history and culture in general, though they ended their account of contact with Europe with the Slave Trade⁵⁰. As they dealt with "Black Africa" in its entirety, Senegal merely appears as a name, presumably on the grounds that as this long account deals finally with decolonisation the reader can rely on knowledge previously acquired. The same can be said of Sentou and Carbonell also, although they explained much more clearly the effect of colonisation on the indigenous peoples⁵¹.

Bonifacio and Michaud (*classes de 3e*, 1971) is the last relevant book to be considered. It epitomises the concern of this study. In half a sentence, it sums up the history of a people:

"Parmi les autres entreprises coloniales de cette période, on peut retenir la création de la colonie du Sénégal, en Afrique occidentale, par un officier de grande valeur, Faidherbe (1854-1867)" (in reality, 1854-61 and 1863-65); "la conquête de la Cochinchine et l'établissement d'un protectorat sur le Cambodge"⁵²

No further information is given, though the sentence spans West Africa and South-East Asia.

Conclusion

There are probably two reasons why Senegal and Faidherbe have experienced such an elusive progress through schoolbooks and why al-Hajj 'Umar and Lat Dior have been ignored. Firstly, Faidherbe himself had to wait some ninety years before his work in Senegal was placed in perspective by colonial scholars. One reason for this must have been the lack of advance made in West Africa in the years after Faidherbe's departure. The insecurity of Napoleon III's government and France's disastrous defeat by Germany in 1870 reduced French confidence in colonial expansion, a lack of confidence further reinforced by the failure of French policies

in Indo-China in the 1880s. Further advances in Sudan and the Sahara reduced the emphasis on Senegal as a centre of special interest. Crowder notes an additional problem in the unwillingness of France to extend political rights, while the Senegalese were seeking a more liberal development⁵³.

Secondly, Senegal was seen merely as a source of aggrandizement and political influence on the African continent. The impact of Senegal on French history was not important enough to justify a description of the territory and its peoples and the manner in which the conquest took place. Throughout the period, therefore, until the 1960s, the presentation of Senegal has remained substantially the same; it has been either brief or non-existent.

NOTES

Chapter VIII (3)

1. p.51. J.D.Fage. *A History of West Africa*. Cambridge.1969.
2. p.12. P.Neres. *French Speaking West Africa*. Oxford.1962; p.7. M.Crowder. *Senegal: a study in French Assimilation Policy*. Oxford.1962.
3. p.72. Fage. *op.cit.*
4. p.70. J.D.Hargreaves. *West Africa: the former French States*. New Jersey.1967.
5. p.71. *ibid.*
6. pp.76-83. J.D.Hargreaves. *France and West Africa*. Macmillan.1969.
7. p.72. Hargreaves. *West Africa: the former French States*.
8. p.10. Crowder. *op.cit.*
9. p.123. Hardy. *op.cit.*
10. pp.155-56. Fage. *op.cit.*
11. p.40. Crowder. *West Africa under Colonial Rule*. Hutchinson.1968.
12. p.156. Fage. *op.cit.*
13. p.163. *ibid.*
14. p.302. S.H.Roberts. *The History of French Colonial Policy. 1870-1925*. Cass. 1963 edition.
15. p.79. Crowder. *West Africa under Colonial Rule*.
16. pp.64 and 76. Crowder. *Senegal*; cp. pp.216-18. Fage. *op.cit.*
17. p.34. J.Power. *Development Economics*. Longmans.1971.
18. pp.441-42. J.Suret-Canale. *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa. 1900-45*. Hurst. 1971.
19. p.296. J.G.Webster, A.A.Boahen with H.O.Idowu. *The Revolutionary Years in West Africa since 1800*. Longman.1967.
20. p.232. R.Oliver and A.Atmore. *Africa since 1800*. Cambridge.1969.
21. p.125. Hardy. *op.cit.*
22. p.32. Ganiage. *op.cit.*; p.168. Brunschwig. *op.cit.*
23. p.151. R.Oliver and J.D.Fage. *A short history of Africa*. Penguin. 1968 edition.
24. pp.302-3. Roberts. *op.cit.*
25. p.410. Jallifier and Vast.
26. p.414. *ibid.*
27. p.460. Darsy and Toussenet; p.218. Blanchet.
28. p.221. Aulard and Debidour. (1894 edn.)
29. pp.349 and 402. Aulard and Debidour. *Notions d'histoire générale et histoire de France*.
30. quoted p.85. Cerati. *op.cit.*

31. p.374. E.Vitte. *Précis d'histoire de France*. Lyon/Paris.1907.
32. p.389. Mélin.
33. p.273. Rogie and Despiques.
34. quoted p.90. Cerati. *op.cit.*
35. p.341. J.D.Hargreaves. *Prelude to the Partition of West Africa*. Macmillan. 1963.
36. p.267. Rogie and Despiques.
37. p.240. Lavissee (1921).
38. p.243. *ibid.*
39. *ibid.*
40. p.174. Malet and Isaac. *Histoire contemporaine*. 1929.
41. H.Guillemain and F.Le Ster. *Histoire de France*. Éditions de l'école. Paris. (1941 edn.) (quoted p.114. Cerati. *op.cit.*).
42. p.293. Clozier, Dépain and Guyomard.
43. p.491. Methivier; p.366. Ligel; p.435. Baron.
44. p.174. Isaac, Alba and Bonifacio.
45. p.391. Isaac, Alba, Bonifacio, Pouthas and Michaud.
46. pp.394-95. *ibid.*
47. p.119. Girard, Bonnefous, Rudel.
48. p.376. *ibid.*
49. p.173. Sentou and Carbonell.
50. pp.559-89. Bouillon, Sorlin and Rudel; cp. p.564, (contact with Europe).
51. pp.549-61. Sentou and Carbonell; cp. pp.553-57, (effects of colonisation).
52. p.227. Bonifacio and Michaud.
53. p.15. Crowder. *Senegal*; cp. p.178. Fage. *op.cit.*

*(4) BRITAIN AND GOLD COAST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**Introduction*

The Portuguese discovered gold in the "Gold Coast" in the fifteenth century. They called it "Mina" (the mine) and when an expedition was sent in 1482, under d'Azambuja and Diaz, they built a fortified warehouse, which was also to house a garrison, at what is now known as Elmina. Portugal wished to safeguard her monopoly trade in gold¹. This did not prevent France, England, Holland, Sweden and Denmark from building forts also, east and west of Elmina. The Dutch in fact (for commercial rather than colonising reasons) drove the Portuguese out in 1642. So great had been the commercial activity of the Portuguese during this period that, according to Fage, in the sixteenth century they had imported slaves from Benin and the Niger delta, to reinforce the existing groups who worked in the mines². The communities who inhabited the coastal areas restricted Portuguese movement and virtually confined them to their forts, continuing to claim that the ground on which the forts were built belonged to them.

The Europeans had no desire to colonise. Tropical diseases were a major deterrent. But there was bitter competition along the coast, among the European traders. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were some twenty-five forts³. The Dutch West Indies Company was based at Elmina, the English Royal African Company at Cape Coast, some ten miles away. The Royal African Company was replaced in 1750 by the African Company of Merchants, who received a government subsidy to help the upkeep of the forts. The Dutch Company found itself losing ground to the British, until it was liquidated in 1795.

Increasingly, from the end of the seventeenth century, the slave trade had become a lucrative business. By 1785, the Dutch and English were exporting 10,000 slaves a year from the Gold Coast to North America

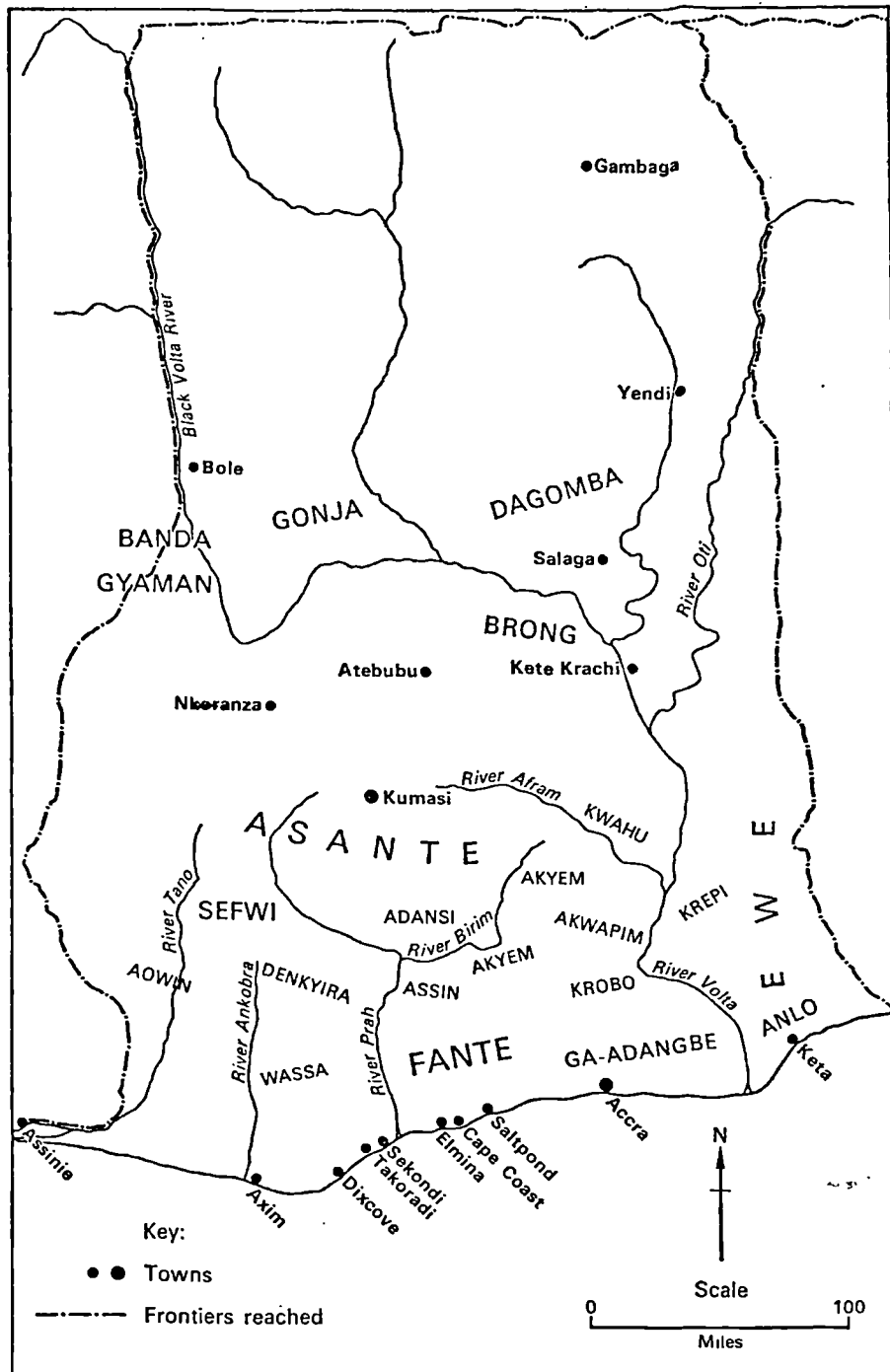
and the Caribbean islands. (In the same period, Britain was exporting from West Africa as a whole about 26,000 slaves a year). At this period gold worth about £250,000 was being exported to Europe, the English share being about one third⁴.

The abolition of the slave trade in 1807 destroyed the relationship between Europeans and the coastal communities. For over a century the coastal peoples had acted as middlemen by bringing slaves from the interior. Some of these Africans became wealthy and powerful, and where forts from different European countries straddled the same kingdom, loyalties were torn, In this way, the Europeans contributed to the decline of the coastal societies. They had no concern for administrative responsibility.

Ashanti (Asante) and Fante

During the eighteenth century, the Ashanti Federation had become powerful through military success and trade. (The noun and adjective *Ashanti* is still commonly used, although African historians now prefer *Asante*). The capital of the Federation, Kumasi, had become an important centre for commerce and culture alike. For nearly two hundred years, the Ashanti ruled a region which consisted of the area covered by most of modern Ghana, parts of modern Ivory Coast and parts of modern Togo. It was likely then, that the Fante confederacy whose territory lay between Accra and Elmina would become an irritant, as well as a challenge, to the Ashanti.

The Fante had developed as traders to the detriment of their military skill. In addition they were determined not to give the Ashanti access to the coast or direct access to the British. The abolition of the slave trade was not welcomed either by the Ashanti or the Fante. Indeed there is evidence that wealthy traders had to return to farming to make a living⁵. When the Ashanti invaded the coastal areas in 1806, the British,



THE STATES OF THE GOLD COAST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Source: p.13. F.Agbodeka. *African Politics and British Policy in the Gold Coast, 1868-1900*. Longman.1971.

