

Echoing Events

The Perpetuation of National Narratives in
English and Dutch History Textbooks, 1920–2010





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Umschlagabbildung: Eine Nachbildung der *Golden Hind*, dem Flaggschiff Francis Drakes, mit dem er die Welt umsegelte, bei Sonnenaufgang unter vollen Segeln vor der Westküste der USA. Foto: Joel Rogers.

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List of abbreviations

CSE	Centraal Schriftelijk Examen
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
EU	European Union
GEI	Leibniz Institute for Educational Media Georg Eckert Institute
Havo	Hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs (higher general education)
HBS	Hogere Burgerschool
HEG	Werkgroep Herziening Eindexamen Geschiedenis en staatsinrichting
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
IAAM	Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters
Ledo	Leren door doen
MMS	Middelbare Meisjesschool
MULO	Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs
NC	National Curriculum
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
SCAA	School Curriculum and Assessment Authority
SCHP	The Schools Council History 13–16 Project (1972–1976)
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UK	United Kingdom
VGN	Vereniging van leraren Geschiedenis en staatsinrichting in Nederland (Dutch History Teachers Association)
VWO	Vorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (pre-university education)
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

1 Introduction

*It raised men's hearts in dark hours, and led them to say to one another, 'What we have done once, we can do again'. In so far as it did this, the legend of the defeat of the Spanish Armada became as important as the actual event – perhaps even more important.*¹

Stories echo other stories and acquire meaning in this way. Garrett Mattingly ends his bestseller *The Armada* (1959) – for which he received the Pulitzer Prize in 1960 – with the words quoted above: he shows that although the sixteenth-century sea battle between the English fleet and the Spanish Armada dated from a long time ago, 'it influenced history in another way'. The American professor of European history at Columbia University explains that a 'golden mist' has magnified the story. The English victory of 1588 has become a 'heroic apologue of the defence of freedom against tyranny, an eternal myth of the victory of the weak over the strong'.² In this way, it offered hope and comfort to people during the dark hours of World War II: 'What we have done once, we can do again'.

Mattingly had learned much about naval operations during World War II, when he served as a lieutenant commander in the US Naval Reserve, and this was useful knowledge and experience for his bestseller. Moreover, just as in his epilogue, Mattingly narrates 1588 and World War II as 'echoing events' in the preface: he explains that the idea of writing about the English naval victory over the Spanish Invincible Fleet came to him – 'as it must have come to others' – in June 1940, when the threatening events on the surrounding seas of Great Britain were again world news.³

These examples show that 'echoing events' can be generated by direct cross references and by the generative force of metaphor. Echoing national narratives can unify various histories by attributing the same meaning to them. That is why Mattingly as well as Jan Assmann argue that the way in which history is narrated could – in the long term – become more influential than 'what really happened'.⁴

1 Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston: Riverside Press Cambridge/Houghton Mifflin Company, 1959), 402.

2 *Ibid.*, 402.

3 *Ibid.*, Preface.

4 Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 9–10. See also: Ann Rigney, *The Rhetoric of Historical Representation: Three Narrative Histories of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge

A historical event like 1588 can function as an important anchor in social memory due to its narrative form, which has moved away from the particular context, bridged temporal distance and received universal significance.⁵ An important issue, therefore, is why certain narratives are perpetuated and have become a canonized anchor in a nation's social memory, while others are not.

This study questions national narratives' perpetuation, actualization, and canonization in the genre of history textbooks. History textbooks are widespread media and especially national narratives in this genre have provided many people with meaning, memory, and identity. These narratives appeal to people and have been extremely explosive in their consequences since the nineteenth century. They have often contributed to the mobilization of the masses for war and for committing genocides by presenting tendentious myths or distorted understandings of the past, while conversely wars have been major sources of national narratives.⁶ National history will most likely remain a central topic in history education, despite attempts to implement other perspectives.⁷ A greater understanding of the underlying structures and mechanisms in national narratives, and insight into their 'perpetual construction and reconstruction' can be helpful in 'defusing their explosive potential'.⁸

This study is a mnemohistorical analysis and is – next to the content – particularly interested in the mnemonic form in which national communities remember, narrate, and transmit the past. It does so by examining the forms of 'echoing' detectable in the schemata and plot structures of national narratives in English and Dutch history textbooks published in the long twentieth century. An understanding of the 'sociomental topography of the past'⁹ found in textbooks not only can help to elucidate how the national past is narrated, interpreted, and

University Press, 1990); Marek Tamm, ed., *The Afterlife of Events. Perspectives on Mnemohistory* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

5 Northrop Frye, *The Great Code. The Bible and Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 217. Frye uses the word 'resonance'.

6 Stefan Berger, 'Writing National Histories in Europe: Reflections on the Pasts, Presents and Futures of a Tradition', in *Conflicted Memories. Europeanizing Contemporary Histories*, eds. Konrad H. Jarausch and Thomas Lindenberger (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 55–68, 65. Parts of this section are also present in Maria Grever and Tina van der Vlies, 'Why National Narratives are Perpetuated: A Literature Review on New Insights from History Textbook Research', *London Review of Education* 15, no. 2 (2017): 286–301.

7 Susanne Popp, 'National Textbook Controversies in a Globalising World', in *History Teaching in the Crossfire of Political Interests: International Society of History Didactics Yearbook, 2008/9*, eds. Luigi Cajani, Elisabeth Erdmann, Alexander S. Khodnev, Susanne Popp, Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon and George Wrangham (Augsburg: Wochenschau Verlag, 2009), 109–122; Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio and Maria Rodríguez-Moneo, eds., *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012).

8 Berger, 'Writing National Histories in Europe', 66.

9 Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), 2 and 7.

organized in this genre, but it can also reveal why certain events, periods or persons have acted as ‘figures of memory’. The latter term refers to culturally formed ‘images’ of the past that are significant for a group’s social memory and identity.¹⁰ These ‘images’ can be transmitted in text as well: historical narratives can concentrate on fixed points in the past (such as ‘fateful events’) and the meaning of these crystallization points, when touched upon in other narrations, can become accessible again.¹¹

1.1 Aims and research question

Research has demonstrated that history textbooks often perpetuate ‘traditional narratives’, despite new findings and ideas, and contribute to structural amnesia and other ways of forgetting in societies.¹² Sensitive topics of the past are often suppressed, ignored or erased.¹³ Explanations have highlighted the role of textbooks as ‘political vehicles of the state’ and showed how national governments have imposed their idea of the ‘right’ knowledge.¹⁴ However, the political impact on historical narratives is too often taken for granted and other reasons for the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks are easily overlooked.¹⁵ That is why researchers have attempted to use a more inclusive approach and directed attention to the idea that national narratives are ‘autonomous’ to a

10 Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 24.

11 See also: Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125–133, 129; Stefan Rohdewald, ‘Figures of (trans-)National Religious Memory of the Orthodox Southern Slavs Before 1945: An Outline on the Examples of SS. Cyril and Methodius’, *Trames Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 12, no. 3 (2008): 287–298, 288.

12 James W. Loewen, *Lies my Teacher Told Me. Everything your American History Textbook got Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1995); Laura Hein and Mark Selden, eds., *Censoring History. Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States* (Armonk NY: M. E. Sharpe, 2000); Ray Raphael, *Founding Myths: Stories that Hide our Patriotic Past* (New York: The New York Press, 2004).

13 Paul Connerton, ‘Seven Types of Forgetting’, *Memory Studies* 59 (2008): 59–71.

14 See for example: Elie Podeh, ‘History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System. The Portrayal of the Arab–Israeli Conflict in History Textbooks (1948–2000)’, *History & Memory* 12, no. 1 (2000): 65–100; Elisabeth Erdmann, Luigi Cajani, Alexander S. Khodnev, Susanne Popp, Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon and George Wrangham, eds., *History Teaching in the Crossfire of Political Interests. Yearbook of the International Society for the Didactics of History* vol. 29/30 (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2008/2009); Keith A. Crawford, ‘Researching the Ideological and Political Role of the History Textbook: Issues and Methods’, *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 1, no. 1 (2000); Michael W. Apple and Linda K. Christian-Smith, eds., *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York: Routledge, 1991).

15 Tom Verschaffel and Kaat Wils, ‘History Education and the Claims of Society: An Historical Approach’, *Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society* 4, no. 1 (2012): 1–6, 2.

certain extent.¹⁶ Historical narratives can be very powerful and partly immune to (political) change. National myths can have staying power, even while historians and history teachers actively attempt to debunk them in class, blogs, books, and television programmes.

This study therefore aims to shed light on the perpetuation and canonization of national narratives in history textbooks from a new angle by answering the following research question: *How and why are national narratives perpetuated in English and Dutch history textbooks between 1920 and 2010?* A pilot study confirmed that certain national narratives were indeed perpetuated during this longitudinal research period (p. 22), although their length and form varied. Consequently, this study does not regard national narratives as fixed entities but is interested in their changes and continuities over time. Although English and Dutch history textbooks are definitely not apolitical, neither England nor the Netherlands has a national system of textbook approval and authorization, unlike many other countries. Their governments do not prescribe textbooks and schools are free to choose from the open market.¹⁷

By selecting these countries, this study aims to examine the relative ‘autonomy’ of national narratives. Researchers of folklore have pointed out that the main elements of popular tales remained intact – after being transmitted to different generations – since these elements disclosed ‘a social memory that precedes and transcends any specific act of storytelling’.¹⁸ Ray Raphael, who investigated founding myths of the United States, uses the same argument and explains that some elements of national narratives have remained the same because they surpass the details of a specific story. He writes about the power of ‘narrative demands’ – the ingredients of a good story – such as heroes, clear plotlines and a happy ending. He also mentions the powerful and persuasive ‘imaginaries’ of national narratives, such as the battle between good and evil, or freedom and tyranny.¹⁹ ‘Even if they don’t tell true history, these imaginings work as stories. Much of what we think of as “history” is driven not by facts but by these narrative demands.’²⁰ Some national narratives are simply too good not to be told, according to Raphael, since they are good *stories*. Precisely this feature

16 Ibid.

17 Although, the approval from the church played quite an important role as well in these countries.

18 Barry Schwartz, ‘Where There’s Smoke, There’s Fire: Memory and History’, in *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: a Conversation with Barry Schwartz*, ed. Tom Thatcher (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 7–37, 14. See also: Vladimir Propp, *Morfologija skazky* (Leningrad: Nauka, 1928). Translated in English as *Morphology of the Tale* (Bloomington, Ind.: Research Center, Indiana University, 1958).

19 Raphael, *Founding Myths*, 5.

20 Ibid. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that historical stories are representations of the past but not everything that has happened can easily be represented.

makes them immune to new academic findings and autonomous to a certain extent.

Hence, certain narrative elements play a crucial role in the preservation and transmission of national history and are repeatedly reproduced because they are powerful, persuasive and socially relevant in the present, for example in the construction of social cohesion and national identity.²¹ Barry Schwartz, an American sociologist who works extensively on social memory, has elaborated on two techniques that facilitate the interaction of past and present in narratives: 'framing' and 'keying'. He argues that precisely these techniques play an important role in the perpetuation of historical narratives: 'The coherence of most historical accounts results not only from the obdurateness of the reality they represent but also because their preservation and transmission processes – keying and framing (...) – are so consequential.'²²

Since this study is interested in the perpetuation of national narratives, it aims to scrutinize general 'narrative demands' as well as more specific processes of framing and keying in the practice of preserving and transmitting these narratives in history textbooks (see Figure 1 on page 19). An in-depth analysis of these elements can shed new light on the question of how and why national narratives are perpetuated in this genre. 'Narrative demands' are elements of a powerful and persuasive story, as explained above. With the term 'frame', I mean schemata of interpretation, shared organizing principles that provide recognizable structures while making sense of experiences and information.²³ An example of framing is narrating a specific historical battle as a 'fight for freedom'. In this way, a historical event receives a *meaningful* structure by placing it into a larger, recognizable scheme of interpretation.²⁴ Shared historical memories can become frames for the 'perception and comprehension of current events' as well.²⁵

In the interpretative context of framing, keying plays an important role: the act of connecting 'a present person, event, institution or experience to a past

21 Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 105–140, 129–130; Maria Grever, 'Plurality, Narrative and the Historical Canon', in *Beyond the Canon. History for the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 31–47, 41.

22 Schwartz, 'Where There's Smoke, There's Fire', 15.

23 Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 11. Gregory Bateson introduced the concept of framing in 'A Theory of Play and Fantasy' (1954). See also: Barry Schwartz, 'Memory as a Cultural System: Abraham Lincoln in World War II', *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (1996): 908–927, 911.

24 Stephen D. Reese, Oscar H. Gandy Jr. and August E. Grant, eds., *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and our Understanding of the Social World* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Erlbaum, 2001).

25 Schwartz, 'Memory as a Cultural System', 911.

counterpart'.²⁶ The established connection and the values associated with it can transform the meaning of an event by associating it with the interpretative framework of another event.²⁷ An example of keying is the term 'Black Holocaust', which directs renewed attention to the history of slavery by mentioning it in relation to an 'event' that has been regarded as unique in its horror.²⁸ Keying can be helpful while interpreting unknown or complex events by way of familiar and already available codes of memory and narration. The cross reference between slavery and the Holocaust is paradoxically based on the 'unimaginable' nature of the events, demonstrating the latter as a master trauma and its tropes as 'a readily recognizable lexicon of atrocity'.²⁹ Keying connects 'otherwise separate realms of history': the established connection and the associated values provide a new interpretative context.³⁰

This research scrutinizes cross references and interrelations between histories in textbooks in order to examine the framing and keying process. Information about the organization of historical knowledge can uncover associative connections between histories and expose familiar frames while narrating and interpreting the (national) past in textbooks. This approach is also useful in clarifying why specific national narratives are perpetuated since it offers the opportunity to analyse underlying conceptions of history and interpretations of the relationship between past, present, and future.³¹

In this way, this research aims to contribute to the field of textbook research as well: it explores a new approach in textbook analysis that goes beyond a representational analysis of the past that is limited to one event, person, or period in a particular section of the textbook. It scrutinizes the frames and keys of national narratives in a comparative analysis in order to shed light on the interpretation and transmission of history as a meaningful connection between the three time

26 Tom Thatcher, 'Preface: Keys, Frames, and the Problem of the Past', in *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: a Conversation with Barry Schwartz*, ed. T. Thatcher (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 1–5, 3.

27 Goffman, *Frame Analysis*, 45. Barry Schwartz and others have elaborated on Goffman's idea of keying. The German philosopher and intellectual historian Hans Blumenberg (1920–1996) has worked on metaphors as well. See: Hans Blumenberg, *Paradigmen zu einer Metaphorologie* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1960).

28 Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 11. See also *America's Black Holocaust Museum in Wisconsin*.

29 Lucy Bond, *Frames of Memory after 9/11. Culture, Criticism, Politics, and Law* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 99.

30 Thatcher, *Memory and Identity*, 3; Schwartz, 'Memory as a cultural system', 911.

31 To read more about conceptions of history, see also: Robbert-Jan Adriaansen, *The Rhythm of Eternity. The German Youth Movement and the Experience of the Past* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015).

dimensions.³² This study acknowledges that the meaning of national narratives can change while separate entities of a narrative are still perpetuated. This study therefore also investigates if, how and why a dominant system of meaning in a national narrative can change, for example after large-scale societal transformations associated with different views on the past, present, and future.

This section continues with the argumentation for the research period, the comparative component, the two selected case studies and various contexts that could affect the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks. Section 1.2 elaborates on national narratives and section 1.3 sketches various problems and challenges in the field of textbook research. A response is formulated in section 1.4, proposing a new approach in textbook analysis and discussing the processes of framing and keying with insights from different fields such as history, memory, and literature studies. The final section 1.5 addresses the sources, methods, and general outline of this study.

Narrative demands	Elements of a powerful and persuasive story, such as binary oppositions (e.g. good against evil) and a clear-cut plot.
Framing	Familiar, recognizable schemata of interpretation (e.g. interpreting a specific historical event as a fight for freedom).
Keying	Explicit cross references between various events and time periods (e.g. 'Black Holocaust') and recurring plotlines (e.g. interpreting <i>multiple</i> historical events as a fight for freedom).

Figure 1: Discursive analysis of the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks

The length of the research period is necessary due to the 'textbook time-lag': the gap between new findings or ideas and the production of new or revised textbooks. Furthermore, as this study is concerned with the underlying patterns of historical narratives, this research needed to include a substantive time period in order to detect continuities and changes. The research starts after World War I in 1920, because at that time several initiatives for textbook revision were initiated to reduce strong nationalistic visions. In 1925, *The International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation*, an advisory organization for the *League of Nations*, suggested a 'comparative analysis of textbooks in order to revise texts that were biased and flawed'.³³ Three years later, a report on nationalism in history textbooks was published.³⁴ The more recent period of the 1990s is also included as the process of re-nationalization played an important role during this time and

32 Jörn Rüsen, 'Historical Consciousness: Narrative Structure, Moral Function, and Ontogenetic Development', in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 63–86, 67.

33 Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* (Hanover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1999), 9.

34 Wilhelm Carlgren, ed., *Report on Nationalism in History Textbooks* (Stockholm: Magn. Bergvalls förlag, 1928).

continues to do so today. In the new millennium, many countries witnessed a strong revival of national narratives in education as a response to the accusation that school history was marginalizing national history and taught a fragmentary approach as well as relativistic narratives.³⁵ The research therefore ends in the year 2010. The longitudinal research period is divided into four, partly overlapping, periods: circa 1920–1940 (the interbellum period and the discussions about the goals and consequences of school history in the light of WWI); 1940–1965 (the period during and after WWII and the process of Dutch ‘depillarization’); 1965–1988 (educational reforms and changes in the historical discipline); 1988–2010 (the implementation of the National Curriculum in the UK, followed by the implementation of national core curricula in Dutch history education at a later time).

A comparative analysis is needed in order to understand the role of the national context. Members of a particular culture often remember and narrate the past according to the same mental schemata and plot structures as these cultural codes are relevant to its members.³⁶ Textbooks from England³⁷ and the Netherlands are compared because both countries share some important historical and educational characteristics. They are nations originating in early-modern times and were Atlantic Rim nations in the forefront of commercialization and Enlightenment culture.³⁸ Both countries were involved in overseas expansions and transformed into colonial empires.³⁹ Moreover, they were both involved in the Atlantic slave trade and the slavery system.⁴⁰ They also have a population that has become more culturally heterogeneous in the past half-century. An important

35 Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman, eds., *Beyond the Canon. History for the Twenty-First Century* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Terry Haydn, ‘The Changing Form and Use of Textbooks in the History Classroom for the 21st Century’, in *Yearbook of the International Society of History Didactics* (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 67–88.

36 Zerubavel, *Time maps*.

37 In the United Kingdom, textbooks often use the term ‘British history’ for international (imperial) contexts; when it comes to state politics the books are predominantly English. John G.A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

38 Niek C.F. Van Sas, *De metamorfose van Nederland. Van oude orde naar moderniteit, 1750–1900* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004); Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

39 Frances Gouda, *Dutch Culture Overseas. Colonial Practice in the Netherlands Indies 1900–1942* (Amsterdam: Equinox Publishing, 1995); Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain From the Mid-nineteenth Century* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005).

40 Alex van Stipriaan, ‘Disrupting the Canon: The Case of Slavery’, in *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-first Century*, eds. Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 205–219.

difference is the international position of both countries. Although the Netherlands lost its power, England was still a world power in the first half of the twentieth century. Differences also include the infrastructure of the history profession, the amount of national history in school curricula, curriculum organization and the textbook market for commercial publishers.