Dutch and Danes had to acknowledge Ashanti control over the Fante states, firstly to avoid Ashanti attacks on their forts, and secondly to protect their trade with the interior. The continual friction between the Fante and the Ashanti led to wars between them in 1811 and 1814-16, and the Ashanti now held the Europeans in the forts responsible for the activities of the coastal peoples living nearby. In 1817, the British Company of Merchants sent an envoy to Kumasi to negotiate a treaty with the Ashanti. But the garrisons in the Company's forts were unable to prevent the illegal slave trade and in 1819, the British government sent its own agent to Kumasi. By 1821, the fortunes of the Company had sunk so low that it was abolished by Act of Parliament and its coastal possessions transferred to the Crown⁶.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, the Ashanti were led by the *Asantehene*, Osei Bonsu. It was he who defeated the British force under Macarthy, the Governor of Sierra Leone (who was killed after an ill-advised attack on the Ashanti) at the Battle of Bonsaso in 1824. (As an example of the "image of Africa" in those times, it is said that Macarthy upon seeing the Ashanti army, "ordered the band to play "God Save the King" while he stood at attention in the jungle, confidently expecting the Ashantis to join him. Instead they attacked")⁷.

Though the Ashanti were defeated in 1826 at Dodowah the Africans became increasingly hostile towards the British and the establishment of peace was even further away. In 1828, therefore, the British government decided to withdraw from the Gold Coast. This was an unpopular decision with the merchants and a Committee representing them in London was formed to look after their interests. There followed a remarkable period from 1830-44, when George Maclean was president of the Gold Coast merchants' council. It was a period of peace and prosperity. Maclean gained African confidence over the whole coastal area from the Pra to the Volta.

Trade prospered and exports rose. There was some criticism that slavery still existed and in 1842, a commissioner from the Colonial Office reported adversely against Maclean. Maclean was exonerated and in 1844, the British government decided to assume authority in the Gold Coast once again. A number of coastal states were now urged to regularise Maclean's jurisdiction by signing declarations. Individual rights and property were to be protected; human sacrifices were to be abolished. British judges were empowered to help local rulers at trials of serious crimes.

The British "Protectorate"

From 1844 to 1874, the Gold Coast was regarded as a British "protectorate". The area covered by the British forts constituted a crown colony. (There were 25 forts in all. The British forts were stretched between Accra and Cape Coast. The Danish forts were to the east of Accra and the Dutch forts to the west of Cape Coast). The 1844 agreements with the coastal states only however gave Britain the right to intervene in matters of *justice*⁸, and no protectorate was proclaimed. As the coastal states had voluntarily submitted to British power, they often took independent decisions about British law-making⁹. Furthermore, the Ashanti resented British interference and the disruption of their trade. In 1863, they invaded the British "protected" lands because the British refused to deliver up fugitives from Ashanti justice. The British government, however, refused permission for the British forces to attack. The Ashanti were undefeated. As a result, British prestige slumped. These increasing problems in the Gold Coast led to the 1865 Select Committee which recommended to the British Parliament that Britain had developed too much involvement in West African affairs and should withdraw from all areas except Sierra Leone. The Fante began to prepare to take over the coastal territory again.

The Wars

Further encircling moves by the Ashanti in 1868-69 convinced the Dutch that they should hand over their forts to the British. This was arranged by 1872. (The Danes had already handed theirs over in 1850). In 1871, the Fante formalised their Confederacy and asked for British recognition. British officials seeing a threat, arrested their leaders and there was further estrangement with the Fante. In 1873, the Ashanti army advanced across the Pra River. Britain decided to send General Wolseley to put down the Ashanti once and for all. (Robinson and Gallagher have commented on this event: Wolseley "was instructed to smite them a Palmerstonian blow which would chasten the unruly, but leave their political organisation intact... (He) duly punished the Ashanti and then withdrew leaving them to stew, it was hoped cooperatively, in their own juice")¹⁰. When Wolseley marched on Kumasi in February 1874, "it was an empty city ... All the loot left by the fleeing Ashantis was auctioned off; the town was burned; and the palace of the king was blown up by the engineers"¹¹.

The Golden Stool, symbolic of Ashanti kingly power and later to become a source of further friction, was not found. Later peace was signed, and an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold demanded. In July 1874, Disraeli ordered the annexation of the Fante lands. For commercial, political and idealistic reasons, Britain was now too deeply involved to withdraw. During the next twenty years, the Ashanti gradually regained their confidence and cooperated with the British in cocoa production. But the region was harassed by civil war. When Prempeh I became *Asantehene* in 1888, he set about strengthening his political and military control. He requested assistance from Britain in 1890. This was refused and the Ashanti were antagonised. In the 1890s, however, France and Germany were concluding treaties with communities in Ivory Coast and Togo. The

British government decided that it must safeguard its interests by expanding into the hinterland. In 1895, the British demanded from Prempeh that the Ashanti territories accept British protection. Prempeh refused. The British marched on Kumasi and Prempeh submitted in 1896. The king was then asked for the indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold which had been demanded by the British in 1874 and never paid. Unable to meet this demand, he was arrested, exiled to Sierra Leone and eventually deported to the Seychelles, where he remained until 1924.

The Ashanti deeply resented the exile of Prempeh, particularly since they had not been conquered. A British garrison was set up in Kumasi. The Ashanti, however, still retained possession of the symbol of their nationhood, the Golden Stool. Hodgson, the Governor, decided by 1900 that it must be surrendered¹². The Ashanti rebelled and after nine months' bitter fighting were defeated. In 1901, the British annexed their country as a crown colony. By 1902, with the agreement of France and Germany, the Gold Coast colony stretched 400 miles inland. Throughout the "Scramble", no account was taken of racial and political groupings and in this case also numerous communities were split up, notably the Ewe, Dagomba and Akan.

Development

The Ashanti wars held back economic development in the nineteenth century and also after the end of the slave trade no commodity emerged to take the place of this lucrative export. Rubber trees were over-exploited and the rubber trade declined after 1900.

Railways were now built to give easier communication and to transport gold and the cocoa crop to the coast. They also enabled heavy mining machinery to be transported inland thus helping the development of gold, bauxite and manganese mines. Minerals, cocoa, diamonds and timber developed to such an extent that by 1950, Gold Coast's revenue in

relation to the size of her population was the highest in West Africa.

Meanwhile the division of communities and farmland became a major source of grievance and by 1919, the National Congress of British West Africa was already asking for political and social reform. The next thirty years saw the development of education and of articulate political parties, the disappearance of the myth about Europeans as superior beings, the development of the economy and the arrival of Kwame Nkrumah on the political scene. By 1957, independence had been granted to Gold Coast, which proudly took the name Ghana (after the eighth century empire).

GOLD COAST IN BRITISH SCHOOLBOOKS

While the events in twentieth century Gold Coast/Ghana are extremely important, the question here to be asked is how have these nineteenth century events, and the presence of Britain in Gold Coast, been explained in schoolbooks? The references are minimal.

Nineteenth century attitudes

Collier (seniors, 1875 edition) wrote:

"The Ashantees, warlike negroes of Western Africa had several times since the beginning of the century caused much annoyance to the British settlers at Cape Coast Castle ... Terms were imposed on the King, which are likely to prevent further disturbance from that quarter"¹³. (As there is no mention of Gold Coast in the 1864 edition this must refer to the 1874 Treaty).

Gleig (juniors, 1879) wrote of the Ashanti (and "Kaffir") wars:

"The rude courage of the savage went down before the disciplined troops"¹⁴.

The *Graphic History* (seniors, 1890) referred to the 1874 war as "one of those little wars consequent on the widespread character of the Empire, from which Great Britain is seldom free"¹⁵. It continued:

"The warlike Ashantees, occupying the interior north of the Gold Coast, objected to the change" (i.e. the cession of the Dutch forts) "... Suddenly a host of these barbarians swooped down on the coast and threatened the British settlements. A

small force ... marched to Coomassie, the Ashanti capital, and after defeating the natives in two battles, burned the town and the royal palace"¹⁶.

Pringle (Locals,1899) devoted half a page to the 1873-74 war: "King Coffee, of the Ashantees, had invaded the British protectorate on the Gold Coast, and was keeping in captivity many Swiss missionaries" (probably a reference to *Asantehene* Kofi Karikari, whose forces, in 1872, had captured a party of German missionaries in Togo¹⁷. It was in the following year (1873) that he entered the coastal region). The object of Wolseley's expedition was "to penetrate the interior and destroy the Ashantee capital that a wholesome fear might be established of the British power". Then follow notes on diseases encountered by the force (malaria and dysentery) the march on "Coomassie", the peace treaty and the indemnity¹⁸.

Pringle included a further half page on the 1895 war (he calls it "the Second Ashantee War"). Drawing attention to Prempeh and the unpaid indemnity, he wrote:

"the small body of military and the large body of porters and camp followers were successfully marched to Coomassie and back again to the coast without firing a shot or the loss of a man. Prempeh offered no resistance and was taken away a prisoner of war"¹⁹.

The *Readers* were little interested in the Ashanti²⁰.

Attitudes in the early twentieth century

Hassall (1901) referred to the Abyssinian War, but not to Ashanti²¹. Fearenside (matriculation,1902) reported the 1874 war: "War with the natives of Ashanti ... was brought to a successful issue by Sir Garnet Wolseley"²². Buckley (juniors,1904 edition) contained two comments: "the successful expedition of 1873 under Sir Garnet Wolseley, against the Ashantees on the Gold Coast, who had attacked tribes protected by England²³"; "(in 1900) another war was going on for four months in Ashanti, the natives having risen because a search had been made for the "golden stool", which

was their emblem of rule"²⁴. Ince and Gilbert (seniors,1906 edition) singled out the 1874 war which was brought "to a satisfactory close"²⁵.

Like others, Fletcher and Kipling (1911) ignored the Gold Coast. Lady Callcott (juniors,1913 edition) commented that the Gold Coast "is a very unhealthy part for white men to live in. The English had a good deal of fighting with the black King of Ashanti before he would allow them to enter his country; but he was treating his people so cruelly, that the Queen felt she must interfere"²⁶.

Attitudes between the wars

Munro (1922) noted the cession of the Danish and Dutch settlements²⁷, Warner and Marten (seniors,1932 edition) were also brief: "On the west coast, where the British Empire already included Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast ... Great Britain was also engaged in various little wars in Uganda, in Nigeria and with the Ashantis"²⁸. Newton (juniors 1933) merely referred to the "cocoa in the native lands of the Gold Coast colony"²⁹.

Attitudes from 1948 to 1964

Carter and Mears (school certificate,1948 edition) referred to Gambia, Sierra Leone and Nigeria, but not Gold Coast³⁰. Richards and Hunt (seniors,1950) referred to the Danish and Dutch forts, but did not mention which country they were in³¹. MacInnes (6th form,1951), (his book being a history of the Empire and Commonwealth), carried a little more information. Within the context of colonies in Africa, he described in a paragraph, the history of the forts, and added: "It was believed that the only advantage accruing from their possession was that they proved useful in the long-drawn-out struggle against illicit slave traders. Clashes between the warlike Ashantis and British forces occurred during the nineteenth century"³². The reason for the "clashes" was not given.

Happold (seniors, 1960 edition) referred to Ghana having achieved Dominion status³³, under "the capable leadership of Dr. Nkrumah"³⁴, without further explanation. McGuffie (seniors, 1963), who devoted most attention to South Africa, noted "In Africa several wars were fought"³⁵. Later he commented: "Some other African districts" (apart from South Africa) "came under English colonial rule". Among these "districts" was the Gold Coast³⁶.

Unstead (juniors, 1963) mentioned Ghana and its desire for independence³⁷. Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse ("O" level, 1964 edition) referred to Gold Coast/Ghana three times, in passing³⁸. There is, however, a note of Wolseley's occupation of Kumasi in 1874, together with the 1895 expedition. ("In 1873, the King of Ashanti invaded British territory on the coast and had to be dealt with")³⁹.

Attitudes from 1964 to 1971

In the most recent period, only five books among those considered refer to events in the Gold Coast during the nineteenth century.

Richards and Quick (1967) mentioned Gold Coast in relation to the west coast settlements⁴⁰, and refer to the expansion of the Gold Coast after the "Second" Ashanti War of 1896⁴¹.

Wood (school certificate (*sic*), 1967) devoted eleven pages to Ghana, choosing the country as a "case-study" and an example of independence. Ghana was the first African state to achieve independence in the twentieth century⁴². He discussed Ghana's development and present rôle within the international community, after sketching briefly the historical background: traders, gold, slavery, rivalry between the British, Dutch and Danes, the annexation of the coastal strip in 1874⁴³. Relations with the Ashanti were summed up in these words:

"Although the strip contained the established forts and trading ports, its successful development depended on the peaceful cooperation of the powerful Ashanti tribes of the interior. When this was not forthcoming, British troops were used to suppress civil war and rebellion, and in 1902, the area was annexed"⁴⁴.

Peacock ("O" and "A" level,1968) made this general observation:

"The Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1865 made it clear that the British regarded their stay in Lagos, the Gambia and the Gold Coast, as temporary, but temporary proved to mean till 1957. The British had their troubles, particularly with the powerful Ashanti, and it was only after two quite serious wars that Ashanti was declared part of the Gold Coast Colony"⁴⁵.