Since the 1970s, in both countries historical skills have become important components of the history curriculum. A persistent complaint in public debates is however that youngsters are not familiar with the history of their country of residence. English and Dutch historians have participated in public debates about school history and in both countries some groups seem to act out a 'counter-revolution'. First in the UK and later in the Netherlands, the government initiated the making of a national history curriculum in order to increase the knowledge about national history among young people. Policymakers expect a chronologically arranged history curriculum with a coherent and uniform national narrative; national governments demand the transmission of national historical canons to bolster national identity.⁴¹ Yet requirements closely linked to identity politics are often incompatible with criteria of the historical profession, such as distance and critical judgement.⁴²

All these discussions about history education produced more newspaper coverage than any other school subject. However, some generalizations were incorrect and a historical perspective was often lacking. Moreover, history education of the past was too easily rejected or looked upon with nostalgia. Sam Wineburg also pointed out that studies often focus on what students do not know instead of what they do know.⁴³ Many discussions about history education are normative and have been coloured with simplistic dichotomies, such as 'traditional' or 'old' versus 'new' history education. A historical perspective can contribute to present debates: 'research with a long-term perspective has the potential to uncover – and dismiss – these dichotomies'.⁴⁴ Although scholars have

41 Rob Phillips, 'Government Policies, the State and the Teaching of History', in *Issues in History Teaching*, eds. James Arthur and Robert Phillips (London: Routledge Falmer, 2000), 10–23.

42 Jörn Rüsen, 'Was ist Geschichtskultur? Überlegungen zu einer neuen Art, über Geschichte nachzudenken', in *Historische Orientierung: Über die Arbeit des Geschichtsbewusstseins, Sich in der Zeit zurechtzufinden [Historical Orientation: on the Work of Historical Consciousness to Find Ways in Time]*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (Köln: Böhlau, 1994), 211–234; Grever, 'Plurality, Narrative and the Historical Canon'; Bruce VanSledright, 'Narratives of Nation-state, Historical Knowledge, and School History Education', *Review of Research in Education* 32, no. 1 (2008): 109–146; Arthur Chapman and Arie Wilschut, eds., *Joined-up History. New Directions in History Education Research* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2015).

43 Sam Wineburg, 'Making Historical Sense', in *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives*, eds. Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 306–325.

44 Verschaffel and Wils, 'History Education and the Claims of Society', 4.

studied specific periods and domains in English and Dutch history textbooks,⁴⁵ longitudinal and comparative research on textbooks' national narratives is hardly available. Hence, this research aims to elucidate this development by investigating almost a century.

National narratives of different nations can be compared in terms of their narrative structure and shape.⁴⁶ In order to conduct an in-depth analysis, this study focuses on two case studies. The comparison between English and Dutch history textbooks is conducted on a meta level, concentrated on how history is interpreted and narrated. This research does not aim to examine how a certain historical event is differently portrayed in textbooks from different countries but instead endeavours to select a historical 'event' that is narrated as a national 'origin' story and is still referred to as important in the national context. The two selected case studies are both sixteenth-century 'events' and share the function of being regarded as important for the 'foundation' or the continued existence of the 'nation'. Consequently, the hypothesis is that these events play an important role in the narrated pattern of meaning and might be referred to in the narration of other histories as well.

After the pilot study⁴⁷ two case studies were selected. The first was the English defeat of the Spanish Armada under the reign of Elizabeth I (1588) in English history textbooks. In a complex tangle of religious and political matters, piracy conflicts and colonial disputes, many tensions had been building between Spain and England when, in 1588, a huge Spanish fleet set sail for England aiming to

45 Examples for the Netherlands are: Joop Toebes (1987) researched in a comparative study the pros and cons of the combination of history with social studies subjects (e.g. civics) in high school curricula for Germany, England and the Netherlands after 1945; textbooks are briefly discussed. André Beening (2001) explored the image of Germany in Dutch history textbooks. Hilda Amsing (2002) investigated changing identities and education ideals of Dutch secondary schools between 1863 and 1920, focusing on history as a school subject; two chapters of this study are devoted to history textbook research. Willeke Los (2012) examined the Batavian Revolution in Dutch history textbooks and Alexander Albicher (2012) wrote his dissertation about distance and empathy in Dutch history education, 1945–1985. Examples for England are Jason Nicholls (2006), Stuart Foster and Keith Crawford (2006). They studied, for instance, portrayals of the Holocaust in English history textbooks and international debates in history textbooks across cultures from the perspective of comparative education.

46 See for instance: Krijn Thijs, 'The Metaphor of the Master "Narrative Hierarchy" in National Historical Cultures of Europe', in *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, eds. Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 60–74, 71.

47 The first pilot study examined the Glorious Revolution (1688) in English history textbooks. However, this 'event' was not perpetuated over time and was missing in several textbooks. While this also offers much of interest, the study endeavored to 'follow' a certain case study over a long time period. After contact with several specialists in history education (UK), the Glorious Revolution was therefore replaced by a new case study: the English defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588).

stop the harm caused to Spanish interests, to overthrow Queen Elizabeth I and to end the Tudor establishment of Protestantism. Moreover, the Catholic Philip II aimed to put an end to English support of the rebels in the Spanish Netherlands.⁴⁸

The second case study includes the start of the Dutch Revolt (1566–1584) in Dutch history textbooks.⁴⁹ The Low Countries revolted against the rule of the Habsburg King Philip II of Spain, hereditary ruler of the provinces. The beginning of this revolt is found in 1566 (Iconoclasm) or 1568 (Battle of Heiligerlee).⁵⁰ Eventually, the seven northern provinces (Calvinism and republicanism) separated from the southern provinces (Catholicism and absolutist rule). Prince William of Orange – stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht – played a key role in the revolt and the advent of the Dutch Republic. In 1580, Philip II declared the Prince an outlaw and put a price of 25,000 guilders on his head. Four years later, the Prince was murdered by the Catholic Balthasar Gerards. The revolt continued and ended with the Treaty of Münster in 1648, meaning that the Dutch Republic was recognized as an independent state.⁵¹ Due to the length of the dispute, another name for this period is the ‘Eighty Years’ War’.

This study investigates English and Dutch history textbooks published for students aged 11 to 14 (Year 7–9, nowadays Key Stage 3 or ‘onderbouw’) in higher secondary education. The research is focused on this age group because they are generally taught an overview of national history, better enabling a tracing of the case studies. Furthermore, the general overview of history was important given that this study aims to track the case studies throughout the whole historical narrative of a textbook in order to analyse if, how and why the selected case studies are referred to and interrelated with other narrated histories.

Textbook authors live and work in various contexts and their final products are affected by many factors and contexts. The pilot study revealed the importance of socio-political context: history textbooks referred for example to the World Wars, processes of decolonization, the terrorist attack of 9/11 and public

48 Geoffrey Parker, *Imprudent King. A New life of Philip II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

49 On 30 April 2013, Prince Willem-Alexander was inaugurated as king of the Netherlands and in his first speech as king he referred to the year 1581 as the ‘birth certificate’ of the Netherlands. Another example is the exhibition *80 Years’ War. The Birth of the Netherlands* held in the Rijksmuseum (Amsterdam) from 12–10–2018 to 20–01–2019. The museum aimed to tell ‘how the Dutch nation was born’ in order to mark the 450th anniversary of the outbreak of the Eighty Years’ War. See also the Dutch television series *80 jaar oorlog* in 2018.

50 Laura Cruz, ‘Reworking the Grand Narrative: A Review of Recent Books on the Dutch Revolt’, *BMGN – The Low Countries Historical Review* 125, no. 1 (2010): 29–38; Judith Pollmann, ‘Iconoclasts Anonymous: Why Did it Take Historians so Long to Identify the Image-breakers of 1566?’, *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131, no. 1 (2016): 155–176; S. Groenveld, *Facetten van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2018).

51 See for example: Jacques Dane, ed., *1648: Vrede van Munster. Feit en Verbeelding* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998).

debates on societal developments and history (e.g. multiculturalism, migration, citizenship and identity). Moreover, textbooks exposed tensions between academic historians and the relatively new group of experts in (history) didactics. Based on this outcome, this study will focus on four selected contexts (see Figure 2 on page 25): 1. the socio-political context; 2. the historical disciplinary context; 3. the educational and pedagogic context; and 4. the narratological context. These contexts also mutually affect each other. The first context involves political interference with the history curriculum, for example, national and international events and accompanying discussions, but does *not* necessarily refer to direct state intervention. The second context refers to academic historiography and to changes in the infrastructure of the history profession. The third includes pedagogic and moral ideas on school history as well as the rise of history didactics: disciplinary guidelines for teaching and learning history. This context is separated from the second, precisely to analyse their dynamic relationship over time.

Whereas these three contexts refer to possible explanations for the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks (why), the inner circle of Figure 2 refers to the textual dynamics (how). At the same time, the inner narratological circle can function as an explanatory context (context 4), as persistence can be located in the ‘textual dynamics of memory itself’ and on how these accounts are constructed: ‘Memories form genres that unfold over time by referring not only to their contexts and to the “original” event, but to their own histories and memories as texts.’⁵² Collective memory is path-dependent and affected by previous representations of its contents. The next section will explain that national narratives in particular are powerful constructs.

1.2 National narratives

Since the nineteenth century, the nation-state has been an influential socio-cultural framework in the Western world.⁵³ In the mid-nineteenth century, history education became compulsory in many Western countries and has traditionally been seen as an instrument of the state to fortify national identity and ideas about nationhood.⁵⁴ ‘Communities are to be distinguished, not by their

52 Olick and Robbins, ‘Social Memory Studies’, 130.

53 Piet Blaas, *Geschiedenis en nostalgie. De historiografie: van een kleine natie met een groot verleden. Verspreide historiografische opstellen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000); Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, eds., *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

54 Stuart Foster, ‘Dominant Traditions in International Textbook Research and Revision’, *Education Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (2011): 5–20.

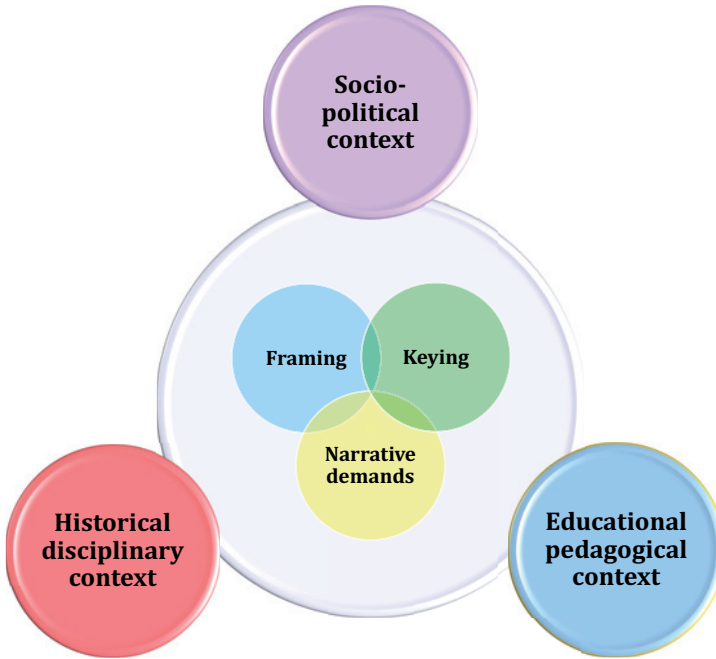


Figure 2: National narratives in history textbooks are affected by various contexts

falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined’, according to Benedict Anderson.⁵⁵ Next to historical legends and fiction, historical scholarship and school history have been major producers of national narratives and have contributed to the process of nation-building. National narratives are (often canonized) stories about a nation’s origin, achievements, and the perceived characteristics of a national community to make sense of past events and to create cohesion in the present with a view to the future.⁵⁶ This study is interested in the discursive construction of a national community in the genre of history textbooks and how the national identity as well as characteristics of such a group are translated over time.

People construct meaning about themselves, the world that surrounds them and the past via narratives.⁵⁷ Narratives place ‘social phenomena in the larger

55 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 6.

56 Grever and Van der Vlies, ‘Why National Narratives are Perpetuated’, 287.

57 Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories: Law, Literature, Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002); Jerome Bruner, ‘The Narrative Construction of Reality’, *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991): 1–21, 4. See also: Ann Rigney, ‘Remembrance as Remaking: Memories of the Nation Revisited’, *Nations and Nationalism* 24, no. 2 (2018): 240–257. ‘Memories are used not only for making the nation but also for remaking it.’

patterns that attribute social and political meaning to them'.⁵⁸ Especially the analysis of national narratives can help to expose the generated meaning: by a particular organization of past experiences and future expectations, a national narrative can create continuity and a pattern of meaning in which several events and periods can be entered. Narratives can be defined, therefore, as mediational in the sense that they are meaning-making cultural artefacts through which people give sense to reality.⁵⁹ Next to the fact that narratives interpret reality, they can also create a reality: by narratively linking the past, the present and the future, stories can add significance to these three time dimensions. Jörn Rüsen explains that a historical narration 'mobilizes the experience of past time, which is engraved in the archives of memory, so that the experience of present time becomes understandable and the expectation of future time is possible'.⁶⁰ Moreover, Paul Ricoeur states that the unity of the three time dimensions in a historical narrative creates a continuity which establishes or supports a narrated identity, an 'attempt to obtain a narrative understanding of ourselves'.⁶¹

A national narrative will therefore particularly highlight events that mark the emergence and the identity of the national collective. Complexities are flattened and history is often presented as a univocal story.⁶² It 'simplifies, dramatizes and selectively narrates the story of a nation's past and its place in the world, its historical eschatology: a story that elucidates its contemporary meaning through (re)constructing its past'.⁶³ A national narrative is a group-defining story that reaches back into a people's distant past, aimed at legitimation and glorification.⁶⁴ Next to glorification and pride, these stories stimulate forgetting and are 'effective protective shields' against periods and events that a nation tries to obliterate.⁶⁵ They narrate a 'usable past': a set of heroes, events and storylines that

58 Frank Fischer, *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 179.

59 Jens Brockmeier, 'Remembering and Forgetting: Narrative as Cultural Memory', *Culture Psychology* 8 (2002): 15–43; Ignacio Brescó, 'Giving National Form to the Content of the Past. A Study of the Narrative Construction of Historical Events', *Psychology & Society* 1, no. 1 (2008): 1–14.

60 Jörn Rüsen, 'Historical Narration: Foundation, Types, Reason', *History and Theory* 26, no. 4 (1987): 87–97.

61 Paul Ricoeur, 'Life in Quest of Narrative', in *On Paul Ricoeur: Narrative and Interpretation*, ed. David Wood (London: Routledge, 1991), 20–33.

62 Duncan S.A. Bell, 'Mythscape: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity', *British Journal of Sociology* 54, no. 1 (2003): 63–81, 75.

63 Bell, 'Mythscape: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity', 75.

64 Laurie Brand, *Official Stories. Politics and National Narratives in Egypt and Algeria* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 9; Michael Morden, 'Anatomy of the National Myth: Archetypes and Narrative in the Study of Nationalism', *Nations and Nationalism* 22, no. 3 (2016): 447–464.

65 Aleida Assmann, 'Theories of Cultural Memory and the Concept of "Afterlife"', in *Afterlife of Events: Perspectives on Mnemohistory*, ed. Marek Tamm (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan,

can be marshalled to serve present needs by shaping popular and understandable responses.⁶⁶ Although national narratives are sometimes seen as stories without a narrator, they are 'grounded in institutions and shaped by ever-present and evolving power relations'.⁶⁷ Social structures thus produce national narratives, just as these stories in turn construct social structures with inclusion and exclusion principles reinforced by the use of 'them' and 'us'.⁶⁸

Furthermore, national narratives can be highly patterned and constituted according to the same structure.⁶⁹ This cultural pattern can be dominant and remain the same even if the details of the narration change. It functions as 'mental equipment' for the interpretation of past and present events and can influence how individuals narrate their lives.⁷⁰ Consequently, some researchers speak of a complex national narrative, which is 'constructed from a set of secondary narratives, myths, symbols, metaphors and images'.⁷¹ Different generations can produce historical stories that seem to vary considerably but, when taking a closer look, these various narratives might share the same frame or underlying pattern.

This is what James Wertsch experienced when he examined the war memories of different Russian generations. Accepting the interpretative and mnemonic power of narrative, Wertsch elaborated on the narrative organization of collective memory. He argues that specific narratives about different persons, periods and events can share the same underlying structure or 'narrative template': specific narratives about various events and persons, uniquely situated in space and time, can be organized around one and the same plot. Various unique histories can thus be framed in the same way and these 'schematic narrative templates' can be described as strong and influential 'deep frames' that were shared by distinctive

2015), 79–94, 84; Yehudith Auerbach, 'National Narratives in a Conflict of Identity', in *Barriers to Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, ed. Yaacov Bar-siman-Tov (Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2010), 158–187.

66 Brand, *Official Stories*, 10. Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999).

67 *Ibid.*, 76. See also the argument by Levi-Strauss that myths have no author: 'they exist only as they are incarnated in a tradition'. Claude Lévi-Strauss, 'Overture to *Le Cru et le cuit*', trans. Joseph H. McMahon, in *Structuralism*, ed. Jacques Ehrmann (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1966), 41–65, 54.

68 Jeffrey Olick, 'From Collective Memory to the Sociology of Mnemonic Practices and Products', in *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, eds. Astrid Erl and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 151–162.

69 Carol F. Feldman, 'Narratives of National Identity as Group Narratives. Patterns of Interpretive Cognition', in *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*, eds. Jens Brockmeier and Donal Carbaugh (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2001), 129–144.

70 *Ibid.*, 129.

71 Yaacov Yadgar, 'From the Particularistic to the Universalistic: National Narratives in Israel's Mainstream Press, 1967–97', *Nations and Nationalism* 8 (2002): 55–72, 58.

Russian generations even when their accounts differed in narrative details.⁷² Wertsch refers to Propp, who analysed Russian folk tales in order to disentangle several generalized functions of narratives, such as ‘hero leaves home’ and ‘hero and villain join in direct combat’, focusing on the abstract, schematic and generalized function of the narrative.⁷³ However, Wertsch argues that these templates are not universal narrative archetypes but belong to a specific narrative tradition within a specific cultural setting.⁷⁴

Collective memory thus contains a ‘cultural tool kit that includes a few basic building blocks’ instead of lists of specific narratives, according to Wertsch.⁷⁵ Stories about the past are often narrated according to these blocks, which means that stories may vary in their details but look like replicas as they draw on the same general storyline.⁷⁶ This storyline could affect *how* history is narrated and *what* is selected or left out. There is ‘the tendency to patch the new research into the old story even when the research in detail has altered the bearings of the whole subject’.⁷⁷

Although narrative templates can be discerned in different media and genres, the specific features of the textbook genre – such as narrating history in a concise, understandable, and appealing way – and the attempt to give a general historical overview may cause patterns of historical organization to prevail over details. However, whereas Wertsch argues that change only takes place at the level of specific narratives – in contrast with the level of the schematic narrative template, which is dominated by ‘conservatism and a resistance to change’⁷⁸ – the dynamic, historicized approach of this study challenges Wertsch’s argument and considers the possibility of a new narrative template that might arise after drastic changes in society or the world. This longitudinal study directs attention to continuity and change and argues, in addition to Wertsch’s macro-level and search for the nation’s ‘basic’ narrative template⁷⁹, for a meso-level in the analysis of underlying

72 James Wertsch, ‘Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates’, in *Theorizing Historical Consciousness*, ed. Peter Seixas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 49–63.

73 James Wertsch, ‘The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory’, *Ethos* 36 (2008): 120–135, 123.

74 Wertsch, ‘Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates’, 58.

75 *Ibid.*, 57.