Dyer (CSE,1968) included a chapter on Ghana which deals with some of the general developments in the nineteenth century and gives an explanation of Prempeh's exile, before tracing the developments leading to independence.⁴⁶

Finally, Browne (seniors,1970), whose book covers the twentieth century, describes the progress of Ghana to independence⁴⁷, but finds it necessary to refer briefly to the Ashanti slave trade, the 1874 war and the development of the cocoa economy in the 1880s⁴⁸. Both Wood and Browne therefore suggest that Ghanaian independence should be studied against the background of events that preceded it, however briefly.

The other books of this period which have been reviewed either ignore Gold Coast/Ghana, or merely include it in a list of West African countries. For example, Newth (1967) described the Conference of Berlin (1884-85) and observed: "Britain's share on the west coast was Ghana, which was then called the Gold Coast, and Nigeria ... "⁴⁹. Bryant and Ecclestone (CSE,1968) gave the Volta hydro-electric project, as an example of international financing⁵⁰. Elliott (CSE,1969) described the process of colonisation in Africa, without mentioning Gold Coast⁵¹. Edwards and Bearman (seniors,1971) write about the "Scramble" saying merely: "Resistance was often fierce, for example in Algeria, the Sudan and the Gold Coast, and non-European casualties were heavy"⁵². Watson ("O" level,1971) in his schoolbook on the Empire and Commonwealth since 1919 writes: "In West Africa, the Gold Coast and Nigeria had been added to the Gambia"⁵³. This serves as his background to a discussion of Ghanaian independence⁵⁴.

Many of the books studied in this most recent period deal with recent history. They report Ghanaian independence⁵⁵. They ignore Ghana's historical and cultural past and they ignore also the background to Britain's presence in the Gold Coast. To obtain such a background, it is necessary to use as resource books, for example the series published by Longman for West African schools, *The Growth of African Civilisation*⁵⁶, or more general books and materials concerned with the history of Africa⁵⁷. It is, nevertheless, "all or nothing".

Conclusion

To ask the question, "Why were the British in the Gold Coast and what principal events occurred there in the nineteenth century?", is appropriate for any study of colonial history. Gold Coast was a comparatively small country and became a colony, only through force of circumstances. It is inevitable that against the wider canvas of European and world history, its peoples, its culture and its history should have been ignored.

For the Victorians it became of some slight interest because the gradual British assumption of responsibility there demonstrated the superiority of the British people. This position has not changed. In the schoolbooks written since Ghanaian independence in 1957, few have mentioned the nineteenth century background. Most have been self-congratulatory in presenting independence as a normal historical development. The speed of social and political change in Africa after, say, Indian independence in 1947 now receives some attention, but not by any means in all the books reviewed. The manner of the presentation of Ghana, within the context of British history, reinforces the attitude that Ghana is unimportant, that it has never been more than a raw material-producing country for the benefit of its colonisers. This in itself has become an ideological and racial statement.

NOTES

Chapter VIII (4)

1. p.12. F.M.Bourret. *Ghana*. Oxford.1960; p.55. J.D.Fage. *A History of West Africa*. Cambridge.1969 edn.
2. p.59. Fage. *ibid*.
3. p.74. *ibid*.
4. pp.79; 75. *ibid*.
5. p.15. Bourret. *op.cit*.
6. p.133. Fage. *op.cit*.
7. p.164. Farwell. *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*. Allen Lane.1975
8. p.139. Fage. *op.cit*.
9. p.17. Bourret. *op.cit*.
10. p.31. R.Robinson and J.Gallagher. *Africa and the Victorians*. Macmillan.1961.
11. p.198. Farwell. *op.cit*.
12. p.169. Fage. *op.cit*.; p.21. Bourret. *op.cit*.; pp.4-7. E.W.Smith. *The Golden Stool*. Holborn.1926.
13. p.332. Collier. *The History of England*. 1875 edn.
14. p.633. Gleig.
15. p.743. *Graphic History*.
16. p.744. *ibid*.
17. cp. p.144. Fage. *op.cit*.
18. p.144. Pringle.
19. *ibid*.
20. cp. p.385. *PHBE*.
21. p.566. Hassall.
22. p.338. Fearenside.
23. p.354. Buckley.
24. p.369. *ibid*.
25. p.128. Ince and Gilbert.
26. p.284. Callcott.
27. p.368. Munro.
28. p.680. Warner and Marten.
29. p.243. Newton.
30. p.922. Carter and Mears.
31. p.394. Richards and Hunt.
32. p.351. MacInnes.
33. p.129. Happold. *This Modern Age*.
34. p.251. *ibid*.

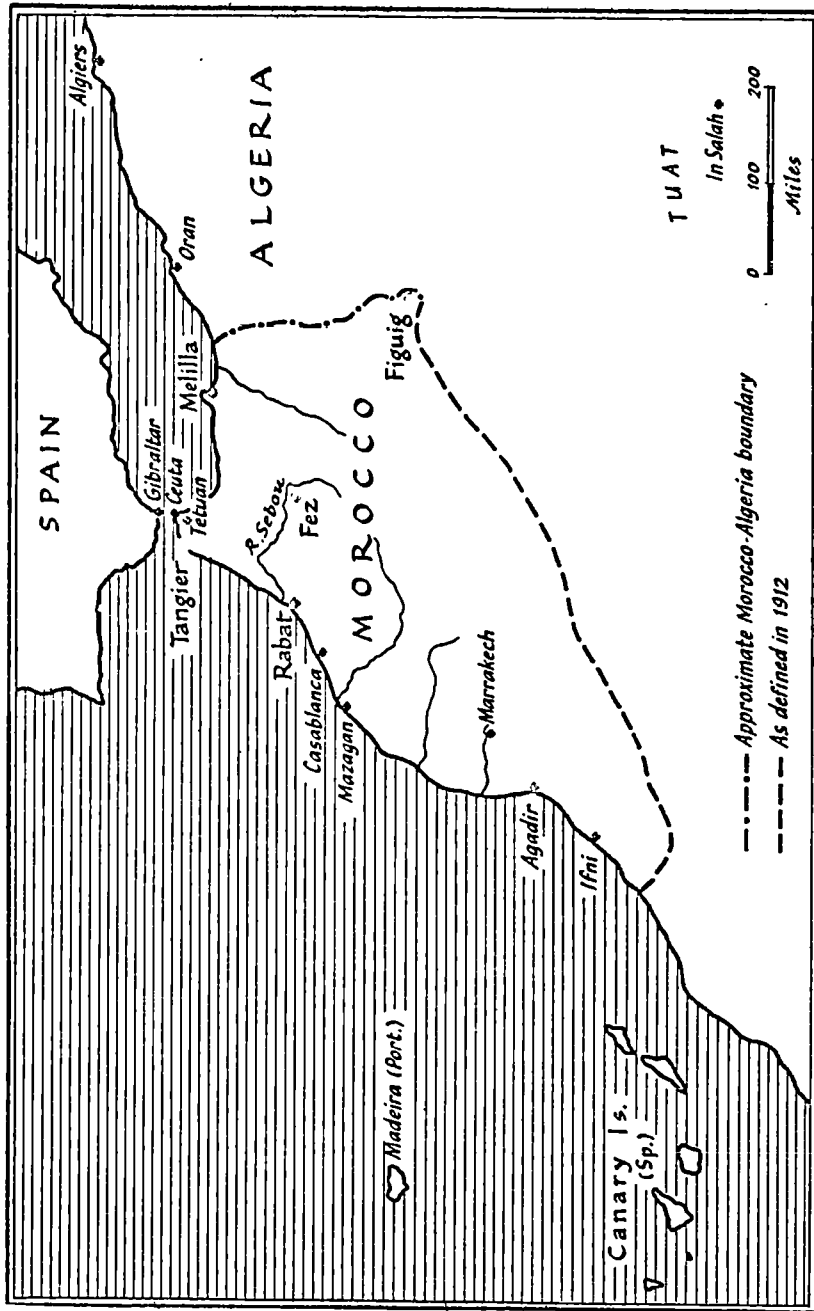
35. p.220. McGuffie vol.3.
36. p.254. *ibid.*
37. p.211. Unstead. Bk.4.
38. pp.264,525,536. *ibid.*
39. p.267. *ibid.*
40. p.152. Richards and Quick.
41. p.157. *ibid.*
42. pp.233-47. Wood.
43. pp.233-35. *ibid.*
44. p.233. *ibid.*
45. p.347. Peacock. *A History of Modern Britain.*
46. pp.75-86. Dyer. *op.cit.*
47. pp.187-92. Browne.
48. p.187. *ibid.*
49. p.210. Newth.
50. pp.301-04. Bryant and Ecclestone.
51. pp.80-86. Elliott. *op.cit.*
52. p.202. Edwards and Bearman.
53. p.5. Watson.
54. pp.151-59. *ibid.*
55. cp. pp.64,150-51. McGuffie vol.5; pp.54,105. Soper; pp.346-47. Williams. Bk.3; pp.235-37. Brett; p.219. Dance. *This Modern World*; pp.182,184,191. Nash and Newth. *op.cit.*; pp.289-92. Barber; p.82. Eppstein vol.2; p.306. York; pp.268-70,274-75,278. Richardson; pp.156-57,175-76. Bailey.
56. see especially E.A.Ayandele, A.E.Afigbo, R.J.Gavin, J.D.Omer-Cooper. *The Making of Modern Africa.* vol.2. Longman. 1971; J.B.Webster, A.A.Boahen. *The Revolutionary Years: West Africa since 1800.* Longman. 1967.
57. For younger children and for general background, a good introduction to colonialism is D.Killingray. *A Plague of Europeans.* Penguin. 1973, as is also W.E.F.Ward. *Emergent Africa.* George Allen and Unwin. 1967. The Inner London Education Authority includes in its *World Studies Themes* for young secondary school children, materials in a variety of media, including a set by C.Bott on *Africa.* (Heinemann.1974).

(5) MOROCCO AND THE ENTENTE CORDIALE OF 1904

Background

Rulers in the Maghrib (North-West Africa) at the beginning of the nineteenth century did not anticipate that the main threat to their independent existence would come from Europe¹. Morocco, for instance, had been influenced on the coast by Spain and Portugal since the fifteenth century, but through the Saadians (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and later through the Sharifians, European influences had been substantially excluded. A solid framework for the state was established by the fifteenth century. There was pride in architecture and the decorative arts and the draining of gold from the Sudan, through military expeditions in the seventeenth century, earned them prestige in the eyes of Europeans². While there was trade with western Europe, religious and cultural links were chiefly with the eastern Mediterranean and with the muslims of Western Sudan. But Morocco was distinguished from the other states of the Maghrib (Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers) in that she was independent, while they were nominal dependencies of the Ottoman Empire.

When therefore there was increased European political and naval interest in the Mediterranean in the early nineteenth century, Morocco reacted, understandably, by attempting to cut herself off from the outside world. Sultan Moulay Suleiman (1792-1822) forbade his subjects to leave the country and to restrict their dealings with Europeans, who were confined to Tangier and Mogador³. This policy directed against outside powers, coincided with unrest and revolt within the country. Morocco was becoming increasingly vulnerable and Abdel Rahman (1822-59) tried his fortunes in advancing into western Algeria after the French invasion of 1830. In the early 1840s he found it prudent to support Abd al-Qadir, the leader of the Algerians⁴, The French reacted in 1844, bombarded



MOROCCO

Source: p.124. P.J.V.Rolo. *Entente Cordiale*.

Mogador and Tangier, defeated the Moroccan army at the Battle of Isly and withdrew to Algeria.

In 1859, Spain invaded Morocco because of alleged assaults on her sixteenth century forts at Ceuta and Melilla on the northern coast. A treaty in 1860 exacted a large indemnity from Morocco, which the Sultan could only raise with the help of a British loan. Under Moulay Hassan (1873-94), Morocco made her last great attempt to survive. He extended his control over the "unfriendly country" (which was not so much a geographical area as those communities which paid no taxes and were only susceptible to threats and bribes). Hassan sent students abroad to study, but their experience of the West unfitted them for contributing their newly found expertise to traditional Morocco, As Barbour puts it:

"Morocco remained as it had been for centuries, displaying indeed a noble devotion to its traditions, but with its organs of government and its customs suffering a fossilization which rendered them incapable of fulfilling the tasks required of them in the modern world"⁵.

The situation was not improved by the accession of Abdel Aziz, who reigned from 1894 until he was deposed in 1908. Extravagance, unconventionality, controversial finance reforms, all contributed to his unpopularity. Taxes were withheld and Aziz was compelled to resort to borrowing money. He was soon heavily in debt (to the tune of about £1,000,000 in 1903) to French, British and Spanish moneylenders⁶. In 1904, he borrowed a large sum from France.