76 Wertsch, ‘The Narrative Organization of Collective Memory’, 123.

77 Maria Grever, ‘Narratieve Sjablonen van Vooruitgang. De Betrekkelijkheid van het Vooroudergevoel in de Historiografie’ [Narrative Templates of Progress. The Relativity of Ancestral Feelings in Historiography], in *De Last der Geschiedenis. Beeldvorming, Leergezagen Traditie binnen het Historisch Metier* [The Burden of History. Representation, Authority and Tradition in Historical Scholarship], ed. Bert Roest (Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers, 2013), 32–46, 44; Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell, 1931), 5.

78 James Wertsch, ‘Collective Memory and Narrative Templates’, *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (2008): 133–156, 151.

79 Wertsch, ‘Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates’, 57–58.

patterns in national narratives in order to understand the *plurality* of narrative templates within a cultural tradition and their dynamics of dominance over time.⁸⁰

1.3 The field of history textbook research: problems and challenges⁸¹

Textbook research is a strong international research field. This was already the case in the early 1920s, when the League of Nations encouraged comparative textbook research on stereotypes and portrayals of the ‘Other’ in order to accomplish international understanding. After the Second World War, UNESCO and the Council of Europe continued this type of research.⁸² Since its foundation in 1951, the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media (until recently: Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research) in Braunschweig (Germany) has contributed tremendously to textbook research. Gradually, work in this field took on a more detached approach by providing critical analyses of contexts of production, content perspectives and discourses. These studies have raised questions, for instance, about the relations between power, ideology and historical knowledge.⁸³ International organizations have supported textbook research on various school subjects and this research has been conducted in a variety of disciplines (history, geography, peace studies, education, media studies, sociology and psychology), but researching *history* textbooks has always been considered a crucial undertaking in the field generally.⁸⁴

History textbooks are educational resources related to the historical discipline, produced with the aim to support or – depending on the country – to

80 See also: Tina van der Vlies, ‘Historicizing and pluralizing Wertsch’s narrative templates: freedom and tolerance in Dutch history textbooks’, in *Reproducing, rethinking, resisting national narratives. A sociocultural approach to schematic narrative templates in times of nationalism*, eds. Ignacio Brescó de Luna and Floor van Alphen (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2022), 23–36. Philpott also distinguishes a meso-level but with a different meaning: he contrasts the ‘local’ (meso) with the nation-state (macro) and the individual (micro). Carey Philpott, ‘Developing and extending Wertsch’s idea of narrative templates’, *International Journal of Research & Method in Education* 37, no. 3 (2014): 309–323.

81 Parts of 1.3 are published in Grever and Van der Vlies, ‘Why National Narratives are Perpetuated’.

82 Pingel, *Guidebook*; Jason Nicholls, ‘Methods in School Textbook Research’, *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 3, no. 2 (2003): 11–26; Eckhardt Fuchs, ‘Current Trends in History and Social Studies Textbook Research’, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education* 14, no. 2 (2011): 17–34, 18.

83 Foster, ‘Dominant Traditions’.

84 Karina Korostelina, *History Education in the Formation of Social Identity: Toward a Culture of Peace* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

determine the contents of formal history teaching and learning, mostly in schools. Because textbooks are intentionally written for teaching and learning purposes, they contain – implicitly or explicitly – pedagogical and didactic visions as well as moral messages. History textbooks give information about agreed and preferred values, norms and behaviour; their codes and interpretations are socially dominant.⁸⁵ ‘History textbooks preserve and communicate cultural truths intergenerationally.’⁸⁶ Consequently, they are a rather hybrid object of research, not only embedded in the context of a specific discipline with its own cultural status, tradition and jargon, but also in the wider context of politics, media, (popular) culture, commerce and education. The subject content knowledge is automatically accompanied by pedagogical visions and ideas, such as why history is important to study. Pedagogy entails any process ‘through which we are encouraged to know’ and is concerned with a certain way of ordering and making sense of the world: ‘pedagogy attempts to influence the way meanings are absorbed, recognized, understood, accepted, confirmed and connected as well as challenged, distorted, taken further or dismissed’.⁸⁷

The pedagogical and disciplinary context are connected to ideas on history didactics: disciplinary guidelines for teaching and learning history. Since the 1980s history textbook series often cover three products: 1. the textbook with stories, source fragments, images, graphs, maps, references to films and websites; 2. a workbook with assignments for students, also often including images, graphs and maps; 3. a teachers’ guide with explanations of historical topics, references to museums and other media, didactic advice and pedagogical tools. Currently, textbook series have become even more hybrid as they are expanded with educational websites and digital media.⁸⁸

Traditionally, history textbooks have a special status: they contain historical knowledge generally believed to be what everyone should know. This status of authority is often strengthened by the fact that words and sentences seem to be objective and impersonal; stories are told by an omniscient narrator and learners

85 Issit, ‘Reflections on the Study of Textbooks’; Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook*, 7; Lässig, ‘Textbooks and Beyond’. See also: Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 91–109.

86 Dan Porat, ‘A Contemporary Past: History Textbooks as Sites of National Memory’, in *Raising Standards in History Education. International Review of History Education* 3, eds. Alaric Dickinson, Peter Gordon and Peter Lee (London, 2001), 36–55, 51.

87 Roger I. Simon, *Teaching Against the Grain: Texts for a Pedagogy of Possibility* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1992), 56 and 59.

88 Terry Haydn, ‘The Changing Form and Use of Textbooks in the History Classroom for the 21st Century’; Terry Haydn and Kees Ribbens, ‘Social Media, New Technologies and History Education’, in *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*, eds. Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger and Maria Grever (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 735–753.

or readers have a subordinate epistemological status.⁸⁹ Elie Podeh, who researched Israeli textbooks, describes them as ‘another arm of the state, agents of memory’, and a kind of ‘supreme historical court’ because they ‘decide’ what is appropriate to include.⁹⁰ From this perspective, history textbooks are collective memory agents of the nation.⁹¹ Moreover, they function as instruments for socialization and identity politics.⁹²

Although history textbooks preserve and communicate ‘cultural truths’,⁹³ opinions on these can vary widely and history textbook contents have been debated for decades. These debates even led to the so-called textbook wars, such as in West Virginia in 1974: ‘Schools were hit by dynamite, buses were riddled with bullets, and coal mines were shut down.’⁹⁴ The more recent ‘textbook wars’ of the 1990s and 2000s are another example.⁹⁵ Political elites, opinion leaders, churches, historians, education experts and teachers negotiate or even fight about which historical topics are relevant and worth being presented in textbooks, and in what ways.

This also becomes manifest during major social and political transformations, which often leave their mark on the contents and perspectives of history textbooks. A telling case in this respect is the regime change in post-1989 Russia and ‘the enormous task of revising and rewriting textbooks to adjust to a new reality’ which evoked fierce debates over the contents of history textbooks in the mass media and professional forums.⁹⁶ More recently, Russian President Putin has asked historians to develop a univocal history curriculum, ‘free from internal contradictions and ambiguities’. Critics say the proposed version of history is

89 John Issit, ‘Reflections on the Study of Textbooks’, *History of Education* 33, no. 6 (2004): 683–696, 689; David Olson, ‘On the Language and Authority of Textbooks’, *Journal of Communication* 30, no. 1 (1980): 186–196, 194.

90 Podeh, ‘History and Memory in the Israeli Educational System’, 66. See also: Apple and Christian-Smith, eds., *The Politics of the Textbook*.

91 Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

92 Simone Lässig, ‘Textbooks and Beyond: Educational Media in Context(s)’, *The Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 1 (2009): 1–20; Simone Lässig and Karl H. Pohl, ‘History Textbooks and Historical Scholarship in Germany’, *History Workshop Journal* 67 (2009): 125–139; Brand, *Official Stories*.

93 Porat, ‘A Contemporary Past’, 36–55, 51; Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

94 <http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/textbooks/> (accessed March 1, 2019).

95 Stuart Macintyre and Anna Clark, *The History Wars* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2003).

96 Karina Korostelina, ‘Legitimizing an Authoritarian Regime: Dynamics of History Education in Independent Russia’, in *(Re)Constructing Memory: School Textbooks and the Imagination of the Nation*, ed. James H. Williams (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2014), 293–310, 297.

'highly politicized and grossly distorts the facts'.⁹⁷ Another case is the Texas Board of Education in the USA, who evoked a heated debate with their plans to change the contents of history schoolbooks in 2010. Historians protested since a number of the Board's changes were historically incorrect and politically inspired. Other examples are Japan, Australia, France, Greece and Israel.⁹⁸

However, as Barton and Foster have rightly claimed, we must be careful not to assimilate different pedagogical contexts and curricular arrangements, ending up with misunderstandings about the various national contexts of history education practices.⁹⁹ Although governments control textbooks and history curricula in many countries – such as in France, Germany, the USA and Japan – this is not always the case.¹⁰⁰ Since the political impact on historical narratives is often taken for granted, this study is interested precisely in non-prescribed history textbooks. William Marsden even pointed to an anti-textbook ethos in British education: financial constraints were withholding teachers from using textbooks, while new technologies provided them with other teaching methods.¹⁰¹ However, he also argues that this anti-textbook ethos is more evident among primary teachers

97 Albina Kovalyova, 'Is Vladimir Putin Rewriting Russia's History Books?', www.nbcnews.com/news/other/vladimir-putin-rewriting-russias-history-books-f2D11669160 (accessed February 2, 2017).

98 Sven Saaler, *Politics, Memory and Public Opinion. The History Textbook Controversy and Japanese Society* (Munich: Ludicium, 2005); Alexander Bukh, 'Japan's History Textbooks Debate. National Identity in Narratives of Victimhood and Victimization', *Asian Survey* 47, no. 5 (2007): 683–704; Macintyre and Clark, *The History Wars*; Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, 'A Traditional Frame for Global History: The Narrative of Modernity in French Secondary School', in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, eds. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio and Maria Rodriguez-Moneo (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012), 109–124; Maria Repoussi, 'Politics Questions History Education. Debates on Greek History Textbooks', in *Yearbook International Society of History Didactics (2006/07)*, eds. Elisabeth Erdmann, Luigi Cajani, Alexander S. Khodnev, Susanne Popp, Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon and George D. Wrangham (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2006), 99–110; Porat, 'A Contemporary Past', 36–55, 51.

99 Keith Barton, 'History: From Learning Narratives to Thinking Historically', in *Contemporary Social Studies: An Essential Reader*, ed. William B. Russell (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2011).

100 Linda Symcox and Arie Wilschut, eds., *National History Standards: The Problem of the Canon and the Future of Teaching History* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009); Mark Selden and Yoshiko Nozaki, 'Japanese Textbook Controversies, Nationalism, and Historical Memory: Intra- and International Conflicts', *The Asia Pacific Journal* 7, no. 5 (2009): 1–24; Carla van Boxtel and Maria Grever, 'Between Disenchantment and High Expectations. History Education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008', in *Facing, Mapping, Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education Part 2*, eds. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 83–116; Marc van Berkel, *Plotlines of Victimhood. Holocaust Education in German and Dutch History Textbooks, 1960–2010* (PhD thesis, Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2017).

101 William E. Marsden, *The School Textbook. Geography, History and Social Studies* (London: routledge, 2001), 55.

than their secondary colleagues.¹⁰² Moreover, since the 1980s and 1990s several English and Dutch textbook series have implemented historical thinking skills due to debates between experts in history education and revisions of the history curricula.

History textbook research can be considered as educational/school historiography with fascinating views on the substantive development of the historical discipline and its (inter)national infrastructure.¹⁰³ But while history textbook research attracts a lot of attention in the public arena, it is almost absent in handbooks of historiography and philosophy of history. One of the reasons for this neglect might be that, traditionally, studies on history textbooks have focused on describing change and continuity in the historical representations of specific topics. The main questions in this research are: How are people, events or processes represented and what/who is marginalized or neglected? Another likely reason for this historiographical neglect is that printed textbooks seem an outdated resource. Examining textbooks in the age of digital humanities is regularly considered antiquarian both as a research object and as a method. Yet textbooks are still widely used in the classroom, often in combination with online media, such as apps.¹⁰⁴

This historiographical neglect might have other causes as well, as evidenced by the publication of James Loewen's *Lies my Teacher Told Me* (1995). Particularly sociologist David Horowitz complained that this book is not 'a scholarly work' but 'a sectarian polemic against the traditional teaching of American history and against what the author views as the black record of the American past'.¹⁰⁵ Loewen's book – a prize-winning bestseller – was based on a research of twelve popular history textbooks in the USA, observations in classrooms and interviews with high school students and teachers. He not only revealed mythological, inaccurate and Eurocentric histories in the textbooks, but also indicated ignored historical themes, such as the American exploitation of enslaved black people. In this way he emphasized that American history textbooks favour a feel-good (white) perspective. Beyond who is right, the polemic between Loewen and

102 Ibid.

103 Raphaël de Keyser, 'Schoolboek historiografie. Een verkenning' [Textbook historiography. An exploration], in *De lectuur van het verleden. Opstellen over de geschiedenis van de geschiedschrijving aangeboden aan Reginald de Schryver*, eds. Jo Tollebeek, Georgi Verbeeck and Tom Verschaffel (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 331–348; Maria Repoussi and Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, 'New Trends in History Textbook Research: Issues and Methodologies Toward a School Historiography', *Journal of Educational Media, Memory, and Society* 2, no. 1 (2010): 154–170, 154.

104 Repoussi and Tutiaux-Guillon, 'New Trends in History Textbook Research', 156.

105 <http://hnn.us/roundup/entries/34458.html>; <http://hnn.us/articles/38162.html> (accessed March 1, 2019).

Horowitz clearly illustrates some wider challenges within the field of textbook research.

First, research on historical representations in this genre tends to reveal what is *not* in the history textbook and what has been distorted or censored.¹⁰⁶ However, these studies do not satisfactorily clarify what is *in* the history textbook and why? Second, history textbooks are often measured against the yardstick of academic historiography¹⁰⁷ and thus seldom praised but ‘frequently criticized as inadequate or unworthy’.¹⁰⁸ What many critics quickly forget is that history textbooks present, depending on the age of students, simplified versions of complex and layered histories because the narratives must be understandable for youngsters. Moreover, other genres and media, as well as popular circulating narratives, images and myths, can also affect history textbooks. It is therefore important not to regard history textbooks as poor substitutes for academic historiography but as mediators and adapters of discourses: as a genre, specific and complex in itself, fitting into a larger cultural formation.¹⁰⁹

This is not to say that historians and other researchers cannot be right in their criticism. However, this judgemental approach is not really helpful in illuminating why particular narratives are perpetuated and why textbook authors seem to cling to ‘old canons’. The aim of this research type is often to adjust textbooks instead of understanding their assumptions, narrative plotlines, and how history textbooks function in relation to other media such as novels, poems, and films.¹¹⁰ For this reason some researchers argue for new types of research questions: in order to shed light on textbook structures, a discourse analysis is more helpful than criteria such as ‘true’ and ‘false’.¹¹¹

A third challenge is the issue of authorship. We need to know much more about who has actually written a history textbook, but sometimes this information is hard to find. This study also faced the problem that some authors from the past can no longer be traced. Moreover, the production of history textbooks is highly influenced by commercial interests of the textbook in-

106 See for example: James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me. Everything your American History Textbook got Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1995); Hein and Selden, eds., *Censoring History*.

107 Tina van der Vlies, ‘Geschiedverhalen en hun eigen dynamiek. Schoolboeken als zelfstandig genre’ [Historical narratives and their power. Textbooks as a distinct genre], *Kleio* 55, no. 1 (2014): 30–35.

108 Ann Low-Beer, ‘School History, National History and the Issue of National Identity’, *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 3, no. 1 (2003): 1–7, 3.

109 Tina van der Vlies, ‘Echoing National Narratives in English History Textbooks’, in *Palgrave Handbook of Research in Historical Culture and Education*, eds. Mario Carretero, Stefan Berger and Maria Grever (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 243–258, 254.

110 Ibid.

111 See for example: Thomas Höhne, *Schulbuchwissen. Umriss einer Wissens- und Medientheorie des Schulbuches* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Goethe-Universität, 2003).

dustry.¹¹² Sometimes publishing companies hire ghost authors and make agreements with professional historians to lend their names. The various forms of authorship not only influence the historical content and the quality of assignments, but might also offer an explanation for the practice of duplicating familiar narratives. The fourth challenge is connected to the ‘consumers’¹¹³: how do frames and keys in history textbooks impact teachers’ and students’ views of the past?

Furthermore, several scholars have indicated the lack of generic methods in the field of textbook research. In 1999 former GEI director Falk Pingel published a methodological guidebook for textbook research. Four years later, Nicolls argued that methods are still ‘rarely discussed clearly and in depth’, an issue that ‘remains a gaping hole in the field’.¹¹⁴ Nowadays, several researchers have tried to overcome this gap by being more explicit about their analysis and with attempts to develop (digital) tools for textbook analysis. Scholars use quantitative as well as qualitative software to code the content of textbooks and to examine the characteristic vocabulary of a certain discourse.¹¹⁵ Hence, history textbook research is an increasingly flourishing field and guidelines for a systematic analysis of textbooks are still being further refined.¹¹⁶

This study aims to contribute to the methodological ‘gap’ as well as to the first two challenges by proposing a new approach to textbook analysis. An analysis of the ‘narrative conception of history textbooks may open hidden dimensions’, argued Bert Vanhulle in 2009, and he explains that such an analysis needs a

112 Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation*. Karen Ghonem-Woets, *Boeken voor de katholieke jeugd. Verzuiling en ontzuiling in de geschiedenis van Zwijzen en Malmberg* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2011).

113 Recently consumers have been receiving more attention: Mario Carretero, Cesar López, Maria F. Gonzalez and Maria Rodríguez-Moneo, ‘Students’ Historical Narratives and Concepts About the Nation’, in *History Education and the Construction of National Identities*, eds. Mario Carretero, Mikel Asensio and Maria Rodríguez-Moneo (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2012), 153–170; Marc Kropman, Carla van Boxtel and Jannet van Drie, ‘Small Country, Great Ambitions. Prospective Teachers’ Narratives and Knowledge about Dutch History’, in *Joined-Up History: New Directions in History Education Research*, eds. Arthur Chapman and Arie Wilschut (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2015), 57–84; Karel Van Nieuwenhuysse and Kaat Wils, ‘Historical Narratives and National Identities. A Qualitative Study of Young Adults in Flanders’, *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* XLV, no. 4 (2015): 40–73; Dick van Straaten, Arie Wilschut and Ron Oostdam, ‘Connecting Past and Present Through Case-comparison Learning in History: Views of Teachers and Students’, *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 50 (2018): 1–21.

114 Nicholls, ‘Methods in school textbook research’, 25.

115 See for example: Inari Sakki, ‘Social Representations of European Integration as Narrated by School Textbooks in Five European Nations’, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 43 (2014): 35–47.

116 See for example: Eckhardt Fuchs and Annekatrin Bock, *The Palgrave Handbook of Textbook Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

different methodology since the whole textbook is the object of research rather than specific parts.¹¹⁷ He is interested in locating the start and the end of the *narratio*, and wonders, for example, whether history has a *fons* – ‘a well from which the current of history springs’ – and if so, in what direction? This study investigates history textbooks as a narrative unity and aims to elaborate on the narratological approach to textbook analysis, as will be explained in the next section.

1.4 Towards a new approach in textbook analysis

This study draws attention to textbook narrations that combine different histories, places and times in a productive way to generate meaning from historical combinations.¹¹⁸ Since the ‘social meaning of past events is essentially a function of the way they are structurally positioned in our minds vis-à-vis other events’,¹¹⁹ this research examines the interrelations between histories in order to shed light on recurrent systems of meaning and *networks* or *knots of memory* in textbooks.¹²⁰ This new approach can thus offer insight into the perpetuation of national narratives in this genre from a different angle. An in-depth analysis of the frames and keys in national narratives can elucidate how certain events and persons have functioned as ‘anchors’ in the narration, interpretation and organization of history in textbooks. Especially during times of crises and change – when groups face new experiences and challenges – ‘established exemplars’ can be helpful in making sense of present experiences, providing a sense of continuity and common identity.¹²¹

Interactions between past and present in historical narratives show people where they come from and where they are heading, illustrating that difficult

117 Bert Vanhulle, ‘Waar gaat de geschiedenis naartoe? Mogelijkheden tot een narratieve analyse van naoorlogse Vlaamse geschiedleerboeken’, *Cahiers d’histoire du temps présent* 16 (2005): 133–175; Bert Vanhulle, ‘The Path of History: Narrative Analysis of History Textbooks – A Case Study of Belgian History Textbooks (1945–2004)’, *History of Education* 38, no. 2 (2009): 263–282, 264. See also: Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1985).

118 I have used the notion of *multidirectional textbook narratives* in: Tina van der Vlies, ‘Multidirectional War Narratives in History Textbooks’, *Paedagogica Historica* 52, no. 3 (2016): 300–314.

119 Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 7.

120 Schwartz writes about memory networks in Barry Schwartz, ‘Collective Memory and History: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality’, *The Sociological Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (1997): 469–496, 471. See also: Michael Rothberg, ‘Introduction: Between Memory and Memory: From Lieux De Mémoire to Noeuds De Mémoire’, *Yale French Studies*, no. 118/119 (2010): 3–12.

121 Tom Thatcher, *Memory and Identity*, 2.

situations have occurred before and what the outcome could or should be in the future. The generated continuity between past and present in a narrative establishes an emotional as well as a logical relationship between the two periods. This can be dangerous; for example, when decision-makers see a current event from the perspective of the past, they tend to narrow their thinking and to filter out the information that does not fit in.¹²² History is a shaping power, and especially the ways in which history is framed and keyed play an important role in the construction of social reality.¹²³

Researchers from different fields – such as history, memory studies, literature, and sociology – have examined how memories of different periods can intermingle. An example is Michael Rothberg, who uses the notion of ‘multidirectional memory’. Rothberg develops his idea as a counterweight to the viewpoint of collective memory as a competitive zero-sum struggle in which memories can only be either included or excluded. New events or histories gain attention not only by replacing others (competitively) but also by starting a conversation with already dominant memories and histories (interactively).¹²⁴ He thus examines the ‘dynamic transfers that take place between diverse places and times during the act of remembrance.’¹²⁵

Another notion for the same process is ‘palimpsest memories’, used by Rosalind Shaw in her research into memories of the slave trade in Sierra Leone. She demonstrates that these memories have been (re)shaped by other experiences, such as colonialism and the rebel war, and argues that ‘phantoms from different layers of time flow into each other and make hitherto invisible realities apparent’.¹²⁶ Shaw elaborates on the work of Jan Vansina, who used the notion of ‘palimpsest tradition’ to stress the ‘borrowed elements’ in a text, elements of different times. He compares it with an old house that can be fashioned to current ideas, but only by a certain degree.¹²⁷

122 David H. Petraeus, ‘Lessons of History and Lessons of Vietnam’, *Parameters* 16, vol. 3 (1986): 43–53, 50.

123 Ernest May showed how ideas about the past influenced American foreign policy. Truman compared the threat posed by Stalin in the 1940s with the threat posed by Hitler in the 1930s. Ernest R. May, *Lessons of the Past: The Use and Misuse of History in American Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). More recently, the Vietnam analogy was used to describe the situation in Iraq. Yuen Foong Khong, *Analogies at War: Korea, Munich, Dien Bien Phu, and the Vietnam Decisions of 1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

124 Schwartz, ‘Collective Memory and History’, 471.

125 Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 11.

126 Rosalind Shaw, *Memories of the Slave Trade: Ritual and the Historical Imagination in Sierra Leone* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 264.

127 Jan Vansina, ‘Comment: Traditions of Genesis’, *Journal of African History* 15, no. 2 (1974): 317–322, 320.

Already in 1845, Thomas De Quincey described memory as a palimpsest, with different layers of ideas, images and feelings.¹²⁸ A palimpsest is a manuscript that is written over repeatedly: parchment was strong but expensive, so it was washed or scraped and used again. Despite these attempts to remove the 'old' writing, it was often still visible and could lead to a layered text over a period of time. Since then, this concept has been used in different areas such as architecture, genetics, literature and memory studies.

Recently, the palimpsest metaphor regained new attention by Max Silverman who published his book *Palimpsestic Memory* in 2013. Silverman also discusses borrowed elements from the past: he shows that the present is shadowed or haunted by 'a past which is not immediately visible but is progressively brought into view'.¹²⁹

The relationship between present and past therefore takes the form of a superimposition and interaction of different temporal traces to constitute a sort of composite structure, like a palimpsest, so the one layer of traces can be seen through, and is transformed by, another. Second, the composite structure in these works is a combination of not simply two moments in time (past and present) but a number of different moments, hence producing a chain of signification which draws together disparate spaces and times.¹³⁰

It is important to remark that these studies highlight a process that cannot be discussed simply in terms of drawing historical analogies. The latter are often criticized and discussed in relation to the uniqueness of certain events, leading to questions about comparability, such as which historical event was 'worse' or more 'important' than another. Rather than becoming embroiled in these discussions and writings that examine whether the meaning of A is really analogous to B, the notions of multidirectional and palimpsestic memory stress the process of the new, productive meaning that occurs when one element is seen through and transformed by another.

Moreover, instead of a comparison between two moments in time (as in a single historical analogy), the chain of signification is derived from a *combination* of cross references and interconnections between histories.¹³¹ Distinct mo-

128 Sarah Dillon, *The Palimpsest. Literature, Criticism, Theory* (London: Continuum, 2007), 1.

129 Max Silverman, *Palimpsestic Memory: The Holocaust and Colonialism in French and Francophone Fiction and Film* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), 3.

130 Ibid.

131 See also the remark of Max Silverman on page 4: 'I have chosen the term "palimpsestic memory" to discuss this hybrid form because, of all the figures which connects disparate elements through a play of similarity and difference (analogy, metaphor, allegory, montage and so on), the palimpsest captures most completely the superimposition and productive interaction of different inscriptions and the spatialization of time central to the work of memory that I wish to highlight.'

ments in time and space are recomposed into a ‘different spatio-temporal configuration’.¹³² The “‘history which returns” to shadow the present (...) condenses different moments, and recreates each due to the connection between them’.¹³³ Furthermore, Barry Schwarz argues that these interpretative processes are more than a new word for analogical thinking since they transform memory ‘into a cultural system’: it is a public ‘discourse that flows through the organizations and institutions of the social world’.¹³⁴ This discourse is thus widespread and probably visible in the genre of history textbooks as well.

This study examines to what extent cross references occur between histories in English and Dutch textbooks and analyses them against the background of the theoretical contexts discussed, focusing on the techniques of framing and keying since they *facilitate* the interaction of past and present. This research pays special attention to the configuration of time (diachronic and synchronic) in textbook narrations as an element in the formation of a narrative plot.¹³⁵ The empirical chapters will further elaborate on the *discourse time* of the specific textbook series: how is the sequence of events presented? Why do some textbook authors deliberately portray them out of chronological order and interrupt the sequence by referring backwards and forwards in time? Narratives can reorder events and include elements from outside the direct ‘story’, for example to increase the dramatic effect or to be better able to recount what is going on. A narrative is thus ‘a kind of organizational scheme expressed in story form’, and by means of the plot several events can be related to each other in a meaningful and coherent way.¹³⁶

The French literary theorist Gérard Genette uses the term ‘anachrony’ to denote disarrangements at the level of chronological order. He distinguishes flashbacks to earlier points (analepsis) and fast-forwards to later moments

132 Silverman, *Palimpsestic Memory*, 3.

133 *Ibid.*, 3–4.

134 Schwartz, ‘Memory as a cultural system’, 911.

135 Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative, Volume 2*, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and David Pellauer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), originally published as *Temps et Récit, Tome 2* in 1984. Maria Grever, *De encscenering van de tijd. Oratie Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: Overbosch, 2001); Maria Grever and Harry Jansen, *De ongreijbare tijd: temporaliteit en de constructie van het verleden* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001); Jonathan Carter, ‘Telling Times: History, Emplotment, and Truth’, *History and Theory* 42, no. 1 (2003): 1–27; Zerubavel, *Time Maps*; Berber Bevernage, *History, Memory, and State-Sponsored Violence: Time and Justice* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel, *Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden. Erfgoed, onderwijs en historisch besef* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014).

136 Donald E. Polinkhorne, *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), 13.

(prolepsis) in the chronological sequence of events.¹³⁷ According to the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, the temporal composition of a narrative with flash-backs and fast-forwards is governed by the meaning of the work as a whole.¹³⁸ As a result, the anachrony of a narrative that interacts between different histories, times and places becomes a ‘quality’: ‘its bringing together of now and then, here and there – is actually the source of its powerful creativity, its ability to build new worlds out of the materials of older ones.’¹³⁹ Events from different time periods can be interrelated on the basis of the same plot or the main storyline; this returning plot can transcend historical boundaries and function as a frame of reference while interpreting the present and the future as well. As a result, Berber Bevernage argues that a ‘persisting “past” does not simply deconstruct the notions of absence and distance; rather, it blurs the strict delineation between past and present and thereby even questions the existence of these temporal dimensions as separate entities’.¹⁴⁰

Next to chronological order, Genette also discusses frequency. An event may occur once and be narrated once (singular), occur n times and be narrated n times (multiple) or occur n times but be narrated once (iterative). An example of the latter is the marginal presence of internal struggles and related victims in a national narrative that is primarily presented as a fight against a foreign enemy. Another possibility is that an event occurred once and is narrated n times (repetitive). For example, the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 occurred once, but this sixteenth-century event can be narrated repetitively in an English textbook series and several different historical happenings (unique in time and context) can be portrayed as ‘echoing events’. By analysing these forms of ‘echoing’ and the generated chain of meaning, this study aims to contribute to the debate about the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks from a different angle.

1.5 Sources, methods, and outline of the study

Since neither England nor the Netherlands has a system of approving history textbooks, their textbook markets are wide-ranging. Due to the quantity of history textbooks, this study works with a textbook sample that consists of twelve English and twelve Dutch history textbook series, published in the period between 1920 and 2010 (see Appendix I and II – in total 225 books). Most of these

137 Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).

138 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative* 2, 83.

139 Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, 5.

140 Bevernage, *History, Memory, and State-Sponsored Violence*, 5.

history series not only include textbooks but also workbooks and teacher guides. Although neither England nor the Netherlands records official figures of printed and sold textbooks, this sample aims to include textbook series that were 'long-sellers' or 'bestsellers' to a certain extent.¹⁴¹ The intention in this study was not to create a full and representative textbook sample in order to present a complete overview of this period. Instead, this longitudinal and comparative study endeavours to explore a new method of textbook analysis in order to further the debate about the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks.

Several English and Dutch teachers, as well as other specialists in the field of history education, gave advice about these 'long-sellers' and 'bestsellers'.¹⁴² They also advised the inclusion of a variety of textbooks series, on both a chronological and a thematic basis. Another valuable resource were the English handbooks for history teachers. These handbooks arrange textbook series under the header 'chronological arrangement' or 'topical arrangement'. They contain a selection of history textbook series, with reviews of these. For example, the editors of the 1962 *Handbook for History Teachers* mention that, due to the limited space available, 'the reviewers have only been able to include a few of the many series in current circulation'.¹⁴³ The reviewers also included 'old but still useful' series, such as *The Kingsway Histories for Seniors*, first published in 1935: 'The inclusion of some older series in the first section reflects the relative scarcity of good narrative histories'.¹⁴⁴ Given that this series (1935) was deemed worth reviewing and re-printing until the 1960s, it is part of the English textbook sample.

To sum up, the English and Dutch textbook samples are based on the following criteria: history textbook series organized both chronologically or thematically, written for students aged 11–14 years in upper secondary schools between 1920 and 2010, reprinted over a certain length of time and/or published at publishing houses with different (religious) backgrounds. The sources were gathered at various institutions and libraries, such as the National Museum of Education in Dordrecht, the Historical Didactics Collection at the Erasmus University Rot-

141 I contacted several publishing houses, but they could not or did not want to hand over any figures of printed and/or sold history textbooks.

142 Stuart Foster (Executive Director of the First World War Centenary Battlefield Tours Programme and the UCL Centre for Holocaust Education), Terry Haydn (Professor of Education at the University of East Anglia), Joke van der Leeuw-Roord (former director of EUROCLIO), Dean Smart (Senior Lecturer in History and Citizenship Education at the University of the West of England, Bristol). I also thank Dirkjan van den Berg: he provided a general overview of Dutch history textbooks at the Dutch national museum of education, since the 1920s. Dirkjan van den Berg, *Geschiedenischoolboeken in het Onderwijsmuseum* (Internship report, 2012).

143 Wyndam H. Burston and Cyril W. Green, eds., *Handbook for History Teachers* (Fakenham, Norfolk: Cox and Wyman, 1962), 145.

144 *Ibid.*, 148.

terdam, the Leibniz Institute for Educational Media in Braunschweig (GEI in Germany), the Everton Library at the University of Cambridge (Faculty of Education), the Falmer Library at the University of Brighton, the Institute of Education (IoE) in London, and the British Library. For an analysis of the context, several primary sources have also been studied, such as newspapers, handbooks and government papers (see ‘other primary sources’ in the list of sources and literature).

This study uses an integrated approach and discourse analysis to scrutinize how, why and where the selected sixteenth-century case studies occur in the textbook, workbook or teacher’s guide. It scrutinizes plot structures in English and Dutch textbook series by close reading, textual and visual analysis of the main text, opening stories, short biographies, paratext and assignments. Next to an analysis of flashbacks and fast-forwards in the textbooks’ organization and narration of national history, this study also focuses on narrated ‘turning points’ since they mark an end as well as a new beginning in the composition of a national narrative. As Zerubavel has argued: ‘Temporal discontinuity is a form of mental discontinuity, and the way we cut up the past is thus a manifestation of the way we cut up mental space in general.’¹⁴⁵ Turning points underscore discontinuous time experiences in people’s lives and are important anchors in mnemonic communities.¹⁴⁶

Besides an analysis of the formation of time – the configuration of subjectively experienced and objectively measurable time¹⁴⁷ – the geographic scale is also taken into account: to what extent is the English or Dutch nation placed in a European or global setting? Furthermore, the integrated approach gives insight into the selection and naming of events and persons as well as metaphors like ‘Sea Beggars’ and ‘sea dogs’. Next to the use of colligatory concepts – higher order concepts that organize history in a thematic way, such as ‘Golden Age’¹⁴⁸ – textbook authors might use more explicit metaphors for history itself, such as ‘journey’. These metaphors can elucidate conceptions of history and play an important role in the framing process: they draw ‘the audience into viewing the situation through the conceptual lens proposed by the person who utters it.’¹⁴⁹

145 Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 85.

146 Maria Grever, *De encscenering van de tijd*, 11, 18.

147 Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative, Volume 2*; Grever, *De encscenering van de tijd*; Grever and Jansen, *De ongrijpbare tijd*; Carter, ‘Telling Times: History, Emplotment and Truth’.

148 William H. Walsh, *An Introduction to Philosophy of History* (London: Greenwood Press, 1951); Harry Jansen, *Triptiek van de tijd. Geschiedenis in drievoud* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2010), 243.

149 Michael Hanne, ‘An Introduction to the “Warring with Words” Project’, in *Warring with Words: Narrative and Metaphor in Politics*, eds. Michael Hanne, William Crano and Jeffery Mio (New York: Psychology Press, 2014), 1–50, 24; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

While this research is primarily focused on texts, maps, graphs, and illustrations are also taken into account as they can contradict or confirm the textual plot.¹⁵⁰ Pictures can play an important role in the processes of framing and keying in history textbooks: for example, pictures of a twentieth-century event can be placed within the framework of a sixteenth-century narrative in order to compare histories or to create a chain of signification through time. Consequently, the paratext and complete layout of a series are relevant in these processes of re-contextualization and interdiscursivity.

The following chapters contain the analysis of the twenty-four textbook series selected. Discussions on educational and pedagogic developments in relation to the historical academic discipline and wider societal (political) issues precede the textbook analysis. The first two sections are concerned with English history education and the analysis of English history textbooks, followed by two sections on Dutch history education and accompanying textbooks. Some chapters contain a fifth section in which English as well as Dutch textbooks are discussed in relation to a (shared) narrative model. Chapter Two is concerned with the period between 1920 and 1940 and the role of national narratives in the aftermath of World War I. The period between 1945 and 1965 is the central focus of Chapter Three. Whereas World War II had generated feelings of superiority in Great Britain, the Nazi occupation had created the opposite in the Netherlands. Chapter Four is concerned with the period between 1965 and 1988, in which national narratives became contested issues. The central heroic actor of previous transmitted national narratives almost disappeared in both countries. Next to changing ideas about the nation, the narratives themselves were at stake. This discussion is often simply summarized as a fight between 'factual stories' and 'skills'. The last empirical chapter discusses the contemporary period between 1988 and 2010. This is a very recent period for a historical analysis but cannot be neglected in view of the central topic of this study: a longitudinal analysis of the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks. The last chapter provides a synthesis and aims to elucidate how and why these narratives are perpetuated in English and Dutch textbooks during the long twentieth century.

150 Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images – The Grammar of Visual Design* (London: Routledge, 2006), 23. For more information about iconic images in Dutch history textbooks, see: Martijn Kleppe, *Canonieke icoonfoto's. De rol van (pers)foto's in de Nederlandse geschiedschrijving* (Delft: Eburon, 2013).

2 National narratives and the aftermath of World War I, 1920–1940

*Take my drum to England, hang it by the shore,
Strike it when your powder's running low.
If the Dons sight Devon, I'll quit the port of Heaven
And drum them up the Channel as we drummed them long ago.*¹⁵¹

The famous poem 'Drake's Drum', written by the English poet, novelist, and historian Henry John Newbolt (1862–1938), entered several English history textbooks. The poem describes the legend of Drake's drum, which proclaims that an echoing drumbeat can be heard when England is in peril. People heard a drum on the night before the Battle of Trafalgar against Napoleon in 1805 but also at the start of World War I in 1914 and at the Dunkirk Evacuation in 1940 during World War II. The beat is said to come from a snare drum, which Sir Francis Drake (1540–1596) used to call his men to action as he was circumnavigating the world. His drum has become an icon of English folklore and can still be seen at Buckland Abbey in Devon where the English sea captain lived for fifteen years. As Drake was one of the legendary sea heroes in the famous defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, legend has it that Drake will return to save England once again when his drum is beaten or, in a recent version, that the drum beats itself in times of national crisis.

The fictionalized national narrative of Drake's invincible, immortal spirit became widespread as a result of Henry Newbolt's poem, which was first printed in 1897 in *Admirals All, And Other Verses*. This volume contained twelve poems, six of which celebrated Britain's heroic naval past. It was an instant success, and he continued to write about naval themes and warfare, stressing the courage of sailors and soldiers. During World War I, Newbolt was recruited by Britain's War Propaganda Bureau to influence public opinion in favour of the war, and 'Drake's Drum' was reprinted. Despite their unreal aspects, fictional national narratives can create a reality: they are recognizable and have the power to inspire and to mobilize people.¹⁵² The poem functioned as Drake's drum itself, Newbolt later wrote in his memoirs, as it helped the nation at a time of crisis.¹⁵³

151 Henry Newbolt, 'Drake's Drum', in *Admirals All, And Other Verses* (1897).

152 See also: Ann Rigney, 'Fiction as Mediator in National Remembrance', in *Narrating the Nation. Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, eds. S. Berger, L. Eriksonas and A. Mycock (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2008), 79–96.