Weakened economically, dependent on foreign capital, unstable politically, Morocco was dangerously vulnerable. The French had protected their eastern flank in Algeria with the military occupation of Tunisia in 1881 (followed by Tunisia's surrender of political sovereignty in 1883). Now they wished to protect Algeria on the West. Germany was giving increasing support to the Sultan as part of her anti-French policy⁷. Great Britain was anxious for the security of the Straits of Gibraltar, but was

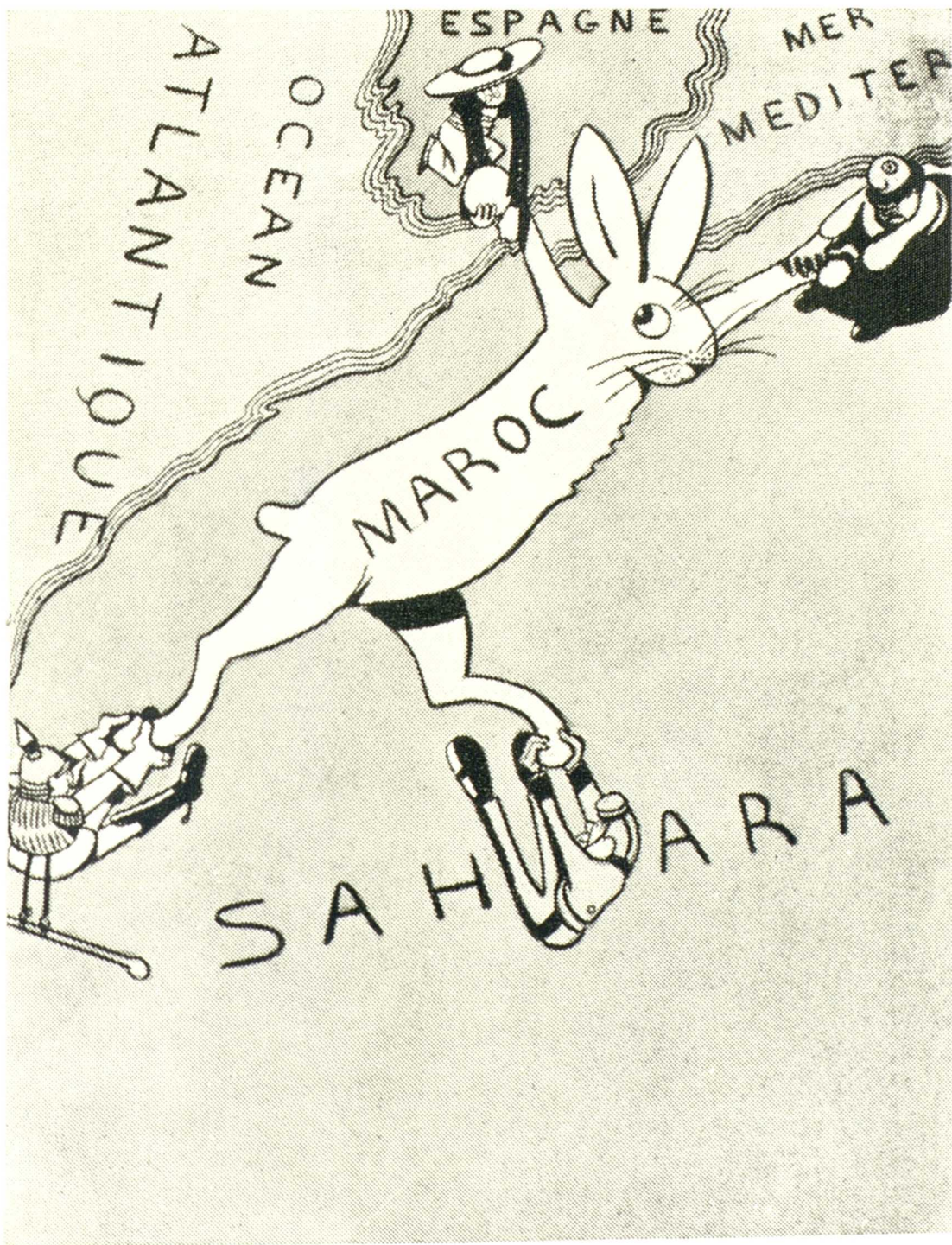
militarily absorbed in southern Africa. Spain already having protected forts on the north coast was eagerly concerned. Morocco had become involved in a major diplomatic crisis.

The Entente Cordiale

A detailed examination of the events surrounding the *Entente Cordiale* has been made by P.J.V.Rolo and more recently by P.Guillen. Between 1900 and 1902 there were numerous secret discussions between Cambon (the French Ambassador) and Salisbury (Prime Minister) and Lansdowne (Foreign Secretary). Delcassé (the French Foreign Minister) engaged in highly secret talks with the Italian and Spanish governments. In 1900, Salisbury had given Cambon the impression that Britain was uninterested in Morocco⁸, though in 1901, Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary) had said to Lansdowne that Delcassé's designs on Morocco would require compensation for Britain⁹. Later, in the summer of 1901, Delcassé claimed in the French Senate that Morocco's eastern lands should be "an *enclave* of our African possessions"¹⁰, for economic and industrial expansion.

Since 1900, Britain through her minister in Tangier had been endeavouring to increase her own political and economic dominance in Morocco. (At the beginning of the twentieth century, Britain controlled 48% of the Moroccan market: a benefit which flowed from the Anglo-Moroccan treaty of 1856)¹¹. In 1902, Delcassé accused Britain of unfriendly acts¹². When at the end of 1902, a revolt broke out in eastern Morocco, Britain believed that there was an *impasse*. *Entente* was necessary.

The traditional tension between France and Britain had been reinforced by the Fashoda Incident in the Sudan (1898). Here the two powers had confronted one another on African soil. Now in 1902, it became clear to the governments in both Paris and London that Morocco might be bartered for Egypt.



THE INTERNATIONAL DISPUTE OVER MOROCCO
(from *L'Assiette au Beurre*, Paris.1903)

Source: p.223. *The Nineteenth Century*. A.Briggs (ed.).

Egypt had been controlled by Britain since 1882, though French influence had long been considerable through archaeology, law studies, Catholic missions, commerce. (Both countries had become involved in Egypt through Napoleon's conquest in 1798 and his defeat by the British in 1801). France had commercial interests in Egypt amounting to 500 million francs. French banks, especially the *Crédit Lyonnais*, controlled a large share of the Egyptian market with considerable investment in the Suez Canal Company. French stockholders possessed most of the Egyptian foreign debt. In fact, one-fifteenth of French foreign investment was in Egypt, two billion francs¹³.

France had hoped since 1882, to bring pressures on British policy through her continued presence in Egypt. Britain on the other hand, desiring to evade these pressures saw in the Morocco question an opportunity to soften the French attitude to Egypt. Complicated negotiations and soundings continued during 1903, France, Britain, Germany and Spain being involved. In March 1904, in order to justify British withdrawal from influence in Morocco, the Foreign Office asked the Quai d'Orsay to recognise formally the British occupation of Egypt. This was not granted, though a compromise proposed by Delcassé was finally accepted that "France will not hamper British actions in the country"¹⁴.

Before the *Entente Cordiale* could be born there was further acrimony over fishing rights off Newfoundland, the future of the Gambia and the borders of Nigeria, together with France's rights in Siam and the New Hebrides. Clearly an understanding of general significance would only be achieved if outstanding colonial issues could be solved. In April 1904, France succeeded in obtaining the recognition by Great Britain and Italy of her "Special interest" in Morocco. In return, France agreed to Britain's freedom of action in Egypt, and Italy's in Libya. France also

concluded a secret agreement with Spain, which gave Spain spheres of influence in both the north and south of Morocco. (This agreement was not published until 1911)¹⁵. France also agreed not to fortify the coast opposite Gibraltar.

In 1905, Kaiser Wilhelm II broke off his Mediterranean holiday to visit Tangier. He made a speech on shore which spoke of the necessity of Moroccan independence. This led to the resignation of Delcassé. France's influence in Morocco was not affected, even though the German-instigated Conference of Algeciras in 1906 (which included representatives of France, Britain, Germany, Spain, Italy, Austria, Russia and America) proclaimed the independence and integrity of the Sharifian Empire¹⁶. Germany was reluctant to see a continuing French presence in Morocco. This was reinforced first by her involvement in the crisis in 1908 caused by deserters from the French Foreign Legion who had obtained refuge in the German consulate at Casablanca, and second by the sending of a gunboat to Agadir in 1911. Agreement was reached over this incident by granting Germany territory in Equatorial Africa, on the borders of Cameroons, in return for Germany's recognition of France's "Special interest" in Morocco. Morocco was now left to face France alone and in 1912, at Fez, France formally declared her a protectorate¹⁷.

This remarkable episode in Anglo-French colonial history receives little attention in schoolbooks. The evidence in schoolbooks is so brief, that changing attitudes cannot be observed until the 1950s.

The Moroccan question in French schoolbooks

Mélin (1907 edition) included a reference, during a passage on France's overseas commitments, to the anti-christian and anti-jewish riots in Casablanca in 1907. He probably included this note shortly after the event had taken place, because France had used the occasion to send in troops.

"Le fanatisme des musulmans ne connaît plus de bornes et les français sont assassinés à Casablanca"¹⁸.

It was an event referred to also by Viator (1910) who described this military intervention as: "Venger au Maroc l'assassinat de nos compatriotes"¹⁹, or in a later edition of the same book (1920) as "opérations de police au Maroc"²⁰.

No reference was made in these books for the *cours supérieur* to France's ambitions in Morocco and in Lavisse (1921), Morocco is merely included in a list of colonies²¹. Ségond (*cours moyen*, 1924) in recounting the reciprocal benefits of colonisation referred to the abundant resources of Morocco: "Leur exploitation intelligente et active enrichera tout à la fois les indigènes et la mère-patrie"²². Malet-Isaac (*philo-maths*, 1930) linked Morocco, Egypt and the *Entente Cordiale*, using a quotation from Debidour (*Histoire diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin*) which referred to the bargain of freedom of action for Britain in Egypt in return for France's unimpeded activity in Morocco. "Le gouvernement de la République français déclare qu'il n'a pas l'intention de changer l'état politique du Maroc"²³. The authors then returned to the theme of pacification:

"Le Maroc est aujourd'hui pacifié et sous le régime du Protectorat son essor est plus étonnant encore que celui de la Tunisie"²⁴.

This theme appears also in the next book (Personne and Ménard: *cours complémentaires*, 1948) where there is a reference to the *Entente Cordiale*. Referring to the country's difficulties under Aziz, they wrote:

"La France prétexte de cette anarchie pour commencer une lente et pacifique pénétration dans le Maroc, avec l'assentiment de l'Angleterre et l'Espagne (accords de 1904)"²⁵.

Alba, Isaac and Bonifacio (*philo-maths*, 1953) merely referred to the pacification of Morocco under Lyautey. There was no mention of the reasons for the French presence there, nor of Britain's part in the affair²⁶.

(Lyautey is also mentioned in Billebaut (*cours élémentaire*, 1954) who wrote "les Marocains s'aperçoivent bien vite que Lyautey n'est pas venu dans leur pays pour les déposséder")²⁷. Bonifacio and Maréchal (1956) noted Morocco among France's North African possessions²⁸.

Genet (*classes terminales*, 1958) concentrated on Anglo-German relations. Britain (and Egypt) are not mentioned. "Le problème marocain, surtout quand l'Allemagne montre de l'intérêt pour cette région, devient-il un problème international"²⁹. He referred also to the Kaiser's visit to Tangier, quoting part of his speech³⁰.

Baron (*cours supérieur*, 1958) referred in passing to Morocco, when describing (in seven lines) France's territories in North Africa³¹. His chief discussion of Morocco is reserved for Lyautey and an enthusiastic description of the country³². Isaac, Alba, Bonifacio, Pouthas and Michaud (*classes de 1e*, 1961) did however link France, Britain, Morocco and Egypt, but not with the *Entente Cordiale*. They also mentioned the cession of part of French Congo to Germany³³, and "la signature d'un accord franco-allemand sur la Maroc"³⁴. Duroselle (*classes terminales*, 1962) mentioned Morocco as a Protectorate³⁵.

Only one substantial piece on Morocco was read during this study: in Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel (*classes de 1e*, 1962). Briefly set against its historical and geographical background, the authors used a page to trace events from 1844 to 1912. Morocco was seen as an international problem. The problem was solved by Delcassé obtaining the withdrawal of Italy and Britain, in 1904, in return for Tripoli and Egypt. "La France tend alors à un 'protectorat feutré'"³⁶. They mentioned the Kaiser's visit, the conference of Algeciras (which "attribue à la France le droit d'agir sur les confins algéro-marocains et la police de la côte atlantique"), the massacre of European workers at Casablanca in 1908, Agadir and the 1912 Treaty of Fez.

Bonifacio and Michaud (*classes terminales*, 1971) merely comment:

"Pour le Maroc, la France eut bien l'accord des Espagnols et des Anglais, mais elle se heurta à l'opposition acclamée de Guillaume II"³⁷.

It is a matter for conjecture as to why the *Entente Cordiale* figures so dimly in the presentation of Morocco in French books. Brunschwig, himself, places great importance on it, maintaining that the *Entente* demonstrated that "the mitigations of disputed colonial claims was ... the condition of Anglo-French accord, of which the essential object was the preservation of "European balance"³⁸.