This was also the case during World War II. In the middle of the Battle of Britain in August 1940, the BBC broadcast a programme called *Drake's Drum*. Moreover, advertisements for Brewster Bermuda and Buccaneers – aircraft types that were used for bombing – also referred to the famous legend: entitled ‘Echo of Drake's Drum’ and displaying a faded Sir Francis playing his drum (see next page). The forefront showed a fleet of seven planes, flying in V-formation, with the caption:

Today the roar of aircraft engines answers the echo of Drake's drum as the forces of the United Nations gather their strength for attack. Flying fleets (...) are arming the Allies with smashing weapons to blast the enemy.¹⁵⁴

The fictionalized national narrative around Drake's drum demonstrates that separate realms of history, such as various wars in different centuries, are ‘keyed’. Various histories are remembered within the same frame: the nation is in danger but the English people will prove invincible in the end. Keying and framing are thus mnemonic strategies and, as such, a generative force: ‘memory unites the remembered past and its commemorations in a reciprocal cycle of influence’.¹⁵⁵ The remembered past is adapted, appropriated and resynthesized; keying becomes a way of drawing the past into the present.¹⁵⁶ The established connections provide an interpretative frame which then becomes powerful in establishing and maintaining social identity.¹⁵⁷

This chapter scrutinizes these processes of framing and keying in English and Dutch history textbooks in the period between 1920 and 1940. Sections 2.1 and 2.3 examine English and Dutch history education in the period between 1920 and 1940. In the interbellum, history education was identified as ‘poisoned’, and several international initiatives were launched in order to improve the reputation of this school subject. Moreover, textbook authors were torn between the quest for ‘narrative demands’ and the ‘scientific form’. Sections 2.2 and 2.4 present an in-depth analysis of four English and four Dutch history textbook series from this time period. Next to dominant frames and ‘echoing’ national narratives, these sections pay attention to counter-frames and victimhood. Section 2.5 discusses English as well as Dutch history textbooks in order to study national narrative structures across national contexts. Analysis at this higher level helps us under-

153 Meredith Martin, *The Rise and Fall of Meter: Poetry and English National Culture, 1860–1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

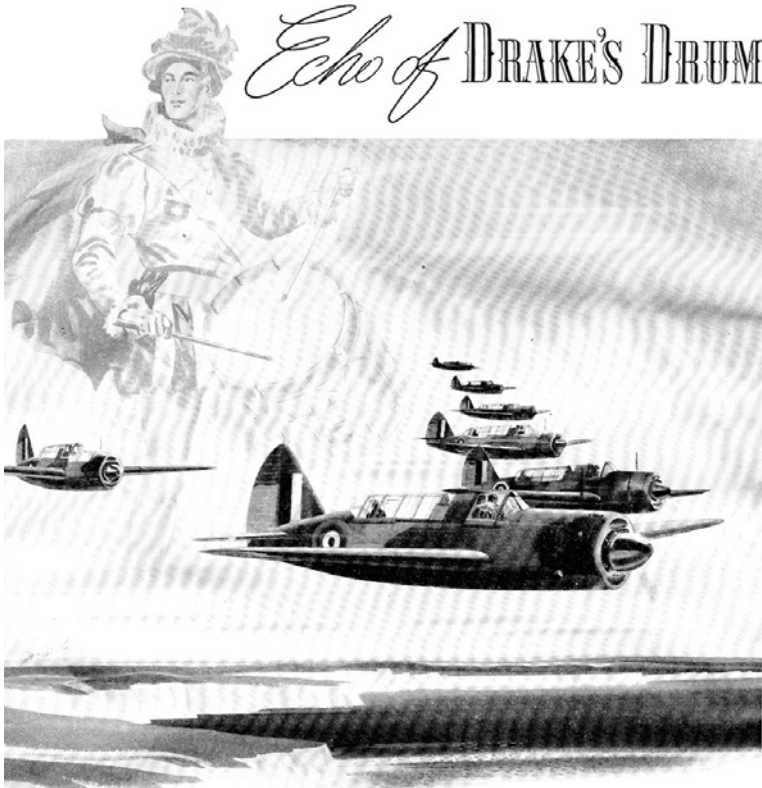
154 Brewster [advertisement], ‘Echo of Drake's Drum’, *Aviation* 41, no. 8 (August 1942): 78; Brewster [advertisement], ‘Echo of Drake's Drum’, *Flying Magazine* 31, no. 3 (September 1942): 12.

155 Tom Thatcher, *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity: A Conversation with Barry Schwartz* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 3.

156 *Ibid.*

157 *Ibid.*

stand shared ‘echoes’ that might be overlooked when an analysis is limited to specific national contexts and accompanying stories. The chapter ends with some concluding remarks about framing and keying in relation to the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks, between 1920 and 1940.



Legend says that the great drum of Sir Francis Drake is heard in a rumbling call to arms whenever Britain's foes beset her. Today the roar of aircraft engines answers the echo of Drake's drum as the forces of the United Nations gather their strength for attack. Flying fleets of Brewster *Bermudas* for Britain and *Buccaneers* for the U.S. Navy are arming the Allies with smashing weapons to blast the enemy.

Brewster

FIGHTERS AND DIVE BOMBERS • FOR LASTING MASTERY OF THE AIR

Figure 3: Brewster Ad ‘Echo of Drake’s Drum’ (Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago)

2.1 The island story and the problem of ‘poisoned’ history

The First World War stimulated discussion of the goals and consequences of school history in England. History education was accused of having contributed to the War by supporting chauvinism, militarism, and imperialism, and was identified as ‘poisoned history’ at the World Conference on Education in 1923. The ‘poison’ metaphor was widely applied to history textbooks, and a moral disarmament was considered necessary.¹⁵⁸ In his book *Lies and Hate in Education* (1929), Mark Starr complained that history textbook authors had been infected with ‘war fever, with its poisoned blood and fevered vision’.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, he showed that (school) history was mainly a record of war and military history:

[W]hen a boy was told in a London class that the League of Nations was going to stop all fighting, he spontaneously remarked, ‘But then there will be no more history, sir, will there?’¹⁶⁰

Instead of war, destruction and antagonism, school history needed to focus on the League of Nations and its positive ideals, such as peace, co-operation, and international citizenship. H.A. Drummond, a lecturer in Education at the University of Bristol, even advocated the establishment of a branch of the League of Nations Union in every secondary school.¹⁶¹ Others feared that this was propaganda and expressed their doubts during Historical Association meetings in 1921.¹⁶² Moreover, in 1923, Professor Tout, the second president of the Historical Association, complained that the patriotic bias was being corrected by an anti-patriotic bias.¹⁶³

In this time of re-orientation, some historians proposed to ‘return to the old-fashioned method’. An example here is writer and historian Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953), who in 1924 argued for the restoration of ‘dates, conventional divisions, and an insistence upon mechanical accuracy, which in its turn, is primarily dependent upon the unreasoning memory’.¹⁶⁴ The Board of Education had al-

158 William E. Marsden, “‘Poisoned history’: a comparative study of nationalism, propaganda and the treatment of war and peace in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century school curriculum”, *History of Education* 29, no. 1 (2000): 29–47; ‘Moreel ontwapening’, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, December 8, 1928, 3.

159 Mark Starr, *Lies and Hate in Education* (London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf, 1929), 13.
160 *Ibid.*, 14.

161 H. Ann Drummond, *History in Schools. A Study of some of Its Problems* (London: George G. Harrap & Co Ltd, 1929). See also: A.K. Dickinson, P.J. Lee and P.J. Rogers, *Learning History* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984), 216.

162 Dickinson, Lee and Rogers, *Learning History*, 216.

163 T.F. Tout, ‘The Middles Ages in the Teaching of History’, *History* 8 (1923): 3–4.

164 Hilaire Belloc, *Teachers’ World* (05–03–1924). Quoted in Patrick Brindle, *Past Histories: History and the Elementary School Classroom in early twentieth century England* (Cambridge: unpublished PhD thesis, 1998), 55.

readily criticized the decline in the teaching of dates in their *Report on the Teaching of History* (1923) and they suggested an alphabet of history: a list of 32 dates, which included 1588 and the Spanish Armada.¹⁶⁵ The English historian Herbert George Wells, however, argued for the abolition of history teaching in separate subjects, such as 'Our Island Story' and 'The Empire'. At the League of Nations gathering in London in 1939, he gave a paper entitled 'Poison called History':

It is a struggle to maintain the old outworn story of personified Britannia's, Germania's, Holy Russians and so forth, meritorious races and chosen people. (...) They have outlived their usefulness; they decay; they become poisonous.¹⁶⁶

Instead, he made a plea for teaching the history of mankind, which was universal, unifying and, therefore, pacifist.

Other lectures advocated the use of sources and deeper intellectual training in order to solve the problem of 'poisoned' school history. F.C. Happold (1927), for instance, emphasized the historical method and the capacity for historical thinking, and C.B. Firth (1929) stated that the history teacher primarily needed to ask questions, such as 'Is it true?' and 'How do we know?'¹⁶⁷ In 1929, H.A. Drummond also pleaded for using historical sources in both elementary and secondary schools.¹⁶⁸ She referred to Maurice Walter Keatinge, a reader in education at the University of Oxford, who had published his *Studies in the Teaching of History* in 1910. This book on history teaching in the middle form of secondary schools promoted history as an essential part of the school curriculum and was reprinted in 1913, 1921 and 1927.

Keatinge (1868–1935) wrote many historical works and he distinguished students by the idealistic stage and the critical stage.¹⁶⁹ 'Elizabeth must be good queen Bess before the boys learn that she could swear like a fish-wife and lie like a horse-dealer.'¹⁷⁰ Secondary school students were at a 'critical stage' and, according to Keatinge, it was important that they became familiarized with 'evidence' in this phase. What was needed, therefore, was a method that differed from the narrative lecture: he argued for mind exercises and the reading of source documents. He also brought his ideas into practice and one year later he pub-

165 See also: Hilary Bourdillon, ed., *Teaching History* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 11.

166 H.G. Wells as quoted in *The Advocate* (17 January 1939), 7.

167 Dickinson, Lee and Rogers, *Learning History*, 212. See also: C.B. Firth, *The Learning of History in Elementary Schools* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1929); F.C. Happold, *The Study of History in Schools, as a Training in the Art of Thought* (London: Bell, 1927).

168 Drummond, *History in Schools. A Study of some of its Problems*.

169 Maurice W. Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1910), 107 and 110.

170 *Ibid.*, 107.

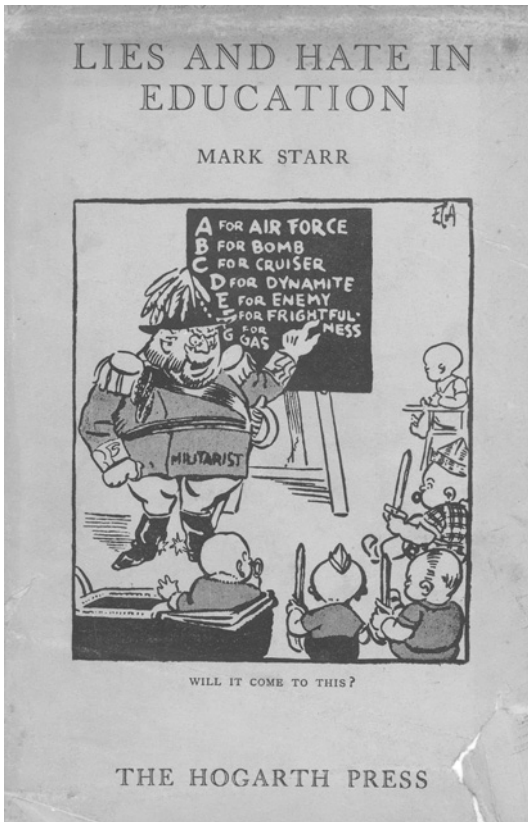


Figure 4: Starr, *Lies and hate in education*, 1929 (Victoria University Library, Toronto)

lished *A History of England for Schools, with Documents, Problems, and Exercises*.¹⁷¹

Although his plea for sources was an attempt to ‘derive a portion of our method from the scientific processes of the historian’, he did not aim to ‘convert schoolboys into historians’. He made a comparison with ‘the boy in the laboratory who is being put through a course of practical work’ and works with raw material without, however, being placed ‘in the position of the scientific discoverer.’¹⁷² His book dedicated several chapters to the ‘scientific method’ as thought-compelling exercises would make history worthy of being treated as a

171 Maurice W. Keatinge, *A History of England for Schools, with Documents, Problems, and Exercises* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1911).

172 *Ibid.*, 38.

'serious school subject' and 'it is only if this formal element be there that history can be of real value as a moral training.'¹⁷³

His plea for using historical sources was followed by a chapter about history and poetry: he also regarded poems as excellent classroom material as the 'stirring verses' and rhythms would be particularly memorable:

No one is likely to dissent from the general proposition that, where possible, full use should be made of those portions of English poetry which treat of historical events. If stirring episodes can be linked in the boy's mind with stirring verses, if the lilt and rhythm of majestic lines can be made the vehicle for a sequence of great events, if the struggles of nations or of classes can be presented in the words of the poets who lived through them, and whose songs echo the feelings of the time, there is here to our hand a combination of elements which it would be sheer folly to neglect. In this way better than in any other will events and phases of history be impressed upon the minds of middle-school boys (...); they will linger in the memory long after the logical exposition of the classroom has faded from it, and will form rallying-points for a life-long interest in the national history.¹⁷⁴

According to Keatinge, teachers could use any good poetry and should not restrict themselves to verses that were contemporary with the events to which they alluded.¹⁷⁵ As an example he mentioned the poem discussed in the introduction – Newbolt's 'Drake's Drum' – and argued that this poem supplied 'capital material' for the classroom.¹⁷⁶ Next to the benefits of using English poetry in school history, Keatinge also discussed possible disadvantages such as factual inaccuracy. If the misconceptions were not carried too far, according to Keatinge, this was in itself no reason for discarding a poetic extract:¹⁷⁷

Let it be repeated that it is only the theorist in his study who is disposed to be hyper-critical in this matter. The schoolmaster who has memories of days when either he or his class were tired or stupid is likely to welcome the introduction of any matter that may lessen the strain without diverting the attention of his pupils from their work.¹⁷⁸

Moreover, the author saw possible errors as an opportunity, in which inaccuracies could be used as a basis for 'profitable exercises', and different accounts of the same historical event could be compared: how does a ballad present a historical event in comparison to the more soberly prose present in chronicles?¹⁷⁹ He elaborated on an example and expected students to notice that a

173 *Ibid.*, 110.

174 *Ibid.*, 189.

175 *Ibid.*, 190.

176 *Ibid.*, 201.

177 *Ibid.*, 199.

178 *Ibid.*

179 *Ibid.*, 208.

ballad, ‘apart from its added colour and dramatic effect, illustrates the importance’ of a certain event.¹⁸⁰

Although Keatinge was not against memorizing historical content by definition, he criticized history examinations that ‘appeal to the memory of the pupil and to little more’.¹⁸¹ Next to the fact that these examinations tested ‘the memory of the pupil more than any other mental process’, they tested things that were not worth remembering, according to Keatinge.¹⁸² He showed how examinations avoided important topics which had already been included in previous tests. Contemporary history examinations, according to Keatinge, focused on memorizing unimportant, senseless things, and by doing so, they discouraged all history teaching.¹⁸³

Keatinge’s criticism was continued and sharpened by Walter Carruthers Sellar and Robert Julian Yeatman, who published their famous *1066 and All That* in 1930. The book is a parody of the history curriculum in English schools at the time. In the introduction they wrote: ‘History is not what you thought. *It is what you can remember.* All other history defeats itself.’¹⁸⁴ They pointed out that school history was about remembering famous characters and memorable incidents. In short humoristic sections, the authors narrated Britain’s history from the Roman invasion in 55 BCE to World War I. The book, which was first published serially in *Punch*, particularly parodied the classic bestseller *Our Island Story*, published by Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall in 1905. *Our Island Story* used a mixture of traditional history and mythology to narrate British history. In the introduction, Marshall emphasized that it was not a history lesson but a storybook and that readers

will find some stories that are not to be found in your school books, stories which wise people say are only fairy tales and not history. But it seems to me that they are part of *Our Island Story*, and ought not to be forgotten, any more than those stories about which there is no doubt.

She hoped that young readers would like their school better because of her book and that they would still want to read the ‘beautiful big histories’ themselves when they were adults.¹⁸⁵

180 *Ibid.*, 212.

181 *Ibid.*, 177.

182 *Ibid.*, 173–174.

183 *Ibid.*, 174.

184 Walter C. Sellar and Robert J. Yeatman, *1066 And All That* (London: Methuen, 1930). In 1935, the musical comedy *1066 – and all that: A Musical Comedy based on that Memorable History by Sellar and Yeatman* was produced.

185 Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall, *Our Island Story* (London: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1905), introduction.

The idea of 'beautiful big histories' was also criticized in *1066 and All That*, with the authors dispraising and parodying the idea of (national) progress and the 'great man' in history. Sellar and Yeatman showed their 'disenchantment with ideas of national greatness' and considered the idea of becoming a Top Nation as absurd.¹⁸⁶ They deliberately argued, moreover, that history had ended: 'this History is therefore final'. Their criticism was clearly a product of their time, and their book was published a year before Butterfield's classic *The Whig Interpretation of History* (1931). Sellar and Yeatman, 'who had walked in the fields of death', wrote their book from an anti-militarist sentiment and debunked the romantic, progressive national narrative of their country. This was also visible in their narration of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada, which humorously echoed Newbolt's poem 'Drake's Drum'. The first sentence of this poem was recycled in Sellar and Yeatman's mocking explanation of 1588.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, the authors provoked the romantic idea that England had gained a victory *once more*.

Whereas some historians and teachers proposed the scientific approach as a solution for the problems with English school history discussed in the first part of this section, others were strongly against this 'academic' stance, such as F.R. Worts, Headmaster of the City of Leeds School. He argued for synthetic lines and wrote: 'History in schools is the witnessing of the "Pageant of Man" rather than the learning of a "science" that is not a science and never can be'.¹⁸⁸ Worts aimed to preserve history as an art and a romantic pleasure rather than as a science:

History is, or should be, a means of escape from the tyranny of the scientific control of life. History is a vent in the close atmosphere of a life becoming more and more habituated to mechanical forms of work and expression; and History will be an even more valuable vent in the more oppressive atmosphere of the rigidly 'scientific-controlled' life of the next centuries. History is powerful to prevent Man from becoming a machine or the slave of machines. History invites Man to go backward rather than forward; it invites him to dwell for a while in the realm of romantic truth or illusion and seek intellectual and emotional refreshment in watching the stupendous but illogical march of events.¹⁸⁹

186 Sellar and Yeatman, *1066 And All That*, introduction. See also: Raphael Samuel, *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain* (London and New York: Verso, 2008), 210.

187 *Ibid.*, 59. 'The Spanish complained that Captain F Drake, the memorable bowlsman, had singed the King of Spain's beard (or Spanish Mane, as it was called) one day when it was in Cadiz Harbour. Drake replied that he was in his hammock at the time and a thousand miles away. The King of Spain, however, insisted that the beard had been spoilt and sent the Great Spanish Armadillo to ravish the shores of England. (...) In this striking and romantic manner the English were once more victorious.'

188 Frederick Roberts Worts, *The Teaching of History in Schools. A New Approach* (London: Heinemann, 1935), 3.

189 *Ibid.*, introduction.

He also argued against university connections with school history, in which he was not alone and felt encouraged by the *Memorandum on the Teaching of History* (1925) ‘to continue what seemed to be a hopeless task’.¹⁹⁰ This memorandum, with input from 74 history teachers, protested against the supervision of school history by examiners, inspectors and university professors, and included the ‘accumulated experience of men who do the practical work of teaching’.¹⁹¹

In 1935 Worts published his book *The Teaching of History in Schools. A New Approach*, which was a strong attack on the ‘old methods’ that were imposed on school by ‘experts’. Instead of seeing school history as an extension of university-level historical studies, he advocated practical classroom experiences as the starting-point for ideas about history teaching.¹⁹² Moreover, he argued against the scientific form and explained that students’ enthusiasm and historical imagination were fuelled by good stories instead.¹⁹³

Discovery, Exploration, Revolutions, Wars and the massed marches of peoples will draw the imaginative eyes and increase the pulse-beat of these young students. Associative life, purposeful and dramatic in tremendous enterprises, cannot fail to lure them. (...) Such a question as: ‘How did the English Sea-dogs defy the King of Spain?’ would send a thrill of exultation through the heart of the typical boy of this age: he would write furiously and well. The spirit of Drake or of Frobisher would be upon him. And similarly: ‘Why is Miss Florence Nightingale an honoured name in English History?’ would inspire girls to do their best. Their answers would be romantic raptures and know nothing of scientific form.¹⁹⁴

He also expressed his wish to have a completely new series of textbooks ‘in which the scientific point of view is not so obtrusive, and in which incidentally we, the teachers, are not ignored’.¹⁹⁵ He argued for *good stories* in the genre of history textbooks and disapproved the ‘modern’ and ‘scientific’ seal of detachment in textbooks.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, he wanted to have history textbooks that could be read easily; books that were purposely written for students and their reading skills. Worts explained that a scientist would judge this as ‘formal clumsiness’. However, he explained that precisely the ‘scientific approach’ was incorrect, as it overlooked the fact that a certain kind of expression could be justified on practical grounds.¹⁹⁷ To strengthen his argument, he referred to ‘master historian’ Trevelyan and his *England Under the Stuarts* (1905). This book was not only

190 Ibid.

191 Ibid.

192 Ibid., 215.

193 Ibid., 22.

194 Ibid., 80.

195 Ibid., 167.

196 Ibid., 161.

197 Ibid.

described as learned and brilliant but also as *memorable*, as a result of its dynamic prose in which history came alive for the reader.

He infuses colour and dramatic movement into his story: his narrative or exposition has fire and generates thrills. I am wholly for the colourful and dramatic writer; school texts ought to be warm with the breath of life, and hot, if necessary, with the vigour of action. As pictures or illustrations live, so ought texts to live: texts should be vibrant and resounding so as to perpetuate their memory by their excitation of vital interests and romantic enthusiasms.¹⁹⁸

As history inspires by example, the attitude 'must be romantic and not scientific; personal, not impersonal; alive, not dead.'¹⁹⁹ Furthermore, school history had to promote ethical over intellectual values, according to Worts: 'It is a process whereby natural and social interests are sustained and nourished so that the full nature or personality of the boy or the girl can be developed properly.'²⁰⁰ Instead of remembering exact details, history needs to fire a student's love of humanity. School history is equipment for a pupil's personal and public life, according to Worts, and he quotes a schoolmaster who 'uses History to make the boy'.²⁰¹

So whereas some teachers and academic historians aimed to teach history in line with 'history science' in order to overcome the 'poisoned' reputation of this school subject, others deliberately argued against this 'scientific' form. They wished to frame history as a gallery of inspiring examples presented in colourful and dramatic narratives as this form would 'perpetuate their memory' and nourish a pupil's personality. The next section elaborates on the process of framing and keying in four English history textbook series, examining the exemplary role of a sixteenth-century national narrative in this genre. The textbooks investigated from this research period did not refer to separate sources, fragments, and documents, although certain primary 'quotes' were sometimes included to illustrate the textbook author's narration. The four textbook series were not in favour of 'history science' but instead contained chronologically-based narratives in which the authors aimed to present English history in an appealing manner. Three of the four textbooks were 'long sellers' and reprinted until the sixties. *The Grip-Fast History Books* have been included in the English textbook sample because of their Catholic signature.

198 Ibid.

199 Ibid., 22.

200 Ibid., 19.

201 Ibid., 33 and 163.

2.2 Sea power and echoing national narratives

The *Report on the Teaching of History* (1923) argued that more attention should be paid to naval history, ‘especially in its connection with the building-up of the Empire’.²⁰² The importance of naval history was already stressed to the public during the War, such as on patriotic ephemera meant to boost support for the war effort. An example is the postcard with the famous slogan ‘Britannia rules the waves’, in reference to the poem ‘Rule, Britannia!’ by James Thomson (1740). Whereas the original lyrics were written as an imperative (Britannia, rule the waves!), later versions often omitted the comma and the exclamation mark, a change in meaning that started in the Victorian era and came to express a matter of fact (Britannia rules the waves).²⁰³



Figure 5: Postcard by Walter John Ingram, 1914 (The British Library, London)

In 1917, a special textbook entitled *Our Sea Power. Its Story and its Meaning* was published for children in elementary and secondary schools. In the introduction, the author explained his aim in writing the book: to tell how England won sea power and why she must keep it to be a free country.²⁰⁴ The connection between sea power and freedom is also apparent in the foreword, which was written by the British Admiral and Member of Parliament Lord Charles Beresford (1846–1919).

202 D. Cannadine, J. Keating and N. Sheldon, *The Right Kind of History: Teaching the Past in Twentieth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 74.

203 Maurice Willson Disher, *Victorian Song* (London: Phoenix House, 1955).

204 H.W. Household, *Our Sea Power. Its story and its meaning* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1917), 1.

He was a well-known, popular figure and widely seen as the personification of 'John Bull', the national character of the United Kingdom and in particular of England as represented in graphic works, such as World War I recruiting posters and political cartoons. In his foreword, Beresford connected the contemporary function of the Fleet as the 'guardian of democratic liberty' with the actions of Sir Francis Drake in the sixteenth century:

It has been truly said that if Drake were not a historical personage he would have been a hero of romance, and realizing in these days of trial the full significance of the Drake traditions when our Fleet is the guardian of the democratic liberty of the world, we feel a thrill of pride in those deeds which laid the foundation of the British Empire.²⁰⁵

When the author of the book, H.W. Household, narrated the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in full detail, he also connected this sixteenth-century event with the contemporary war. He emphasized that although the winds and the waves had fought for England, the victory was already made secure by good ships, sailing, shooting, and leadership. England therefore 'must always see to it that she has more ships and better ships, more guns and better guns, than any other country, or, indeed, any two countries, and can handle those ships and guns with a skill to be matched by no other sailors in the world'.²⁰⁶

A year after the *Report* argued for including more naval history in connection with the rise of the Empire, the Catholic textbook series *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1924) was published. The series consists of five books, the third entitled *The Building of the British Empire* (1924), written by Anne Cecil Kerr. The book starts with a picture of the Spanish Armada in the English Channel, a historical scene introducing the upcoming narrative about the rise of the British Empire. The author emphasizes that the power of Spain was destroyed after the defeat of the Armada in 1588: 'No longer was she the mistress of the seas; that place had been lost to her forever; it had passed into the hands of the English.'²⁰⁷

While narrating other histories, the author regularly refers back to this sixteenth-century event. Having described how persecuted groups, such as the Puritans, Catholics, and Quakers, sailed to America in hope for a better future, the author remarks:

Now, the English were by no means the only people who were spreading themselves over the New World in this way. We have seen what mighty empires had been set up by Portugal and Spain, and how England had won from Spain the command of the sea. But now she began to meet the ships of the Dutch, who were great traders. They were fearless

205 Charles Beresford, *Our Sea Power*, foreword.

206 Household, *Our Sea Power*, 50–51.

207 Cecil Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Book III: The Building of the British Empire* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927), 16.

sailors, too, and their merchant vessels sailed far and wide. (...) they became known as the ‘Waggoners of all the seas’.²⁰⁸

Before the author introduces the Dutch as England’s new competitor, she once again stresses that the previous ‘greatest power in the world’ was beaten by the English.²⁰⁹ The upcoming fights between the English and the Dutch in the seventeenth century are also described in the light of 1588. An example is her portrayal of the Second Dutch War (1665–1667) in times when London was afflicted by the Great Plague. The city had a shortage of food and money, and its navy was in a miserable state. Things got even worse when:

England woke up to find the enemy sailing up the Thames. For the first time in her history the roar of foreign guns was heard in London. (...) ‘a dishonour not to be wiped out’. So the war went on, but after a struggle of twenty-two years peace was made, and again it was England who had won the victory. The Dutch had to agree to salute the English flag and to acknowledge England as Mistress of the Sea.²¹⁰

The author stresses that England *again* proved to be the Mistress of the Sea. The disgrace of losing command of the seas had been redeemed twenty-two years later when England regained its position.

In Chapter Eight, Kerr describes another situation in which England lost both its command of the sea and the American colonies as well.²¹¹ The Americans rebelled against their ‘Mother country’ and the English became ‘helpless’. The author explains that France might profit from this situation, but before the chapter ends, Kerr restores the idea that Britannia rules the waves:

We cannot end it without telling how her navy once again won back the first place on the seas, and so saved her from her enemies. (...) and never, from that day, has any other country been able to drive the British from off the sea.²¹²

The struggle with France is also mentioned in a chapter addressing how India became part of the British Empire in the eighteenth century. After introducing the English trade that took place with India, Kerr mentions that other countries in Europe wanted a share in this trade as well. After a fierce struggle, England won

... for the reason that she was able to make herself Mistress of the Sea. We have seen how she beat the Spaniards and the Dutch, but, in India as well as in Canada, the greatest foe she had to fight was France.²¹³

208 Ibid., 54.

209 Ibid., 8.

210 Ibid., 56.

211 Ibid., 112–113.

212 Ibid., 114–115.

213 Ibid., 116–117.

The textbook narrative repeatedly refers to Spain, Holland and France in different time periods.²¹⁴ The author combines histories, places and times in a productive way to generate meaning from historical combinations: England gained sea power and became the ‘mistress of the seas’ in order to become and remain a world power.²¹⁵ This plot mediates and transforms multiple events into one unified story. The beginning, moreover, echoes the end, and the end mirrors the beginning. We have seen that this volume about the rise of the British Empire started with a picture portraying the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the event that gave her sea power. In the last chapter, ‘The nineteenth century’, the end is narrated in the light of this introduction:

See the great countries that belong to it, and then see the tiny island of Great Britain on her island throne, the Mother of them all. (...) We saw, too, the great place Britain won for herself in the wide world. How she founded colonies and settlements everywhere, and how, in order to keep them, she had to make herself Mistress of the Seas, and conquer all the might of Spain and Holland and France.²¹⁶

This textbook series narrates history according to a spider web structure: a variety of histories are connected to the central idea of ‘England as Mistress of the Seas’.

This pattern of interpretation has relevance in the present. This is also clear in the fifth volume, which aimed to show learners ‘something more of the Britain of the past, out of which has grown the Britain of to-day’.²¹⁷ In the final pages of this volume, the author briefly narrates the Great War and the role of the Fleet in these battles. She clarifies that England’s sea power was still highly important in these days and argues that children were taught to say a new grace during the contemporary war events: ‘Thank God and the British navy for my good dinner.’²¹⁸ On the last page, the author also explains that all the tiny colonies had grown rich and strong and that, ‘when danger threatened and the Great War with Germany broke out, the whole Empire rose up as one man (...) to stand side by side with their Mother Country and fight to death in the cause of justice and freedom’.²¹⁹

Another influential factor for the framing and keying process in this series are the authors’ views on history teaching. In the introduction to the third volume, Kerr explains her aim to present British history as a chain, or as

214 Ibid., 41 and 90.

215 See also other textbooks of this series, for example: F.A. Forbes, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Book IV: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Roman Britain to Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1925), 184; Susan Cunnington, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Book V: United Britain* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925).

216 Cunnington, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Book V*, 134–135.

217 Ibid., introduction.

218 Ibid., 208.

219 Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Book III*, 135.

a consecutive series of pictures, with as much life and colour as possible. These pictures are linked together by a chain of the most outstanding events, summarized shortly and clearly, which should be memorized, word for word, thus forming a solid foundation for the more detailed course which will follow later.²²⁰

The author of Volume IV refers back to this chain and foundation as *centres* around which the fourth book grouped new knowledge. Instead of taking the ‘scientific approach’, these authors seek to present history in colourful and lively narratives. The morality conveyed in this series is firmly Catholic, with the first volume, for instance, beginning with a text from Ecclesiastes 44:7, referring to the ‘holy fathers’, such as Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: ‘All these have gained glory in their generations and were praised in their days.’ Then the content of the textbook follows: stories about boys from the past who are praised for their characteristics or exceptional deeds. Another example is the story of the ‘Pope who loved the English’: a story about a man who saved Angles, ‘pagan’ children, who were sold in Rome as slaves. The man commented that these ‘beautiful’ children looked ‘more like angels than Angles’ with their ‘rosy cheeks and golden hair’.²²¹ Later, this man became Pope Gregory I and chose Augustine to lead the ‘Gregorian mission’ to ‘England’.²²²

This series thus presents history as a gallery of inspiring examples. The narration about the defeat of the Spanish Armada equally includes the famous story of how, upon hearing the news that the Armada was in sight, various captains wanted to abandon their game of bowls and set off at once, but that Drake ‘coolly told them that there was plenty of time to finish the game and they could beat the Spaniards afterwards’. This story is accompanied by the well-known painting ‘The Armada in Sight’ by Seymour Lucas (1880). The narrative highlights English confidence and the ‘stiff upper lip’, exemplifying courage and a restraint of emotion in times of adversity. In the final volume, the author is explicit about her view on history and utilizes the mirror metaphor:

Since every one either helps or hinders the progress of justice and happiness, according to whether he is mean or generous, selfish or diligent, ignorant or intelligent, a knowledge of history is a kind of mirror, in which may be seen the choice made by people who lived before us, and the evil or good that came of it.²²³

Alongside the fact that certain individuals and events, such as 1588, can function as inspiring examples, Britain shares the same function and is presented as the guardian of freedom. Although the League of Nations is mentioned in one

220 *Ibid.*, introduction.

221 F.A. Forbes, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Book I: The Beginnings of Christian Britain* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924), 53.

222 *Ibid.*, 50–62.

223 Cunningham, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Book V*, introduction.

54 THE GRIP-FAST HISTORY BOOKS



“They are Angles,” said the man who was selling them.

Figure 6: Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books I*, 1924, 54

sentence as well²²⁴, the author ends her textbook narrative with the *Empire Hymn* by A.C. Benson: ‘And freedom’s foes were Britain’s foes’.²²⁵

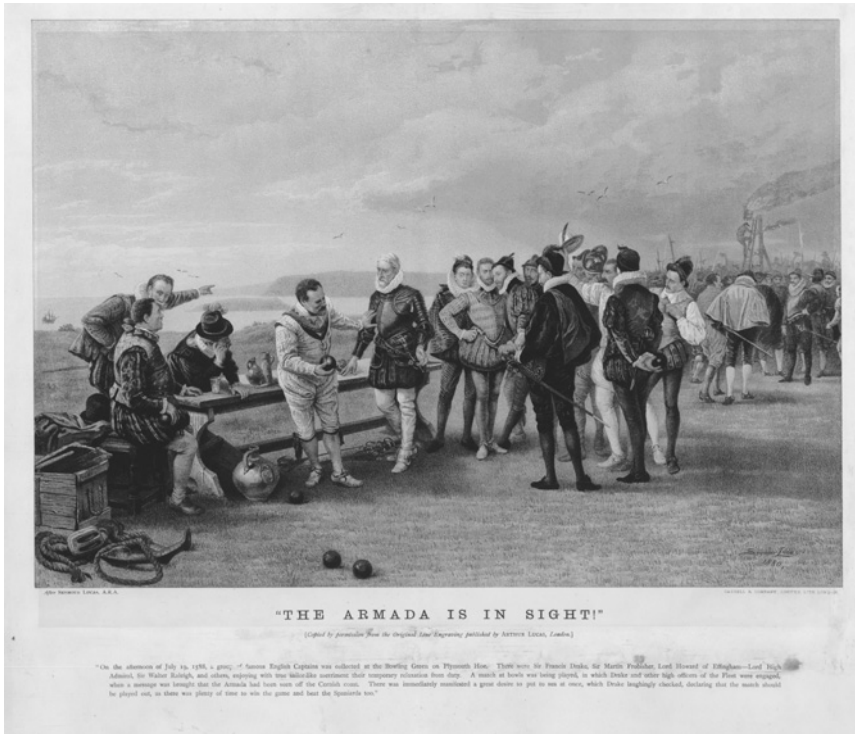


Figure 7: Seymour Lucas, ‘The Armada in Sight’, 1880 (Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney)

The emphasis on sea power discernible in *The Grip-Fast History Books* is also visible in other textbook series, such as in the five-part series *The House of History* (1930). While this series also consists of an appealing and chronologically structured narrative, it omits explicitly pedagogical viewpoints and includes many more facts and fewer moral messages. Nevertheless, the legend about Drake’s reaction to the news of the impending Spanish Armada is also present in this series and the author highlights that Drake ‘calmly’ replied: ‘There’s plenty of time to win the game and trash the Spaniards too’.²²⁶ This series equally makes use of flashbacks and fast-forwards to 1588 in the author’s textbook narrative. In the first volume, on the Middle Ages, the author already employs a fast-forward, remarking: ‘In the Middle Ages the English were not the great seafaring nation

224 *Ibid.*, 210.

225 *Ibid.*, 212.

226 Muriel Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey* (London: Nelson, 1931), 136.

they afterwards became.²²⁷ Moreover, in the assignments at the end of this first volume, the author encourages students to read *Our Sea Power* (1917).²²⁸ This seems a stepping-stone to the series' next volume (1931), which deals with early modern history. In its very first pages, Volume Two refers forward to the battles with Spain over the 'mastery' of the seas:

Other traders sailed regularly to Venice and Lisbon, and so Englishmen began to learn the seamanship which later on made them able to take their part in discovering new worlds, and gave them the hardihood to battle with the great galleons of Spain for the mastery of the Southern Seas.²²⁹

Having narrated the events of 1588 in full detail, the authors conclude with the remark: 'The Great Armada was utterly broken. England was on the way to snatch the mastery of the seas from Spain.'²³⁰ In the assignments, the author once more emphasizes the importance of this historical event by asking why the defeat of the Spanish Armada is considered such an important event in English history.²³¹

Furthermore, the author regularly refers back to the defeat of the Spanish Armada in other histories, as in the description of Sir Walter Raleigh's imprisonment in the Tower of London for thirteen years. She wrote that Raleigh often walked on the terrace and that many people went to the Tower to see him:

for he seemed to link them to the days of the Armada, and raids on Cadiz, of Spenser's Faerie Queen, and of high adventure of the Spanish Main. When Prince Henry saw him pacing up and down he said sadly what a pity it was that so fine a bird should be mewed up in a cage.²³²

The fourth volume (1931), on Modern History, also begins with references to Tudor times and Elizabeth's reign with 'all the brave captains and tough old "sea-dogs" who sailed to the Spanish Main and fought against the Great Armada'.²³³ This is more than just a summary of the previous volume: the memory of this sixteenth-century victory becomes important in the interpretation of modern history. When the author introduces William Pitt as the great Commoner in the period 1708–1778, she explains how the victory of 1588 inspired the actions of this man:

He loved England intensely, and believed so firmly in her greatness that England learned from him at last that the country which had become mistress of the seas under

227 Muriel Masfield, *The House of History. The First Storey* (London: Nelson, 1946), 144.

228 *Ibid.*, 270 (assignment 50).