Morocco and the Entente Cordiale in British schoolbooks

Mowat (seniors,1921) described the "famous *entente*" whereby "France agreed not to ask for any time limit to be fixed for the British occupation of Egypt; the British government, on its part, recognised that Morocco was a French sphere of influence in much the same way as Egypt was an English sphere"³⁹. Later Mowat linked the *Entente Cordiale* with the *Triple Entente*⁴⁰. Warner and Marten (seniors,1932) confined themselves to this comment on the *Entente* ("a treaty with France" (*sic*)): "France recognised our special interests in Egypt, whilst Great Britain recognised the special interests of France in Morocco"⁴¹. Brett (School certificate,1935 edition) made the same point and noted also Algeciras and Agadir⁴². Carter and Mears (School certificate,1948 edition) noted in relation to the *Entente*: "Minor differences were settled; Britain was to have a free hand in Egypt, the French in Morocco"⁴³. Later, without explanation they mentioned the Kaiser at Tangier, the Algeciras Conference and Agadir⁴⁴. Richards and Hunt (seniors,1950) referred to the "free hand", "instead of each hampering the other as they had done before". They also referred to Algeciras and Agadir⁴⁵. Lindsay and Washington (11-16 years,1952) were explicit about the confrontation between Britain, France and Germany. They mentioned the "free hand", the Kaiser's visit, Algeciras and Agadir.

In German eyes, the *Entente* "was the first stage in an aggressive policy, initiated by Edward VII, of 'encircling' Germany"⁴⁶. Somervell (seniors,1960 edition) explained the arrangements over Egypt and Morocco and described the ensuing power struggle with Germany. He saw France as "hoping soon to be in Morocco which would round off (*sic*) the most important section of her African empire"⁴⁷. Firth (1960) referred to Delcassé's agreement with Britain and to his secret treaties with Italy and Spain, and the subsequent principal events⁴⁸.

Peacock ("O" and "A" level,1961) was much more forthright:

"It should be noted that France and Britain had no legal right whatever to make the arrangement concerning Morocco ... This clause in the "*entente*" was therefore kept secret - a piece of deception typical of power politics of the pre-1914 vintage. However, the secret leaked out in the next two years, and the Kaiser had much to say about the matter"⁴⁹.

McGuffie (seniors,1963) used Morocco as an example of confrontation between Germany and Britain and France, but did not explain Anglo-French interest in Morocco⁵⁰. Southgate (14 to 15 years,1963 edition) dealt with the *Entente* in this way: "There were several matters in different parts of the world on which the two countries did not agree; these were now all settled by "giving and taking", and the two countries became firm friends"⁵¹. Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse (1964 edition) before discussing Algeciras and Agadir, mentioned that the *Entente* "had recognised Morocco as a sphere of French influence"⁵². Britain's interest in Egypt was ignored apart from a sentence about the "free hand" seventy pages previously⁵³. Brett ("O" level,1966) and Richards and Quick ("O" level,1967) both noted the arrangement over Morocco and Egypt, but the significance was not explained⁵⁴. Tangier, Algeciras and Agadir were seen as part of the international tension preceding the 1914-18 war⁵⁵. Wood (School certificate (*sic*),1967) went further: "Morocco became the testing ground for the new friendship between Britain

and France", although the immediate reason for this situation was that the *Entente* "recognised French interests in Morocco and British interests in Egypt"⁵⁶. Barber (6th form, 1969) failed to mention the Moroccan implication of the *Entente*, which is surprising as she had a footnote on the Algeciras conference⁵⁷.

York ("O" level, 1969) included the Moroccan affair in a chapter on "The Drift towards war". Elusive as his predecessors, he described the *Entente*: "France agreed that Britain should have a free hand in Egypt, and Britain promised not to obstruct France in Morocco, where she had special interests" (*sic*)⁵⁸. He described the Kaiser's visit to Tangier as "ostentatious"⁵⁹.

Southgate in another book (11 to 16 years, 1970 edition) made no reference to Morocco and the *Entente Cordiale*. One sentence however observes that "Morocco ... was adjacent to Algeria, a French possession"⁶⁰.

Browne (seniors, 1970) reflected briefly on the agreement of 1904. They "merely agreed to recognise each other's rights" (The reader is left uncertain as to what this means). "This agreement was to bring France and Britain closer together, aided by the clumsiness of German diplomacy"⁶¹.

Edwards and Bearman (seniors, 1971) wrote: "The French government wanted to settle its colonial disputes once and for all, and also make sure that Britain did not come into conflict with Russia in the Far East. By the terms of the *Entente*, France gave up her claims to Egypt; Britain promised support for France in its attempt to add Morocco to its North African empire. The Kaiser put the *Entente* to an immediate test". They then refer to Tangier, Algeciras and Agadir⁶². Agadir is interpreted as the result of German exasperation that the *Entente* could not be broken and as a means of exercising pressure on France to make territorial concessions in Equatorial Africa, in return for a free hand in Morocco⁶³.

Conclusion

What becomes clear is that the French have presented Morocco as part of their colonial history, while the British (certainly since Lindsay and Washington in 1952) have presented it as part of the prelude to the 1914-18 War, as did the archive material published in 1927 and 1928⁶⁴. Apart from Genet, none of the French books presented Morocco as part of the drift to war in 1914. British books in the last twenty years have made out a strong case to show that Morocco was a pawn in the European struggle for power. Much of the presentation is anti-German.

The majority of books, even since the publication of the archive material, have avoided mentioning the agreement about Morocco and Egypt. British books are more explicit about the "free hand", but they go no further than state that this was what was agreed. The background to this agreement is never explained and there is such emphasis on the British presence in Egypt in British books, that the implication of the *Entente Cordiale* for Egypt is underplayed. Peacock alone of all the books studied felt strongly about it. This in itself is an interesting gloss on an affair in diplomatic history which can only be deemed squalid.

NOTES

Chapter VIII (5)

1. cp. p.95. R.Oliver and A.Atmore. *Africa since 1800*. Cambridge.1967.
2. p.85. ed. N.Barbour. *A Survey of North West Africa*. Oxford.1962.
3. p.96. Oliver and Atmore. *op.cit.*
4. p.98. *ibid.*
5. p.87. Barbour. *op.cit.*
6. p.88. *ibid.*; pp.254-56. Ganiage. *op.cit.*
7. p.340. ed. P.Gifford and W.R.Louis. *France and Britain in Africa*. Yale University Press.1971 (essay by P.Guillen on "The Entente of 1904 as a Colonial Settlement").
8. p.130. P.J.V.Rolo. *Entente Cordiale*. Macmillan.1969.
9. pp.130-31. *ibid.*
10. p.549. Roberts. *op.cit.*
11. pp.339-40. Gifford and Louis. *op.cit.*
12. p.341. *ibid.*
13. pp.345-46. *ibid.*
14. p.362. *ibid.*
15. p.550. Roberts. *op.cit.*
16. p.89. Barbour. *op.cit.*; p.264. Ganiage. *op.cit.*
17. for a detailed account of these events see: pp.125-48; 152-54; 180-200; 215-27 etc. Rolo. *op.cit.*; pp.333-68. Gifford and Louis. *op.cit.*; pp.82-90. Barbour. *op.cit.*; pp.545-57. Roberts. *op.cit.*; pp.243-72. Ganiage. *op.cit.*; *passim*. G.S-R. Taillandier. *Les origines du Maroc Français*. Plon. Paris.1930; see also p.118. Suret-Canale. *op.cit.*; pp.99-100. S.Amin. *The Maghreb in the Modern World*. Penguin.1970; pp.391-401. D.W.Brogan. *The Development of Modern France*. Hamish Hamilton. 1963 edition.
18. Mélin (1907 edn.); quoted p.100. Cerati. *op.cit.*
19. p.317. C.S.Viator. *Histoire de France*. Paris. no date (1910?).
20. p.334. Viator. (1920? edn.).
21. p.244. Lavissee. (1921 edn.).
22. p.364. E.Ségond. *Histoire de France depuis 1610 à nos jours*. Hatier. Paris.1924.
23. p.606. Malet-Isaac. (1930).
24. p.608. *ibid.*
25. p.154. Personne and Ménard.
26. p.292. Alba, Isaac and Bonifacio.
27. p.79. E.Billebaut. *Il y avait autrefois ...* Ed. d'École. Paris.1954.
28. p.105. Bonifacio and Maréchal.
29. p.357. Genet.
30. p.419. *ibid.*

31. p.436. Baron.
32. p.442. *ibid.*
33. pp.517,522. Isaac, Alba, Bonifacio, Pouthas, Michaud.
34. p.394. *ibid.*
35. p.81. Duroselle.
36. p.383. Girard, Bonnefous and Rudel.
37. p.232. Bonifacio and Michaud.
38. p.405. Gifford and Louis. *op.cit.* (H.Brunschwig in an essay on "Imperial Rivalry").
39. p.894. Mowat.
40. p.1004. *ibid.*
41. p.720. Warner and Marten.
42. pp.593,602-03. S.R.Brett. *Europe Since the Renaissance*. Murray. 1935 edition.
43. p.937. Carter and Mears.
44. p.946-47. *ibid.*
45. pp.253,255. Richards and Hunt.
46. pp.191-94. Lindsay and Washington.
47. pp.58,60-61. Somervell.
48. pp.256,260-63. Firth.
49. p.271. Peacock. *A History of Modern Europe.*; see also pp.271-73.
50. p.262. McGuffie. vol.3.
51. p.192. Southgate.
52. p.377. Hutchins, Stephens and Fieldhouse.
53. p.306. *ibid.*
54. p.33. Brett. *British History. 1901-61.*; p.174. Richards and Quick.
55. pp.34,77, Brett; pp.200,202. Richards and Quick.
56. p.24. Wood.
57. p.34. Barber.
58. p.36. York.
59. p.39. *ibid.*
60. p.204. G.W.Southgate. *Modern European History. 1789-1960*. Dent. 1970 edition.
61. pp.17-18. Browne.
62. pp.316-18. Edwards and Bearman.
63. p.317. *ibid.*
64. see G.P.Gooch and H.Temperley. *British Documents on the Origin of the War. 1898-1914*. vols.2 and 3. HMSO.1927,1928.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

If the "scramble" did not begin in earnest until after 1884, Britain and France were certainly active in territorial advance on the African continent before then. Clearly most emphasis in schoolbooks is placed on the presentation of Algeria and South Africa. The necessary selection of events in the writing of history in general, and history for schools in particular, is that the choice of those events will be dictated to some extent by attitudes. The emphasis on Algeria (in France) and on South Africa (in Britain) was dictated by the solidarity felt in the mother country for those who had settled in large numbers on the African continent. These were the two major areas of settlement.

The invasion of Algeria and the occupation of Cape Colony both occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. Both countries became sources of pride, wealth and strategic importance for the mother country. Inevitably, important events in connection with them were described in nineteenth century schoolbooks. References to these events were continued, extended or modified during the twentieth century also, and more recent developments were discussed..

Senegal and Gold Coast were not significant either strategically or as areas of settlement. Economically, they were not as important as Algeria and South Africa. The inference is that the two major areas of white dominance in Africa became the areas on which French and British writers concentrated in the recording of their nineteenth century contact with Africa. Senegal and Gold Coast, like other African countries were and still are incidental to the story of colonial advance, for popular consumption in schools. Yet, nevertheless, the impact of Europe upon them was profound.

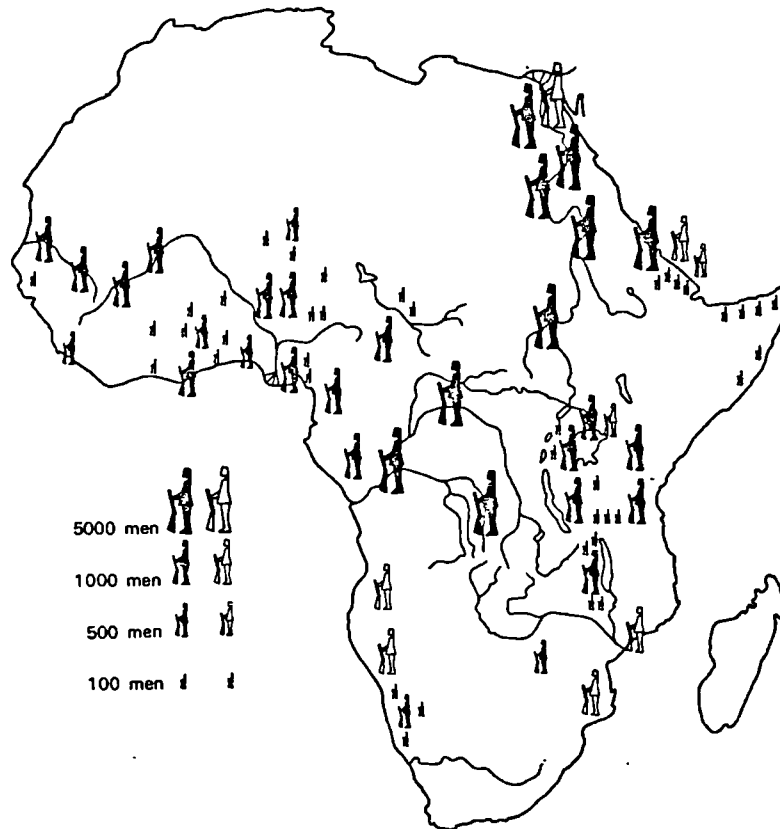
The study of world history and the increasing attention being paid

to the interrelation between races and peoples suggests that a way must be found to present not only the significant outline of what occurred in the colonised territories of Africa, but also the reasons why the Europeans were actively involved in the destiny of those countries.