229 Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey*, 10.

230 *Ibid.*, 142.

231 *Ibid.*, 319 (assignment 23).

232 *Ibid.*, 201.

233 Muriel Masfield, *The House of History. The Third Storey* (London: Nelson, 1931), 7.

Hawkins, Drake, Grenville, and Raleigh had a greater future than to settle down to quiet-money-making.²³⁴

The heroic defeat returns in the description of a historical person from the eighteenth century and makes clear how 1588 is remembered: as a time in which England became mistress of the seas at the hands of the English sea heroes.

Moreover, sea power and its protective force play an important role in the narration and interpretation of contemporary history. When the author narrates the Battle of Jutland (1916) – the naval battle between the British Royal Navy’s Grand Fleet and the Imperial German Navy’s High Seas Fleet during World War I – she connects several histories and time periods to discuss the role of the navy in times of war:

Just as England’s ‘wooden walls’ had been her surest shield against Philip of Spain and Napoleon, so her ironclad fleet of the twentieth century was a vital safeguard in the Great War.²³⁵

In the narration about Napoleon, the author used the same words – ‘wooden walls’ – to explain England’s unique position: ‘Only England was uncrushed, behind her barrier of sea and the wooden walls of Nelson’s ships’.²³⁶ In the assignments at the end of this fourth volume, the author again stresses naval power as well as its continuity through time by asking the students: ‘What is Britain’s “first line of defence”, and what was its work in the War?’²³⁷

The chronological narrative-based history textbook series *Kingsway Histories for Seniors* (1934) also refers to the ‘wooden walls’ of England. When the author E. Wynn Williams discusses the iron industry, he explains that the output was small for ‘one serious reason’: a large amount of wood was necessary to make one ton of iron. ‘But Englishmen were very jealous of their wood, for from the oak were made the “wooden walls” of England’s navy, and it was felt that ships were far more important than iron.’²³⁸ Another similarity is the description of the Battle of Jutland in 1916 in the fourth book of the series (1937), on modern history. The author explains that Germany and Britain had gradually drawn apart and that this ‘was largely due to Germany’s challenge to our sea-power, upon which our lives and trade depend.’²³⁹ Instead of making a direct key, like in *The House of History* (1930), *Kingsway Histories for Seniors* narrates an indirect key by describing how Britain maintained her position on the sea as in ‘former days’:

234 Ibid., 52.

235 Ibid., 292.

236 Ibid., 164.

237 Ibid., 327.

238 E. Wynn Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors. Book III: George I to the battle of Waterloo* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1934), 139.

239 Ibid., 151.

As in former days, her battleships kept the homeland safe from invasion, enabled troops to be carried overseas wherever needed, and protected the food ships necessary to keep our people from starving.²⁴⁰

These ‘former days’ could refer to the events of 1588, particularly because the author already remarked in the second volume (1935) that the ‘sailors of Elizabeth’s reign have left never-to-be-forgotten memories in the history of their country’.²⁴¹ In this second volume, the author has stressed the power of Philip II by remarking that the King of Spain ‘claimed to rule all the western seas and all the newly found American lands’. The English seamen were portrayed as people who ‘dared the might of Spain’ and ‘challenged the Spanish power’.²⁴² This accent is also visible in the description of Francis Drake, who showed the Spanish king ‘that he was not the sole master of the seas’.²⁴³

Although 1588 is also narrated and interpreted as a historical event that gave way to a change in sea power, the change in maritime strength became final in 1692, according to the author, when the French king Louis XIV – who saw himself as the master of Europe – planned an invasion of England. He was defeated, and the author remarked: ‘England had now command of the sea, and she need no longer feared invasion.’²⁴⁴ This status quo is underlined by the description and interpretation of later events:

It was Sea Power that prevented Napoleon from becoming not only lord of the Orient but also lord of all Europe. (...) Only Britain stood out constantly against him, and Britain was sometimes in a desperate plight. (...) The boats, however, never crossed the Channel, for Nelson and the Navy commanded the seas.²⁴⁵

Sea-power is also an important theme in the fourth series examined: the well-known and widespread textbook series *A History of Britain* (1937) by E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears. The authors explain in their preface that their series ‘gives in the normal course of the narrative prominent attention to the cultural, social, and economic aspects of History’.²⁴⁶ They also explain that the various illustrations have been carefully selected ‘for their interest in themselves and for their value in

240 E. Wynn Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors. Book IV: The Nineteenth Century and Modern Britain* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1937), 158.

241 E. Wynn Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors. Book II: The Tudors and Stuarts* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1935), 69. ‘The sailors of Elizabeth’s reign have left never-to-be-forgotten memories in the history of their country. They faced the dangers of uncharted oceans in ships no larger than the finishing boats of to-day. They dared the might of Spain in attempts to win the wealth of Mexico and Peru in the newly discovered America.’

242 *Ibid.*, 63 and 69.

243 *Ibid.*, 65.

244 Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors III*, 26.

245 *Ibid.*, 158–159.

246 E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears, *A History of Britain. Book II 1485–1688* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), preface.

supplementing the narrative'.²⁴⁷ They present numerous maps throughout the series and describe in their preface that their textbook

has been subjected to close scrutiny by a number of expert critics; and it will be found to embody (as far as is practicable in a book of this kind) the results of the latest researches – results which usually take many years to find their way into books intended primarily for schools.²⁴⁸

The authors thank various professors for reading the book and/or chapters in proof, such as R.G. Collingwood and the staff of Oxford University Press. This history textbook was thus created in close cooperation with 'history science', as becomes evident in the very detailed textbook narratives. At the same time, the famous legend about Drake who finished his game of bowls before 'beating' the Spaniards is no longer perpetuated in this series. Moreover, the term 'sea-dogs' is no longer present in the narration about 1588. Although for years it was English slang to describe a seasoned sailor as an unsavoury character, Elizabeth I flipped the phrase and used it as a heroic metaphor for loyal sailors who brought back riches and treasures or bravely defended England. Whereas other textbook authors also used this metaphor in their own textbook narrative, Carter and Mears do not use this phrase. Instead, they work with headers such as 'piracy and war'.²⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the overarching 'frame' of interpretation that dominated the other textbooks investigated is also present in this series. The authors already set the tone at the beginning of their narration and introduce Elizabethan England as an 'inspiring theme'.

The two great outbursts of activity which we associate with this reign – the adventures of the seamen, and the work of the poets and dramatists – are matters of which every Englishman can be proud; for it is no small thing to have become the acknowledged masters of the seas (...).²⁵⁰

Elizabethan England is narrated as a romance and as a time in which England gained (sea) power, culminating in the narrative's successful end. While the authors do point out that Elizabeth 'had come to rule over a distracted country' they also note that things changed during her reign and that she 'passed on to her successor a kingdom which was ready to take its place among the first nations of the world'.²⁵¹

The four English series examined thus all frame the English defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) as a victory in which England gained command and became 'mistress of the seas'. However, beyond similarities in their framing and

247 Ibid., preface.

248 Ibid.

249 Ibid., 398.

250 Ibid., 380.

251 Ibid., 414.

keying processes, the textbook series also demonstrate some important differences. Whereas the Catholic series *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1924) clearly narrates 1588 as an end (of Spanish power) and as a beginning (of English sea power), *The House of History* (1931) highlights that the fight between England and Spain continued after 1588 and describes how English soldiers took part in ‘the wars between Catholics and Protestants in Europe’. An example is the force sent by Elizabeth ‘to help the Protestants of the Netherlands in their stand for freedom’.²⁵² Next to the change in power, this Protestant series frames 1588 in another way: as a clash between different religions. When describing the ambitions of Medina Sidonia – the commander-in-chief of the Spanish Armada – the author explicitly mentions that he aimed to bring the ‘true faith’ to England.²⁵³ She contrasts his aims with those of the English sailors who ‘were fighting for the freedom of the seas and the life of the Protestant religion’.²⁵⁴ In the conclusion, the author combines the two frames again: ‘The long struggle with Spain for the independence of a Protestant England and the freedom of the seas came to an end with the century.’²⁵⁵

The author of the Catholic series *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1924) does not deny the religious tensions and remarks, for example, that the Spanish especially hated England ‘for they were zealous Catholics, and this was the time of the Reformation, when the English became Protestant’.²⁵⁶ However, the author neglects these religious tensions in the part about the Armada’s defeat in 1588, which is narrated as a *national victory* that resulted in England’s role as mistress of the seas. English piracy and robbery are seen as the main causes of Philip’s anger and his decision to send in the Spanish Armada, rather than a religious clash:

A fierce hatred sprang up between the sailors of the two countries, for the English Seadogs, as they were called, were no better than pirates, and did not care what cruel deeds they did as long as they could hurt and rob their enemies. (...) But they were as brave as they were wild and cruel, these terrible Seadogs, and none of them was more famous than Francis Drake. He was the boldest and most daring of them all. (...) They called him El Draque, the Dragon, and thought he must be in league with the Devil himself, for he seemed to be everywhere at once, and do what they would they could not escape him. All the oceans of the world were his playground (...).²⁵⁷

At the same time, the author tries to explain the English piracy and theft of Spanish riches by pointing to the Spanish, who denied the English access to the

252 Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey*, 149.

253 *Ibid.*, 149 and 139.

254 *Ibid.*, 148.

255 *Ibid.*, 150.

256 Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books III*, 8.

257 *Ibid.*, 9 and 12.

New World. The English actions, therefore, are described as a deed of revenge against the ‘greatest power in the world’:

So the Spanish flag ruled the seas, and from every side her great treasure ships sailed proudly in, laden with riches such as no man had ever seen. The Spaniards thought that the whole New World belonged to them, and would not let anyone else even trade there. (...) The bold English sailors were determined not to be shut out of the New World in this way, so, in revenge at not being allowed to trade there, they took to attacking and robbing the Spanish settlements, and then they would lie in wait for the treasure ships on their homeward journey.²⁵⁸

In the heroic part about the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the author emphasizes the role of the Catholics. The Catholic Lord Howard of Effingham – who was in command and had Drake, Frobisher, and Raleigh under his flag – is mentioned in bold letters (and is not often mentioned in the Protestant series). Moreover, the author emphasizes that the ‘conduct of the Catholics throughout the invasion proved that a “man” might be loyal to his Faith and to his country as well.’²⁵⁹ This attitude is also stressed in another volume of the series, where the author highlights the danger that was impending and how the whole country rose to fight against it. ‘None of them were more generous than the Catholics, fined and persecuted though they had been.’²⁶⁰ Whereas the victory over the Armada is narrated as a national romance, paying special attention to the Catholics, Queen Elizabeth is neglected in this story. She does not fit into this heroic sketch of events and is mentioned in the next chapter – the ‘saddest story in all history’ – in relation to the Queen of Scots, Catholic Mary Stewart.²⁶¹

In this section, the author describes the struggle over religion and the crown, and how Mary Stewart fled from Scotland to England hoping to be aided by her cousin Elizabeth. However: ‘Like a poor little mouse she had walked straight into the trap. Elizabeth was quick to shut the door and she never let her go’.²⁶² In an earlier paragraph, the author had already explained that Queen Elizabeth hated her cousin, ‘for she knew that Mary was more beautiful than she was, and had the best right to the English throne.’²⁶³ Whereas the English defeat of the Spanish Armada is narrated as a brave, national romance – with a special heroic role for the Catholics – the section on ‘Elizabethan England’ is narrated as a tragedy, especially for the Catholics:

258 *Ibid.*, 8.

259 Forbes, *The Grip-Fast History Books IV*, 186–187.

260 Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books III*, 13.

261 *Ibid.*, 17.

262 *Ibid.*, 27–28.

263 *Ibid.*, 22.

But under all the outward prosperity there was a great deal of misery. The Catholics had been persecuted throughout the reign; most of the great Catholic families were either ruined or in exile; in 1563 began the persecution of the Puritans. The enclosure of the common lands was still going on, the number of people who could find no work was increasing. The Poor Law, passed in 1597, though it still ordered the whipping of vagabonds and beggars, made some attempt at improving matters by the building of houses of correction and workhouses for the really destitute.²⁶⁴

Elizabeth is described as a clever, vain and ‘quite unscrupulous’ woman who gave the people the impression of good government by the splendour of her court. Moreover, ‘like her father, she could not bear contradiction, and ruled with true Tudor despotism.’²⁶⁵

These portrayals of Elizabeth differ from the descriptions in the Protestant textbook series *The House of History* (1930). While Henry VIII is criticized for his family life, sea power is an equally important factor: the author clarifies that the victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 would have been impossible without Henry VIII, who is described as a great king despite his self-indulgence and the ‘heartlessness in his private life’.

To him England owes the real beginning of her navy of battleships, and but for his bold naval plans the English fleet would probably have been swept off the sea by the Spaniards in Queen Elizabeth’s reign.²⁶⁶

Queen Elizabeth is portrayed as a queen with all the spirit of Henry VIII but one who was not ‘spoiled’ as a child. She is described as a proud and strong queen and is given credit for the important victory in 1588. In this Protestant series, Elizabeth I was important for the nation because she helped

to recover its sense of pride, which had fallen low while Philip of Spain had treated England almost as if it were a dependency of Spain. Under Elizabeth, Philip was defied, the Church was freed once more from the rule of the Pope, England took its part in the discovery of the New World, and especially showed her power upon the sea.²⁶⁷

In the widespread textbook series *A History of Britain* (1937), the authors also explicitly attribute the sea power accomplishment to Elizabeth and value the queen for her ‘passionate’ devotion to national interests.²⁶⁸ Instead of portraying her as someone with a fanatic ‘religious temperament’, these authors explain that she excelled in politics: ‘To put it another way – her religion, if she had any, was patriotism; if she loved anything, she loved England’.²⁶⁹

264 Forbes, *The Grip-Fast History Books IV*, 189–190.

265 *Ibid.*, 187–189.

266 Masfield, *The House of History. Second Storey*, 81–82.

267 *Ibid.*

268 Carter and Mears, *A History of Britain II*, 380 and 414.

269 *Ibid.*, 380.

The textbooks' shared plot of gained sea-power had relevance in the present and was helpful in understanding and narrating the contemporary Great War. Next to the socio-political context, the perpetuation of national narratives was affected by authors' pedagogical and didactic viewpoints. An example is the spider-web structure of *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1924), a series aiming to narrate history as a *chain* of the most outstanding events.²⁷⁰ The disciplinary context was very much present in the textbook series by Carter and Mears, who cooperated with various professors and although certain aspects (such as the legend about Drake's continuing his game of bowls) were omitted and other details added, the overarching frame of interpretation did not change.

Several textbook authors *keyed* 1588 to other histories on the basis of the same plotline: these narrations 'echoed' this victory and entered the same pattern of interpretation. The interconnected histories and periods constituted, affirmed, and inculcated a broader national narrative with an overarching plot that retraced its own path throughout the textbook narrative.²⁷¹ Another form of echoing was visible as well: the resonance of other texts, such as fiction. National poems have played an important role in creating national identities, and some even regard poetry as the chief medium in creating a national cultural memory.²⁷²

The textbook ideology of Britain's superiority, its military prowess, and its heroes was backed up by literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Three out of four history textbook series analysed here refer to the 'Drake's Drum' poem (see this chapter's introduction): textbook authors advised teachers to read Newbolt's poem to children or to teach it as a song.²⁷³ An example is the series *The House of History* (1930), in which students are asked to recite or to sing 'Drake's Drum' and afterwards to argue why the defeat of the Spanish Armada was considered to be such a pivotal event in English history.²⁷⁴ Sometimes the authors also referred to other poems by Newbolt,²⁷⁵ these lending meaning to history, being patriotic, acclaiming Britain, and calling for action. As poems have sticking power and shape history memorably, they can play a significant role in perpetuating national narratives. In 1910, Keatinge explicitly

270 Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books III*, introduction.

271 Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1980), 54. Originally published in French in 1972.

272 H.U. Seeber, 'The Retrospective Attitude in Poems by Edward Thomas and Andrew Motion, and the Construction of the English Tradition in Poetry', in *REAL 21. Literature, Literary History, and Cultural Memory*, ed. H. Grabes (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 2005), 147–160.

273 See for example: Cecil Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books. Teacher's Book 3* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924), 34; E. Wynn Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors. Teacher's Book* (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1935), 54. Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey*, 319.

274 Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey*, 319.

275 See for example: Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors II*, 63, 69 and 202.

recommended the use of poems such as ‘Drake’s Drum’ since ‘they will linger in the memory’, although his famous *Studies in the Teaching of History* is – especially since the nineties – mostly remembered for his early plea for the ‘scientific approach’ and the use of sources in class.²⁷⁶ In this research period, therefore, the ‘textual dynamics of memory itself’ also played an important role in the perpetuation of national narratives in the genre of history textbooks.

The next sections are concerned with history education in the Netherlands in relation to the specific segregation patterns in Dutch society between 1920 and 1940. After an analysis of the Dutch context, section 2.4 will show that – in contrast to the English textbooks – the Dutch Revolt is narrated in a less unambiguous way in both Protestant and Catholic textbook series.

2.3 Dutch neutrality as a promise for the future

*And we, the Dutch people, who are less limited in our perspectives than other, greater nations, we the neutrals from the War, can surely help in problems of international allure.*²⁷⁷

The Netherlands was neutral during the Great War, and Dutch history textbooks were regarded as less chauvinistic than those of other countries. Nevertheless, history education became an ‘issue’ in the Netherlands, and it was widely felt that an education reform was necessary.²⁷⁸ In 1927, teachers and reformers felt that ‘history education had screwed it up. Students just have to pump in several facts and dates, without any meaning to the present.’²⁷⁹ After World War I, Dutch newspapers wrote that ‘wolf and cannibal morals’ and ‘*histoire de bataille*’ had dominated history education for too long.²⁸⁰ They argued that war history should be given a less prominent place in textbooks and that more attention should be paid to cultural and economic history.²⁸¹ Others went even further and proposed

276 See for example: Tony McAleavy, ‘The Use of Sources in School History 1910–1998: A Critical Perspective’, *Teaching History*, no. 91 (1998): 10–16.

277 J.W. Berkelbach van der Sprengel, *Volken en Tijden* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1933), 211. ‘En wij Nederlanders, die minder dan andere, grootere volken beperkt zijn in onze blik, wij neutralen uit de Wereldoorlog, kunnen dat zeer zeker in vraagstukken van internationale aard.’ This and all translations from Dutch in the following are translated by the author unless otherwise marked.

278 Johannes B. Manger, ‘Over geschiedenisonderwijs en wereldvrede’, *De Gids* 91 (1927): 183–208, 183; *Over geschiedenis- onderwijs: verslag van de conferentie op 7 november 1925 te Amsterdam* (Groningen: Wolters, 1926), 3 and 38.

279 Manger, ‘Over geschiedenisonderwijs en wereldvrede’, 183.

280 Ibid. See also: ‘De “Wolven- en Kanibalen-moraal” verdwijne uit het geschiedenis- onderwijs’, *Voorwaarts: sociaal-democratisch dagblad*, August 4, 1924, 1.