In each case which we have studied, contact with the indigenous peoples is presented in an extremely episodic way: contact in battle, subjugation by treaty, together with the overriding sense of European superiority over anonymous primitive communities. There are exceptions to this anonymity: Abd al-Qadir, Shaka, Cetewayo, Lobengula. But these exceptions are the result of admiration for their military prowess and additionally, in the case of the French attitude to Abd al-Qadir, because he was respected as a cultivated man. At no point is there an assessment of the effect that British and French rule had on those communities, except that the civilising influence of the west was beneficial, a claim which is never examined. The Moroccan question furthermore is seen purely in diplomatic terms (although Morocco was also clearly of strategic importance) and the differing emphases and omissions in that presentation have been discussed above.

The process of selection and interpretation in relation to Africa suggests that the official attitudes of the nineteenth century, expressed in French and British law, of equality between the races in both Algeria and South Africa have not been reflected in the presentation of the material. Throughout the traditional historical record, the material has been shaped and seen through European, rather than through African eyes, also. Obviously, in the past, this has been inevitable, but with the tremendous increase in African studies in recent years, this position can no longer be sustained. A comparison between schoolbooks written by French and British historians and those written substantially by African

historians for African schools (for example, Longman's series *The Growth of African Civilisation*, published since 1965, or *Histoire de l'Afrique Occidentale* by Djibril, Tamsir Niane and J.Suret-Canale published for schools in Guinée by Présence Africaine in 1961) amply demonstrates the contrast between the two approaches.



THE FORCES OF OCCUPATION IN AFRICA: 1900

Source: p.36. E.A.Ayandele et al. *The Making of Modern Africa*. vol.2.

Until recent times, British and French colonies tended to be coloured pink, in atlases. This applied both to French colonies in French atlases and British colonies in British atlases. This illustration from a book for African schools (see p.411) springs from an entirely different attitude. (On the map, the colonial armies in Algeria, Tunisia and South Africa are excluded).

CONCLUSION

E.H.Carr, in a striking phrase, described history as "a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past"¹. Until the last decade in Britain and the last twenty years in France, it would be difficult to sustain the view that such a dialogue was evident in the schoolbooks of either country. There have been criticisms of political, economic and social action throughout the period. Keightley's views on India, for example, were published as early as 1841 (see p.257 above). Blanchet in 1895 criticised the French conquest of Algeria (see p.328 above) and Malet-Isaac in 1929 criticised French policy in Vietnam (see p.225 above). In general, however, and until comparatively recently, empire and colonies have been presented as a focus for national pride in both countries. Rowse, in 1946, welcomed the expansion of studies in imperial history, for this reason, mentioning that "world" history was a field in which "English historians have not much ambition to shine nowadays"². (He did not produce sufficient evidence to justify the use of "nowadays").

Imperial history and colonial history in both Britain and France have been concerned traditionally, as Rowse saw it, with "our people overseas, no less inheritors of our history than we are ourselves and deeply affected by it"³. But very different views were expressed about the history of the overseas territories themselves. Julien wrote, also in 1946, about French historians: "La plupart des écrivains français considèrent l'histoire coloniale comme une manifestation nationaliste" (see p.80 above). The presentation of empire, colonies and other races has been through European eyes and through the imagery created by selected events. Selection has been influenced by attitudes. Marwick has suggested (1970) that "dominion over another society reconciles western man to the disciplines of his own society, especially if he can be reassured that the subject peoples are inferior to himself"⁴. This comment is certainly

vindicated by the manner in which colonial history has been presented in the past and it leads to an understanding of what Barraclough has called "the revolt against the West"⁵ and "the civilisation of the future ... a world civilisation in which all the continents will play their part"⁶. Plumb has expressed this in another way: "May history ... create for us a new past as true, as exact, as we can make it, that will help us achieve our identity, not as Americans or Russians, Chinese or Britons, black or white, rich or poor, but as men"⁷.

On the other hand, Burston, who has written extensively on history teaching, continued to underrate the significance of world history as late as 1972. In 1967, he had drawn attention to the difficulty of bringing the human community "to life". He wrote: "There is a considerable danger that these distant communities will be, in the mind of the pupil, not a real community of people but a concept". He noted also that given the demand for history to be taught in a world perspective there were acute problems of "abridgement"⁸. In the second edition of *Principles of History Teaching*, he repeated his assertion that "while world problems are important, the problems of one's own country must inevitably be the ones which most preoccupy the citizen of today"⁹. (Henderson and Heater provided the material on world history in Burston and Green's 1972 edition of the *Handbook for History Teachers*)¹⁰.

The purpose of this present enquiry has been to examine how during the last century and a quarter, the books and materials used in British and French schools may have contributed to the stereotyping of other races, through the presentation of colonial history. The growing popularity of world studies at the present time has been accelerated in both countries by the demands of "education in a multi-racial society" and by the emphasis on text-book revision by UNESCO, the Council of Europe and institutions such as the Internationales Schölbuchinstitut in Brunswick¹¹. The current

upsurge of interest in excising bias from schoolbooks has tended to ignore the efforts of writers and educators in the past. This present study, however, demonstrates that the use of certain vocabulary and the selection of material has contributed to the problems facing contemporary reformers of history teaching.

The method of the survey was described in the INTRODUCTION. Each country or region has been prefaced by an historical account of what appear to have been the principal events, and the schoolbook findings have been set out and summarised as the study has proceeded. Very briefly, these findings are as follows:

The teaching of World History, or at any rate the teaching of history in a world context, has been increasingly emphasised during the last twenty-five years in both countries. Nevertheless, there has been an almost universal tendency to select events from colonial history or expansionist enterprises which present the colonising power (that is, in this case, Britain or France) in the most favourable light. In addition, in British books, nouns, adjectives and phrases used to describe other races have traditionally conveyed a sense of superiority and prejudice (see chapter IV).

This sense of superiority and prejudice is also apparent in the way in which traditionally the conquest of other races and nations has been described or ignored. The evidence presented, for example, in chapter V demonstrates that no opportunity has been given to pupils at school to study the rôle of the Indians in North American history. Again, China's place in contemporary world affairs cannot be understood without reference to her past. Western attempts to develop spheres of influence in nineteenth century China have not been discussed in schoolbooks until recently and it has been possible in the past to form racial, and certainly political,

attitudes towards the Chinese on the basis of highly selective and compressed evidence. In British books, for example, three or four events have been chosen to present nineteenth century Chinese history to school pupils. In French books, until recently, French expansionist policies in nineteenth century China have been presented in a most compressed and generalised way. The study of Vietnam also, in French schoolbooks, has now moved (especially since the defeat of the French in 1954) from the traditional presentation of France's civilising mission to a more analytical approach (see chapter VI).

For the British, India has held the most important place in accounts of colonial and imperial history. A generation ago, there was an emphasis on the brutality and treachery of Indians (based largely on accounts of the "Black Hole", the Retreat from Kabul, the Mutiny and later, *suttee* and *thuggee*). The origins of these attitudes have been sketched in chapter VII. In British schoolbooks, some of the harsher aspects of British rule (for example, during the Mutiny or the Amritsar Massacre) are now acknowledged and attention is now paid to the growth of Indian nationalism and constitutional development. French interest in India has been confined to the period, 1742-61, the Mutiny and after Independence. Recent books have been critical of British policy in India.

References to French and British territorial advance in African countries have been confined here to five examples. The two principal areas of European settlement were Algeria and South Africa. Traditionally, French books have concentrated on the conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s. While some books since the 1940s have raised critical questions about French-Algeria, there has been a marked tendency, since the outbreak of the Algerian War in 1954, to ignore Algeria after 1850. Similarly, in South Africa, the history of the Bantu has become submerged beneath the history of the Boer's struggle for independence. In British

schoolbooks, there is now increasing emphasis placed on the racial crisis caused by *apartheid*, but this is at the expense of examining the development of race relations in South Africa in the nineteenth century.

Senegal and Gold Coast exemplify, through their presentation (or lack of it) in schoolbooks, the general attitude to small colonies. The economic significance of both countries as sources of produce and raw materials was of insufficient historical importance to merit much attention. References to Morocco in books from both countries are sparse and the agreement over Morocco and Egypt is substantially ignored.

* * * * *

New Developments

It has become clear during the course of this study that the history of subject peoples of other races has been seen through European eyes. Although inevitable, it has clearly resulted in an attitude of European superiority over other races, which must have contributed to the formation and reinforcement of racial stereotypes. Why Britain and France were involved in these countries was formerly never explained. What effect the European countries had on traditional cultures and economies is never examined. Why the developments or conquests in some countries were emphasised and why other events in the same countries (or in different countries) were omitted is not made plain. The selection, therefore, not only of events, but of countries as well, has been arbitrary, as far as the peoples of those countries are concerned, and the doctrines of racial equality and assimilation have not been reflected in the manner of historical presentation. Selection has been dictated by Western attitudes. Increasingly, however, in both British and French books since 1945, the motives of the colonising powers and the results of their actions have been

questioned. There are still misrepresentations, but the present and future generations of schoolchildren will perhaps be better able to understand and to assess the colonising enterprise of the Western powers.

There is now a marked attention being given to the history and culture of the non-European peoples. This is especially true of the numerous books prepared by French historians for the *classes terminales*. It is also true in Britain, not so much in schoolbooks, although there are exceptions, but in resource materials which are being made available increasingly. These materials may be in the form of books which deal with differing aspects of the life and history of non-European peoples. (The accelerating interest in Africa, for example, may be seen in Longman's 1974-75 *Africana* Catalogue, which runs to 61 pages). But of even greater interest educationally are the multi-media kits now coming on to the market. Two excellent examples are from the *Schools Council Keele Integrated Studies Project* published by Oxford University Press (1972-74) and the *Inner London Education Authority's World Studies Themes* published by Heinemann (1974). The former contains a kit on *Imperial China* and an all-embracing collection of materials on *The Manding of West Africa*. (The Manding are mentioned briefly on p.375 above). The latter includes kits on *China, Africa and India*. The use of such particularised materials in contrast to schoolbooks, which recount history in a generalised and compressed way, will of necessity widen and deepen the understanding of both teacher and pupils.

In addition to these developments, many groups associated with Community Relations Councils throughout Britain are engaged in examining history schoolbooks in order to advise teachers about the pitfalls or benefits of using particular texts and materials, with particular reference to the work of multi-racial schools. The Community Relations Commission has its own History Project¹².

To this considerable activity must be added the developments in General Studies (for example, the *Schools Council/Longman General Studies Project*). There is increasing evidence of the revision of Agreed Syllabuses for the teaching of Religious Knowledge, which is leading to a widening of the scope of this subject and to a study of the religions, and necessarily the cultures, of non-western peoples¹³.

In France also, the use of multi-media materials is assisting teachers and pupils alike¹⁴. A good example of the attention being paid to racial questions in French schools is *Le racisme aujourd'hui* (published by I.N.R.D.P., 1971)¹⁵, a collection of non-facsimile quotations which go back to Gobineau, beginning with the comment that "racial inequality was the alibi of colonialism" (the I.N.R.D.P. is attached to the *Ministre de l'Éducation nationale*). There is also an increasing amount of resource material available especially for the *classes de 1e* and the *classes terminales*: the Collection M.Chaulanges: *Textes Historiques*. (Delagrave, 1969-70); Jouhaud's *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord* (Deux Coqs d'Or. 1968); the *Dossier d'histoire Pierre Goubert* (Masson. 1970-71); and the Ligel collection of materials on ex-colonial countries in Africa (1973): Mali, Senegal, Haute Volta, Niger, Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, Dahomey¹⁶. There is a special interest in these countries because of their continuing relationship with France.

* * * * *

Writers and writing

All this is a long way from Mangnall, Cooper and Collier, or Loiseau, Lavisse and Jallifier and Vast. The books of both countries, written early in the period that has been studied, bear marks of being either too simple or too difficult. But as history became established in universities and developed as a serious academic discipline, so the influence of

the established historians began to be felt: J.R.Green (1837-83), Sir John Seeley (1834-95), S.R.Gardiner (1829-1902) and Lord Acton (1834-1902) in Britain; Ernest Lavisse (1842-1922) and Charles Seignobos (1854-1942) in France.

Many of the nineteenth century British books were written by school teachers or clergymen, as Chancellor¹⁷ and Howat¹⁸ have shown. Between the Wars, Munro, Mowat and Newton were academic historians writing for schools and since the 1960s, both academic historians and history specialists in the expanding Institutes and Departments of Education have become increasingly evident as authors or editors of schoolbooks, Bryant, Edwards, Fieldhouse, Newth and Pitt, to name a few. The main body of authors however, still come from schools and from Colleges of Education. By contrast, in France, (where Lavisse dominated the scene for so long), while school teachers, especially in the private sector through the *réunions des professeurs* (see Bibliography), have always made a vigorous contribution to the writing of schoolbooks, since the end of the 1920s a formidable contribution has also been made by academics, for example, by Malet, Isaac, Tapié, Girard, Chaulanges, d'Hoop. Often they have had teachers as collaborators and often they have also had the assistance of other academic historians. Louis Girard, professor at the Sorbonne especially, uses writers from both the universities and the *lycées*.

Throughout the period there has been a changing level of approach. Many nineteenth century books appear naïve and merely factual. Information was provided so that facts could be learnt. In Britain, books of this type are still in use today (some, unashamedly, books of notes to prepare for examinations, like Ince and Gilbert, Pringle and Fearenside before them). In time, with the improving quality of schoolbooks and supporting materials, such books should gradually disappear. The *Readers* in Britain filled a need especially after the 1870s. A century later, their vocabulary seems

emotional and was frequently abstract and complicated in expression. Such use of language was common to the age and it must be read within this context. There have been very great changes in teaching method. The school-book, certainly in Britain, is less important than it was then (although its contents remain of considerable importance). The teacher is better trained. Classes are smaller. Pupils stay longer at School. A by-product of this development has been the improved visual presentation of school-books during the last five years in Britain. They are becoming altogether more attractive and better written and produced. In France visual presentation has been transformed over the last fifteen years and today, the visual presentation of books published by Bordas and Hatier is quite exceptional.

Certainly, reflecting over changes that have taken place in teaching methods as well as in political fortunes during the last century, dramatic developments are apparent. Gone are the days when very young children (especially in Britain, at 10 years old in 1880, and at 13 years old in France in 1882) were compelled to memorise facts in preparation for their final examination at the end of compulsory schooling. The gradual educational revolution of the twentieth century has enabled pupils to study in a more leisured way and in history classes, to comment on and criticize policies, as well as to compare contemporary accounts of historical events. After the end of a period of imperial self-confidence in both Britain and France, this process is essential in terms of assisting national self-discovery.

* * * * *

The teaching of colonial history and patriotism

Indeed, the changes in emphasis in schoolbooks that have been noted during this study have clearly derived from the changing situation in which

British and French society found itself at particular moments in history. The shock of France's defeat in 1870, for example, prompted Lavissee to say that the younger generation must be led to love their country and their fellow-men¹⁹, and in 1912 he wrote his essay on teaching history in the *école primaire*, (being especially interested in the 7 to 11 year olds, in the *cours élémentaire* and the *cours moyen*). He maintained that history teaching must lead to true patriotism²⁰. It may be argued, of course, that the rôle of the educational system is to train pupils to conform within the existing social structure, (although sixty years later such a view is being rejected by many young people). Lavissee believed passionately in his rôle as keeper of the national conscience. It was this that led him to write not only for schools (he died in 1922 and his books are still listed, in new editions, by Conard, in the 1950s) but also to inspire and edit the 27 volume *Histoire de France* together with many other works. Nora, in his celebrated essay on Lavissee, quotes from the final paragraph of Lavissee's *Histoire de France (cours moyen, 1912 edition)* published immediately prior to the 1914-18 War:

"La guerre n'est pas probable, mais elle est possible. C'est pour cela qu'il faut que la France reste armée et toujours prête à se défendre ... En défendant la France, nous défendons la terre où nous sommes nés la plus belle et la plus généreuse terre du monde ... nous nous conduisons comme de bons fils ... nous travaillons pour tous les hommes de tous les pays ..."21.

The last phrase breathes the spirit of the Revolution but otherwise the passage is not dissimilar from the closing passage in Fletcher and Kipling's book (1911) written for much the same age group and encouraging patriotic militarism (see p.94 above). It seems likely that because of Lavissee's patriotic contribution to French history teaching during the first half of the twentieth century, so much emphasis was placed on past glories. The brief accounts of French colonising zeal were concerned substantially with nineteenth century events, until after the Second World War.

In Britain, the pendulum has swung away from the use of history as a means of teaching uncritical patriotism. The development of Empire Day in schools is sketched briefly in Appendix A, but the theme of patriotism calls to mind a public disagreement between J.G.Fitch and J.J.Findlay in October 1900 at a meeting in the College of Preceptors. Findlay was giving a lecture on "The Teaching of Patriotism". Fitch intervened and according to the *Educational Times* said that "he thought that the boastful and theatrical patriotism which found its expression in waving the Union Jack about and singing 'Rule Britannia' did not deserve encouragement in schools and he feared that too much of it was in the past responsible for the lawlessness and violence which had of late disgraced our streets"²².

Such a debate was to continue for many years. Fred Clarke (1929) criticised Lady Callcott's creation "Little Arthur" (see also p.49 above):

"It is not the business of history to produce that kind of dreamer. Combine such romanticism with the cult of an intense and exclusive national patriotism to which many influential people would subordinate Arthur's history teaching and you may get a blend of Don Quixote and St.George which, while it may be picturesque, will certainly be astonishingly futile where it is not positively dangerous"²³.

Similar issues were raised by Strong (1958)²⁴, Smith (1962)²⁵ and D.E.S.Pamphlet No.52 (*Towards World History*.1967)²⁶. Burston (1972) however writes with greater detachment, in the period when Britain was forced to re-identify herself as a minor power:

"If our history course consists of the history of our own country, one of the results of it will inevitably be some consciousness of our heritage, whether this is our purpose or not ... It is dangerously easy to slip from the past, as it really was, to a selection of the past which suits a contemporary political purpose, and when this happens there is little discernible difference between such versions and propaganda, where the past is deliberately distorted for current political ends... we should be sure to give a true and not a distorted picture of the past"²⁷.

This almost seems a gloss on Freeman's (Regius Professor at Oxford from 1884-92) aphorism: "History is past politics and politics is present

history"²⁸, but the question which Burston raises will remain. As Butterfield wrote in *The Whig Interpretation of History*, "The understanding of the past is not so easy as it is sometimes made to appear"²⁹.

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History and objectivity

The writing of history can never be a purely objective discipline because the historical facts that are described have become historical facts only because of the significance given to them by the historian. E.H.Carr wrote that the reason a historian is praised for being objective is not "simply that he gets the facts right, but rather that he chooses the right facts" and relates them to past, present and future"³⁰.

The difficulty of achieving the standard set by this statement has been demonstrated frequently during the course of this study. The presentation of historical facts by many writers has been called into question. In addition, in the sections on historical background in chapters V to VIII, judgements have been made about what to include and what to exclude. Much has been omitted also through ignorance. An attempt has been made, however, to examine Britain's and France's involvement in non-European societies and to explain what happened and why it happened, comparing these findings with the evidence provided in schoolbooks.

The selection and interpretation of events, in school, must be dictated to some extent not only by authors and teachers, but also by the ability of the pupils. But as J.B.Coltham has pointed out, "the knowledge explosion has hit history at least as much as any other subject"³¹. This is one reason why selection is now one of the greatest difficulties facing the history teacher. No longer can pupils be required to learn a

received body of opinions or an aggregation of generally accepted facts. What Coltham calls "the guided use of evidence" is now at the heart of all work in history³². It is necessary therefore to encourage "the guided use of evidence" in relation to the history of other races and other cultures. In this study, for example, the selection and interpretation of events in schoolbooks has been frequently criticised, but the evidence is available today in increasing supply to enable others, whether they be teachers or pupils, to test such judgements for themselves, working in some depth and refusing to be content with generalities.

* * * * *

It has not been the purpose here to evaluate what pupils have learnt and what images they have formed, but to examine what writers have said. While a good deal of research has been done in Britain, for example, on the development of thinking and learning through history³³, no one appears to have applied themselves to a thorough study of the effect of history teaching on stereotyping (although Watts alludes to the problem)³⁴. Such a study seems desirable. The conclusion that attitudes to race (especially in British books) and the presentation of colonial history (in both British and French books) have been cast in the mould of European (or Caucasian, or Western) superiority over other races and civilisations, is not surprising to those who are familiar with recent studies in African and Asian history. But what effect has it had on the formulation of attitudes towards other races during the last century? This seems to be a question of considerable importance which lies outside the scope of this present enquiry.

NOTES

Conclusion

1. p.30. E.H.Carr. *What is History?* Pelican.1964.
2. pp.83-4. A.L.Rowse. *The Use of History*. Hodder and Stoughton.1946.
3. p.82. *ibid.*
4. p.234. A.Marwick. *The Nature of History*. Macmillan.1970
5. p.154. Barraclough. *An Introduction to Contemporary History*.
6. p.268. *ibid.*
7. p.115. J.H.Plumb. *The Death of the Past*. Pelican.1973.
8. p.132. W.H.Burston and D.Thompson (ed.). *Studies in the Nature and Teaching of History*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.1967.
9. p.176. Burston. *Principles of History Teaching*. Methuen.1972 edition (cp. p.167. 1963 edition).
10. see chapter II note 127.
11. The UNESCO commitment to world history is expressed through the International Commission for a History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind (publishers: George Allen and Unwin). The Council of Europe published in 1967, *History Teaching and Textbook revision*, by Schüddekopf et al. The Brunswick Institute was formed in 1951 (see *Times Educational Supplement*. 29 November 1974).
12. The Community Relations Commission's termly bulletin: *Teacher Education and community relations* reports regularly on research projects.
13. e.g. Agreed Syllabus proposals for Birmingham schools (*Times Educational Supplement*. 21 February 1975).
14. pp.131-35. J.Majault. *L'enseignement en France*. McGraw Hill.1973.
15. "Le racisme aujourd'hui". *Textes et documents pour la classe*. I.N.R.D.P. 75. 13 May 1971.
16. The 1973 publishers' composite list of history schoolbooks lists some 200 titles. The principal publishers are Bélin, Bordas, Colin, Delagrave, Dunod, Edicef, Hachette, Ligel, Masson, Nathan, Hatier.
17. pp.22-25. Chancellor. *op.cit.*
18. pp.149-51. Howat. "The Nineteenth Century History text-book".
19. p.77. Nora. *op.cit.*
20. p.30. Lavissee. *L'enseignement de l'histoire a l'école primaire*. Colin. Paris.1912.
21. p.104. Nora. *op.cit.*
22. pp.442-44. *Educational Times*. vol.LIII. No.475. 1900.
23. p.135. Clarke. *Foundations of history teaching*.
24. p.173. C.F.Strong. *History in the Secondary School*. University of London Press.1958.
25. pp.179-89. S.Smith. *Towards World Understanding - bias in history text books*. Library Association. London.1962.
26. p.7. *Towards World History*. D.E.S. pamphlet No.52. HMSO.1967.

27. pp.173-74. Burston. *Principles of History Teaching*. Methuen.1972 edition.
28. quoted p.47. Marwick. *op.cit.* (Rowse attributes this sentence to Seeley: p.18. *op.cit.*).
29. p.95. H.Butterfield. *The Whig Interpretation of History*. Pelican. 1973 edition.
30. pp.119-25. Carr. *op.cit.*
31. p.31. J.B.Coltham. *The Development of Thinking and The Learning of History*. T.H. 34. Historical Association.1971.
32. *ibid.*
33. Coltham. *op.cit.*; Coltham and J. Fines. *Educational Objectives for the study of History*. T.H. 35. Historical Association.1971; R.N.Hallam. "Logical Thinking in History". pp.183-202. *Educational Review*. vol.19. No.3. 1967; "Piaget and Moral Judgements in History". pp.200-206. *Educational Research*. vol.11. No.3. 1969; "Piaget and the Teaching of History". pp.3-12. *ibid.* vol.12. No.1. 1963; E.A.Peel. "Some Problems in the Psychology of History Teaching". pp.159-190 Burston and Thompson. *op.cit.*
34. pp.90-94. D.G.Watts. *The Learning of History*. Routledge and Kegan Paul.1972.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Empire Day and Schools: a brief outline with some reference to Lord Meath

The observance of "Empire Day" began in Canada in 1899, the year of Queen Victoria's 80th birthday. The idea of observing one day each year as a public holiday throughout the Empire had first come from a Canadian, Thomas Robinson, in 1894. The Royal Colonial Institute proposed this to the Queen. Lord Rosebery however replied that it was a matter not for the British Government, but for the community¹. In Canada, Mrs. Clementina Fessenden of Hamilton, Ontario, gained support for the idea from George Ross, the Ontario Minister of Education. Seen as an opportunity "to make Canadian patriotism intelligent, comprehensive and strong", the observance of Empire Day in 1899 included the use of pictures of the Queen, black-board drawings of the Union Jack and other flags of the Empire, coats-of-arms, maps and patriotic choruses. Soon Empire Day was to be observed in schools throughout Canada and its purpose was succinctly described by Governor-General Earl Grey in 1909:

"I want you boys to remember what Empire Day means. Empire Day is the festival on which every British subject should reverently remember that the British Empire stands out before the whole world as the fearless champion of freedom, fair play and equal rights; that its watchwords are responsibility, duty, sympathy and self-sacrifice; and that a special responsibility rests with you individually to be true to the traditions and to the mission of your race"².

The British champion of Empire Day was Reginald Brabazon, 12th Earl of Meath (1841-1928). As early as 1892, he had appealed for the teaching of patriotism in London schools and offered £50 for the purchase of Union Jacks³. Meath discussed the establishment of Empire Day with members of the Colonial and Indian Conference in London in 1902, through the good offices of Joseph Chamberlain, the Colonial Secretary. In the same year, Meath asked the President of the Board of Education for greater stress to

be laid on Empire history in the schools. He received a non-committal reply.

Meanwhile by 1903, the observance of Empire Day had become firmly established in Barbados, Bermuda, Natal, New Zealand, Nova Scotia, the Straits Settlements, Jamaica, Mauritius, Ontario and Quebec. The chosen day was 24 May, the date of Queen Victoria's birthday.

The first meeting of importance in England in support of Empire Day was in St. James's Hall on 24 May 1904. It was organised by the *Children's Aid Society* (founded in 1876 and formerly *The Reformatory and Refuge Union*) and presided over by Lord Meath.

The Times for 25 May 1904 reported that Lord Meath "wished to say at once that the promoters of Empire Day had absolutely nothing in common with the condition of mind popularly known as jingoism ... Empires had arisen and Empires had disappeared from the face of the earth; but if the cause of their disruption was examined, it would be found, almost invariably, that it had been owing to internal decay, rather than to outward shock". He went on to discuss the principle causes of "internal decay" and believed that there was "spiritual and moral apathy in the body politic", a growth of "enervating luxury" and selfishness and "an inadequate knowledge of the affairs of the Empire"⁴. "Internal decay" must be combatted by self-discipline and self-sacrifice. The memorial window in St. Paul's Cathedral erected in his honour includes the slogans: "Duty and discipline", "Self-sacrifice", "one King, one Empire" and "Empire Day". Meath was a propagandist.

J.O. Springhall has suggested convincingly that Meath came to resent Germans when he was a diplomat in the 1860s⁵ and that much of his work in the 1900s was directed at compulsory military training or conscription in case of a German invasion. He had founded the *Lads' Drill Association* to this end in 1899⁶. He supported the *National Service League*, being an

executive council member from 1910-14. In 1909, he had become a Vice-President of the *Navy League* and a council member of the *League of Frontiersmen*, and President of the *Girls' Patriotic League* in 1911, the year in which he became Scout Commissioner for Ireland (he was an Irish peer). In addition, he sat on innumerable committees, including the *Church Army* and *Lord Roberts' Memorial Workshops*. He supported the *National Social Purity Crusade*, the *National Council of Public Morals* and the *British Empire Union*.

The School Guardian for 21 May 1904 carried a letter from Lord Meath promoting Empire Day. He listed a variety of articles required by schools:

- "1. A portrait of H.M. the King.
2. A full-sized map of the "Howard Vincent" or "Navy League map of the British Empire" (*sic*).
3. A full-sized mounted Union Jack.
4. Copies of the National Anthem, words and music.
5. Copies of the "Flag of Britain", songs, words and music. To be obtained at 1d a copy from Arthur Maddison Esq, 32, Charing Cross, London.
6. Copies of Kipling's recessional hymn, "Lest we forget". Permission must be obtained for this".

By 1905, according to *The Times* (25 May) 6,000 schools had become involved. Moreover, Edward VII observed the occasion by reviewing 15,000 "fine soldiers" at Aldershot. In 1907, Battersea Borough Council refused to celebrate Empire Day because it encouraged jingoism⁷. In 1908, three quarters of a million children in London, observed Empire Day⁸. In 1909, Derby Education Committee regarded it as "the thin end of militarism"⁹. In 1910, *The Schoolmaster* recorded (28 May) that "at the Eltham Secondary School, Lee Green, close upon 200 girls sang a part of Mr.Kipling's Recessional and then stood to hear the same poet's "The Dead King" read reverently to them by their head mistress. An address was followed by the National Anthem".

Between 1903 and 1914, other member countries of the Empire joined in the celebrations: Australia in 1905, India in 1907, South Africa in 1910. But in Britain it was not until 1916, that the Government gave official approval to Empire Day, because of the strong anti-jingoist feeling in Parliament. Nevertheless, in 1911, there was a review of 10,000 boys and girls in Hyde Park, by Lord Roberts¹⁰. In the same year, Fletcher and Kipling collaborated in writing *A School History of England*. The book ended with an appeal for military training, in defence of the British Empire (see p.94 above). In 1914, 1,000 boys and girls were selected from London schools to parade to the Guildhall. "Parents of children showed their appreciation by attending in large numbers to witness the salutation of the flag and to hear the singing of patriotic songs"¹¹. In 1916, 70,000 schools participated¹².

The suspicion with which these patriotic practices were viewed is epitomised by the fact that the teachers' journal *The Schoolmaster* hardly ever appears to have reported Empire Day. In 1925, *The Schoolmaster and Women Teacher's Chronicle* (its successor) merely noted that 50 children from the Isle of Thanet had visited Wembley as a reward for writing good essays¹³. This was the year of the great Wembley Exhibition. Empire Day was celebrated by an attendance in the Stadium of 90,000 people¹⁴. *The Times Educational Supplement* (30 May 1925) gave only 12 lines to this occasion and to Empire Day. The following year, the year of the General Strike, *The Times* carried no reference to Empire Day apart from its celebration in Australia¹⁵.

Meath retired from active management of the *Empire Movement* in 1922. The *Empire Movement* (now to be the *Empire Day Movement*) amalgamated in 1922 with the *Colonial Institute*, later to become the *Royal Empire Society* and finally the *Royal Commonwealth Society*. Meath died in 1928. He had been made President of the *Movement* in 1927 and was succeeded by Earl

Jellicoe. Just before he died, *The Spectator* for January 1928 suggested that "he dreams of a drilled population ... a society in which obedience takes once more its medieval place in the hierarchy of values. It is a very noble ideal; in its pursuit Lord Meath has done a vast amount of good, but the world seems to be moving towards new reforms along other lines".

During the 1920s, while Empire Day was observed in many schools, "J.A.Hobson claimed that the saluting of the flag on Empire Day was a symbolic ritual, a semi-conscious endeavour to direct to patriotic purposes the fund of superstition liberated by the weakening of religious attachments"¹⁶. The Movement continued throughout the 1930s (Newton's *Junior History of the British Empire Oversea*, in 1933, providing some impetus). Schools could obtain from the *Movement* an Empire Day Community Song Sheet, a leaflet called "Some facts for Empire Day"; a Message from the President; a set of flags on loan; a set of 13 recordings of King George V's voice on gramophone records; picture post-cards of the Empire's industries; a badge and a special patriotic booklet¹⁷. Opposition from some local politicians, including London County Councillors continued, but School Log Books continued to record the events:

"As Empire Day this year falls on a Sunday, we celebrated it at school this morning with song and dance, and joyful acclamation and honouring of our honoured and treasured Empire and its symbol, the Union Jack. The children entered thoroughly into the spirit of the celebration and were very hearty and loyal in their demonstration"¹⁸.

In 1945, the *Empire Day Movement* ended its connection with the *Royal Empire Society* and gave itself the special responsibility of developing "Empire education work in state-aided schools"¹⁹. By 1948, 1,200 schools in the United Kingdom and 1,000 schools in 34 Empire countries belonged to the movement²⁰. The Movement (known as the *Commonwealth Day Movement*, after R.A.Butler had negotiated a change of

name for "Empire Day", with Commonwealth governments²¹, from 1959) closed in 1962. Commonwealth Day is still observed with services either in the Guildhall or as in 1973 and 1974 in Westminster Abbey, in spite of vicissitudes in the 1960s caused by the supporters of multi-faith acts of worship.

As far as schools are concerned, the Movement (which clearly met a felt need in the propagation of patriotic virtues and civic responsibility for half a century) is now remembered as a fascinating part of twentieth century social and educational history.

NOTES

Appendix A

1. p.153. T.R.Reese. *The History of the Royal Commonwealth Society, 1868-1968*. Oxford.1968.
2. quoted p.38. R.M.Stamp. "Empire Day in the schools of Ontario: the training of young imperialists". *Revue d'études canadiennes*. vol.VIII. No.3. 1973.
3. p.154. Reese. *op.cit.*
4. p.3. *The Importance of Empire Knowledge and the Origin and Purpose of Empire Day*. (duplicated). Empire Day Movement.1948.
5. p.98. J.O.Springhall. "Lord Meath, Youth and Empire". *The Journal of Contemporary History*. vol.5. No.4. 1970.
6. p.100. *ibid.*
7. noted p.109. Springhall. *op.cit.*
8. *The School Guardian*. 30 May 1908.
9. noted p.110. Springhall. *op.cit.*
10. *The School Guardian*. 3 June 1911.
11. *ibid.* 30 May 1914. Similar celebrations were reported in *The Times* for 25 May 1916 and 1917.
12. p.155. Reese. *op.cit.*
13. *The Schoolmaster and Women Teachers' Chronicle*. 29 May 1925.
14. *The Times*. 25 May 1925.
15. *The Times*. 25 May 1926.
16. p.107. Springhall.
17. see pp.108-09. *ibid.*
18. 24 May 1936. *Rycroft Girls' Infant School Log Book*. by courtesy of Dr.M.A.Cruickshank. (Dr.Cruickshank has also found elsewhere references to a "day of humiliation" for British defeats, during the Boer War).
19. p.5. *The Importance of Empire Knowledge*.
20. *ibid.*
21. *The Times*. 23 May 1958.

APPENDIX B

Provision in the secondary school syllabus in France for a study of colonial history and non-European civilisations

(see pp.16-26. *Histoire et géographie: horaires, programmes, instructions*. Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale.1970, with additional circulars in 1970 and 1971).

Classes de 4e (13-14 yrs)

La Renaissance et les temps modernes

III. *La XVIIIe siècle.*

... l'essor colonial ... la naissance des États-Unis d'Amérique

Classes de 3e (14-16 yrs)

De 1715 à 1870 (course until 1971)

a. *Le XVIIIe siècle (depuis 1715):*

2e ... rivalité maritime et coloniale franco-anglaise

3e La formation des États-Unis d'Amérique ...

c. *De 1815 à 1870*

2e ... la question d'Orient

3e ... l'évolution des États-Unis (depuis leurs origines)

L'époque contemporaine (course since 1971)

II. *Le XIXe siècle jusqu'en 1914*

L'impérialisme européen

États-Unis et Extrême-Orient

III. *De 1914 à nos jours*

2e ... la décolonisation et le Tiers Monde ...

Classes de 2e (15-16 yrs)

1789-1848

6e L'Angleterre et son Empire de 1815 jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle

9e Les États-Unis d'Amérique de 1787 à 1865

OR

La IIIe République

2e L'évolution des États-Unis au XIXe siècle. Le peuplement

3e Le problème de l'Extrême-Orient: Le Japon et la Chine

5e L'expansion coloniale, la colonisation, la recherche des bouches aux XIXe et XXe siècles;

formation et organisation de l'Empire Britannique;

formation du second empire colonial français.

Classes de 1e (16-17 yrs)

L'Europe et Le Monde de 1848 à 1914

- b. 1. L'expansion européenne, sous ses diverses formes de 1848 à 1914, Les empires coloniaux
2. Les États-Unis d'Amérique de 1865 à 1914
3. L'Extrême-Orient du milieu du XIXe siècle à 1914

OR

Depuis 1939

6. La décolonisation
7. Aspects et problèmes:
 - du monde musulman de l'Afrique et du Proche-Orient.
 - de l'Afrique noire;
 - de l'Asie du sud et du sud-est;
 - de l'Amérique Latine

Classes terminales (17-18 yrs)

Le Monde Contemporain

3e trimestre

4. *Le monde musulman:*
 - fondements et évolution de sa civilisation (Islam; les influences iranienne, égyptienne, turque, espagnole);
 - aspects particulier actuels de sa civilisation: les pays du Moyen-Orient; le Pakistan; les pays d'Afrique du Nord
5. *Le monde de l'Océan Indien et de l'Océan Pacifique:*
 - fondements et évolution de sa civilisation ...
 - aspects particuliers actuels de sa civilisation: Chine, Japon, Union indienne.

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Unless otherwise stated the place of publication is London

Abbreviations: P.P. Parliamentary Papers.

H.A. Historical Association.

I.N.R.D.P. Institut National de Recherche et
Documentation Pédagogiques

Oxford. Oxford University Press.

Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

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- cours préparatoire: 6-7 yrs (c.p.)
- cours élémentaire 1st yr: 7-8 yrs. (c.é.)
- 2nd yr: 8-9 yrs.
- cours moyen 1st yr: 9-10 yrs. (c.m.)
- 2nd yr: 10-11 yrs.
- préparation certificat d'études primaires: 10-13 yrs. (prép. c.é.p.)
- cours supérieur: 11-13 yrs. (c.s.)
- cycle terminal: 13-14 yrs. (cyc.t.)
- enseignement du 1e cycle: 11-15 or 16 yrs.
- " du 2e cycle: 15 or 16-18 yrs.
- fin d'études: 15-16 yrs. (f.d'é.)
- 1e cycle - 6e: 11-12 yrs. (6e)
- 5e: 12-13 yrs. (5e)
- 4e: 13-14 yrs. (4e)
- 3e: 14-15 yrs. (3e)
- 15-16 yrs.
- 2e cycle - 2e: 15-16 yrs. (2e)
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