281 See also: Manger, ‘Over geschiedenisonderwijs en wereldvrede’, 185.

abandoning all war history from history textbooks.²⁸² As history education was accused of having contributed to the War by supporting chauvinism, militarism and imperialism – the *Report on Nationalism in History Textbooks* had been published in 1928²⁸³ – several initiatives were launched to revise history textbooks aiming to improve representations of ‘other’ nations as well as their ‘own’ country.

In the summer of 1932, the Dutch city of The Hague hosted an international conference on history education, with representatives present from Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Hungary, England, Greece, Italy, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States. This conference was preceded by a preliminary meeting in Paris, where the Dutch historian H.T. Colenbrander represented the Netherlands. Other well-known historians involved in these processes included Jacques Presser, who went to Belgium as a representative of the association *Nederland in den Vreemde* (the Netherlands in foreign countries) in order to examine how the Netherlands were represented in Belgian history textbooks.²⁸⁴ And Johan Huizinga became the president of a commission that aimed to improve history textbooks in 1939.²⁸⁵ Ten years earlier, Huizinga had already expressed his concerns about history lessons in which teachers merely handed down facts such as dates and names of people. He cautioned against an amorphous type of history education in which teachers failed to separate the wheat from the chaff and search for a certain *form*.²⁸⁶ According to Huizinga, history gave meaning to the past, and this process involved styling the past; form and function had to be created.

The interbellum witnessed a reorientation regarding the form and function of history textbooks. Most Dutch textbook authors aimed to integrate a certain type of peace education, as did E. Rijpma, the author of a well-known textbook series. He ended his third volume with a chapter entitled ‘The development of peace. The League of Nations’. In contrast with the English textbook authors discussed above, Rijpma narrated World War I as a stage in the overall development towards peace. He started this chapter with the Middle Ages and discussed several authors and their ideas about peace. He is no exception, and other textbook authors also focused on long-term developments towards peace; the Netherlands even acquiring something of a hero status since they had remained neutral in

282 Manger, ‘Over geschiedenisonderwijs en wereldvrede’, 185.

283 Wilhelm Carlgren, ed., *Report on nationalism in history textbooks* (Stockholm, Sweden: Magn. Bergvalls förlag, 1928).

284 ‘Belgische schoolboeken over Nederland’, *Leeuwarder nieuwsblad*, March 19, 1926, 3.

285 ‘Het geschiedenisonderwijs op school. Commissie voor herziening ingesteld’, *Leeuwarder nieuwsblad*, September 7, 1939, 2.

286 Johan Huizinga, *Cultuurhistorische verkenningen* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N.V., 1929), 58. ‘Wee echter, als gansche scholen slechts klakkeloos den pollepel doopen in de brij der overlevering! Waar geen bepaalde vorm of functie wordt gezocht, daar ontstaat of de amorphe vermaling van kaf en koren samen, of het rhetorische of romantische prentje.’

times of war. The neutral and pacifistic Dutch viewpoint in particular was seen as promising for the future, and students were stimulated to play a significant role in the prevention of war.²⁸⁷ The issue of history education as peace education was part of a larger debate in which politicians also became involved. In 1925, the Dutch minister of Education, Arts and Sciences – Victor Henri Rutgers – decided that the League of Nations had to become a compulsory part of history education, and the inspector of secondary schools, G. Bolkestein, agreed with this decision.²⁸⁸

Although some English teachers had also advocated for such an idea, it was not implemented in English history education. Some Dutch teachers also expressed doubts. They emphasized that the world was full of struggle and wondered why they needed to constrain history education to peace education; others, however, argued that all history had to be seen in the light of peace development,²⁸⁹ maintaining that the League of Nations was not the start or the end point but an ‘inevitable’ maturation point in the development of peace. These teachers emphasized that school history needed to express the idea of progress, and they argued that contemporary initiatives, such as the League of Nations, were leading to a better and happier society. This type of history education, moreover, also addressed another problem: the ‘death’ of school history.

If you leaf through a history book, you might be wondering on most pages why pupils should be learning this stuff, without getting an answer, however. Easy come, easy go. Memorising it, though, would also be pointless. All textbooks, essentially, have this in common: they fail to give satisfaction; it is all drudgery and acquiescence. The Minister’s appeal, communicated to the schools by the secondary education inspectors, is an aid for improvement.²⁹⁰

The minister’s order to teach about the League of Nations and the development of peace solved the problem of ‘useless’ school history.

Historian and well-known textbook author Michael Georg de Boer (1867–1958), however, expressed his doubts about this idea of progress at a history

287 See for example: J. Dijkstra, *Van Stam tot Staat. Leerboek der Vaderlandse Geschiedenis. Deel II* (Den Haag: Ykema, 1925), 410.

288 ‘De Volkenbond en het geschiedenisonderwijs’, *Het volk: dagblad voor de arbeiderspartij*, September 2, 1926, 1.

289 ‘Alle tendenz bij geschiedenisonderwijs is uit den booze’, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, July 23, 1932, 1; ‘School en opvoeding. Een schoolboek gevraagd. School en Volkenbond’, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, May 4, 1926, 3.

290 Ibid. ‘Wie een schoolgeschiedenisleerboek doorbladert, zal bij de meeste pagina’s kunnen vragen: waartoe leert een leerling dit? En geen antwoord krijgen. Zoo geleerd, zoo vergeten. Maar ook het onthouden zou geen doel hebben. In wezen zijn alle schoolboeken in dezen gelijk; gelijk, in het geen bevrediging geven. Alleen de sleur doet berusten. De ministerieele opwekking, die de inspecteurs van het middelbaar onderwijs aan de scholen hebben overgebracht, biedt een hulpmiddel ter verbetering.’

education conference in Amsterdam in 1925, organized by Kohnstamm and De Vletter.²⁹¹ Although he acknowledged the relevance of teaching alliances that connected different peoples and nations, such as the League of Nations, he called for a broader idea of moral education and emphasized that objectivity and a balanced history were significant elements in students' character development. 'Do not make your enemies into devils and your own heroes into angels, but try to explain their deeds.'²⁹² During the War, in 1915, De Boer had already argued that the 'neutrals' became a small group and that Dutch young historians in particular had a special task: the gathering and critical editing of source materials which would form the basis for war histories that would be written later.²⁹³

In his conference lecture (1925) about the goals of history lessons in secondary education, De Boer distinguished two main goals: 'knowledge' and 'understanding'. Chronology was important to reach such 'understanding', according to De Boer, because it could be used to narrate cause and effect, action and reaction.²⁹⁴

It is important to go back and forward, to see events in relation to other events or histories and to point to the meaning of events and persons etcetera for cultural and economic developments.²⁹⁵

He also emphasized differences with the natural sciences: whereas the natural sciences were concerned with a limited number of causes and principles, history involved an unknown number of causes and did not follow clear principles.²⁹⁶ He therefore proposed teaching historical events as part of a film: you did not know what would come but you did know that it had to continue. He regarded the present not as the end point or the final result, but as a time in transition, just like every other period.²⁹⁷

Two years after this conference, philologist Johannes Bernardus Manger wrote an article about 'history education and world peace'. He agreed with De Boer and

291 *Verslag van de conferentie op 7 november 1925*, 46.

292 *Ibid.*, 38.

293 M.G. de Boer, 'Over de praktische en de wetenschappelijke waarde der jongste geschiedenis', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1915): 321–334, 334. 'De gebeurtenissen van den laatsten tijd hebben de kloof tusschen de volken zoozeer verwijld dat er aan overbrugging in afzienbare tijden wel niet gedacht zal kunnen worden. Het aantal neutralen wordt bovendien bedenkelijk klein. Blijft ons land, gelijk zich voorloopig laat aanzien, buiten den strijd dan zullen daarom onze historici, vooral de jongeren onder hen, als aangewezen zijn voor een belangrijk aandeel in een zeer omvangrijk werk; ik bedoel het bijeenbrengen, het schiften en het kritisch bewerken van het materiaal, waaruit eenmaal het nageslacht, wellicht met meelijdende meewarigheid terugziende op een geslacht, dat in een voorbeeldlozen titanenstrijd zich zelf ten gronde richtte, het koele onbevengden verhaal van wat nu gebeurt zal samenstellen.'

294 *Verslag van de conferentie op 7 november 1925*, 35.

295 *Ibid.*

296 *Ibid.*, 36.

297 *Ibid.*, 37.

argued that historical facts needed to be learned not because of the facts themselves but so as to *understand* history and to establish causal connections between different facts. Consequently, in his eyes, a textbook author needed to show *how* an event or deed led to another one: 'The teacher and the textbook author will not rest before they have connected every point of their narrative in a logical way.'²⁹⁸ He also explained that history, in contrast with the natural sciences, did not follow general rules: the causal connections were not proven or distracted, but rather 'seen' and 'experienced'.²⁹⁹ In explaining history, moreover, the causal connections showed readers the interrelation of history and life, according to the author. These connections become clear through appropriated terminology: Manger described Prince William's endeavour to establish a united Netherlands in the sixteenth century using the contemporary term '*De Groot-Nederlandse gedachte*' (the idea of the Great Netherlands), a term coined by the famous historian Pieter Geyl and popular since the 1920s.³⁰⁰ Furthermore, the author emphasized that, when everything was clearly interpreted and explained, history education did not become dull but that this was the way to understand the bigger picture. Learning about history, according to Manger, was no longer about remembering that which was dead but about understanding the reality that was alive.³⁰¹

The term 'alive' in relation to history education is characteristic of this period. Education reformers also pointed out that 'death' had dominated school history for far too long and that it was time to pay more attention to the link between history and life, in line with the vitalism ideology of Nietzsche and propagated by H. Colenbrander in the Netherlands.³⁰²

All these bodies, which have been dead for a century, are still haunting our books and, worse yet, the minds of our children. Every year, all this dust is blown about for a while; it swirls through the classroom for some moments; it clogs up our pupils' brains, but ... to what purpose? None at all! It is as dead as a dead body can be.³⁰³

They advocated a lively and useful school history: merely remembering facts or dates was considered useless. History education had to connect with students'

298 Manger, 'Over geschiedenisonderwijs en wereldvrede', 188. 'De leeraar en de schoolboekjesschrijver ruste dus niet voordat alle punten van zijn verhaal zijn aaneengeschakeld op na-denkbare wijze.'

299 *Ibid.*, 186.

300 Jo Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin. Denken over geschiedenis in Nederland sinds 1860* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1990), 324–332.

301 Manger, 'Over geschiedenisonderwijs en wereldvrede', 186.

302 Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 57 and 159.

303 W.H. Staverman, 'Dood onderwijs op onze scholen', *Leeuwarder courant*, January 13, 1937, 1. 'Al die lijken, die al een eeuw dood zijn, spoken nog rond in onze boeken en, erger, in de hoofden van onze kinderen. Al dat vergane stof wordt elk jaar weer eventjes opgeblazen, warrelt een oogenblik door de klas, verstopt de hersens van onze leerlingen, en heeft ... wat voor nut? Niet het minste! Het is zoo dood als een lijk maar dood kan zijn.'

interests as ‘historical knowledge was not meant to be stored in the antiques collection but needed to come alive.’³⁰⁴ The ‘dead bones’ critique was also heard in relation to ‘neutral’ history textbooks, which aimed to replace real people with nothing more than names and dates.³⁰⁵

The term ‘neutral’ refers to the absence of religious viewpoints, and these textbook authors often followed Robert Fruin, the first Dutch professor of national history at Leiden University (since 1860), in his aim to overcome religious differences and prejudices.³⁰⁶ In the first part of the twentieth century, the Netherlands was divided into different religious or ideological compartments, each with its own social institutions, banks, broadcasting organizations, newspapers, and schools. The Protestants, the Catholics, the social democrats, and the liberals, moreover, also had their own history textbooks. There were differences between these compartments, and a Christian pacifist in the Protestant compartment, for example, was fired in 1930 because he criticized war and did not see wars as ‘wars of the Lord’ or, in case of the Dutch Revolt, as a ‘religious war to protect the Church of the Lord against side-tracked Rome’.³⁰⁷

The discussions about the aims of school history and history textbooks further illustrate another difficulty: the relationship between ‘academic history’ and ‘school history’. Some teachers regarded the influence of academic history on school history as the reason why appreciation of their subject had declined.

History ‘as a science’ is invaluable to those who will be teaching it in the future. So it is only natural that big fat scholarly works with critical essays have been written about it. It not quite so natural, however, that this science has been introduced ‘in a nutshell’ into our secondary education and – though to a lesser degree – into our primary schools. It is allegedly concise but much in the way of compressed hay, with all manner of difficulties contained within it, which then need to be dug out and unravelled.³⁰⁸

304 “Richtlijnen in het geschiedenisonderwijs”. Lezing voor leerkrachten bij het M.O., *De Indische courant*, August 27, 1938, 14. See also: ‘Het geschiedenisonderwijs in de eerste plaats sociaal georiënteerd’, *Het Vaderland: staat- en letterkundig nieuwsblad*, May 27, 1932, 10. ‘Er moet echter steeds rekening gehouden worden met de interessen van den leerling in het heden, opdat de kennis niet als antiquiteitenverzameling in een psychisch schuilhoekje wordt bewaard, maar levend wordt.’

305 ‘School en opvoeding. Een schoolboek gevraagd. School en Volkenbond’, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, May 4, 1926, 3.

306 Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 15–67.

307 Joop G. Toebes, ‘Van een leervak naar een denk- en doevak. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlands geschiedenisonderwijs’, *Kleio* 17 (1976): 202–284. Also in: *Bij het afscheid van dr. P. v. d. Meulen* (1976): 66–148, 85.

308 ‘Ingezonden stukken. Het geschiedenisonderwijs’, *Soerabaia*, February 3, 1929, 1. ‘De geschiedenis “als wetenschap” is onmisbaar voor hen, die er later les in moeten geven. Natuurlijk is ’t dus, dat er lijvige, wetenschappelijke werken over geschreven werden met critische beschouwingen. Maar onnatuurlijk is ’t, dat die wetenschap in een “nutshell” onze Mulo – en zij ’t in mindere mate – onze lagere school is binnengeloodst. Zij zijn zoogenaamd beknopt.’

They argued, in line with English authors discussed earlier, that students were unable to grasp the difficult academic parts in history textbooks and appealed to textbook authors to be less 'dry' in their writings and to abandon knowledge that was too much and too difficult. They argued that shorter and more comprehensible textbooks would generate time to focus on great historical individuals: men of war, men of peace, men of science and men with a perfect character.³⁰⁹

Developmental psychology was an important topic in the debate about the (im)possibilities of history education. This was also the reason why some reformers wanted to remove history from primary education: it was too abstract and too difficult, causing teachers to tell simplistic stories full of stereotypes, and this kind of education would do more harm than good. Others questioned the influence of 'intellectualism' and argued that this aim had gained too much importance in comparison with other goals.³¹⁰ They argued, with reference to pedagogue Paul Natorp, that history was a science that could not be taught in primary and secondary schools. 'Intellectual' history education, moreover, would not automatically lead to morality and virtue. Moral education, therefore, had to be the first priority of history education: it could mould students' characters by showing great examples from the past, as Thomas Carlyle did in his book about hero worship.³¹¹ Telling interesting stories about heroes, using maps and images, was a widely used method to reach this goal.

Some proponents of heroes in history education emphasized that the hero's shortcomings had to be taught as well in order to humanize the hero figure. Objectivity would preserve students from neglecting a hero's negative deeds or sides and would cause them to appreciate the 'good' deeds or sides of the 'enemy'. 'Dutch common sense', moreover, would help the students to reach these goals.³¹² However, not everyone agreed. J.C.H. Fischer, for example, argued that moral education required a subjective approach to history and that it was precisely this subjective character that distinguished school history from 'academic history': 'Science pursues objectivity. Education requires subjective experience as it is

Zoo ongeveer als samengeperst hooi, alle moeilijkheden blijven erin, die dan eerst weer opgediept en uitgeplozen moet worden.'

309 Ibid.

310 See for example: 'Te veel intellectualisme in de school?', *Leeuwarder nieuwsblad*, May 4, 1938, 6; 'Lijdt ons onderwijs inderdaad aan intellectualisme', *Leeuwarder courant*, December 1, 1938, 9; 'Verintellectualiseering', *Soerabaijasch handelsblad*, September 25, 1931, 4.

311 Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (London: James Fraser, 1841).

312 'Van de middelbare school naar het leven. Het nut van geschiedenis-onderwijs. Antwoord op populair verwijt. "Ballast van de H.B.S."', *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, November 22, 1938, 5.

meant to benefit the pupils' moral education.³¹³ Whereas some teachers celebrated the subjective character of school history, historians such as T.H. Colenbrander pointed out the danger of a wide gap between school history and 'academic history'.³¹⁴ Some textbook authors, such as De Boer, tried to bridge this gap by including source materials in their textbook series.

'Academic' historians were also occupied with discussions about objectivity and subjectivity: in his widespread founding narrative, the American historian Motley had sketched an image of the Netherlands as a Protestant nation. In the Netherlands, the Protestant appropriation of the Dutch Revolt was clearly visible in discussions about the celebration of 'glorious Protestant' historical events from this episode in 'national' anniversaries. Catholics argued against the narration of national history as being exclusively 'Protestant', and they started to write new interpretations of the Dutch Revolt.³¹⁵ These Catholic viewpoints also entered Dutch history textbooks: the Catholics published their own series, in which they questioned the dominant Protestant frame and called for emancipation in historiography. The famous Dutch cartoonist Albert Hahn (1877–1918) made a cartoon about Catholic history education and the Protestant fear that historical facts would be twisted. This teacher thus lectures that Philip II has been murdered by Prince William in 1584, instead of the other way around.

Based on an in-depth analysis of four Dutch textbook series, the next section discusses the dominant (Protestant) frame as well as the Catholic counter-frame of the Dutch Revolt. A counter-frame opposes an earlier, dominant and effective frame by simply supporting an alternative view or, as we will see, by making an explicit attack on the initial frame. All four textbook series – written by De Boer, Commissaris, Pik and Rijpma – are based on a chronological narrative.

313 'Onderwijs. "Richtlijnen in het geschiedenisonderwijs". Lezing voor leerkrachten bij het M.O.', *De Indische courant*, August 27, 1938, 14. 'Het karakter van de geschiedenis als wetenschap en van het geschiedenisonderwijs dekken elkaar niet. De wetenschap streeft naar objectiviteit; het onderwijs eischt subjectieve beleving, omdat de zedelijke opvoeding er door gebaat is.'

314 'De vijf onderwerpen', *Het Vaderland: staat- en letterkundig nieuwsblad*, July 1, 1932, 5.

315 A. van der Zeijden, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn. W.J.F. Nuyens (1823–1894) en zijn 'nationale' geschiedschrijving* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002); Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*.

2.4 Frames and counter-frames of the Dutch Revolt

*On the whole, so finished a picture of a perfect and absolute tyranny has rarely been presented to mankind by History, as in Alva's administration of the Netherlands.*³¹⁶

This is John Lothrop Motley's disastrous conclusion about the Duke of Alva and his performance in the Netherlands as described in his famous *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856). The American historian and diplomat framed the Dutch Revolt in the sixteenth century as a heroic battle for freedom against tyranny and despotism, for justice against injustice, as a fight that paved the way to progress and freedom.³¹⁷ Moreover, he keyed his narration of Dutch sixteenth-century history to other countries, such as England in the seventeenth century and America in the eighteenth century. The Dutch Revolt 'forms but a single chapter in the great volume of human fate; for the so-called revolutions of Holland, England, and America, are all links of one chain.'³¹⁸

Motley had spent much time in the archives, also in Europe, and with his vivid writing style his book became very popular. As an outsider, he dared to write a synthesis, a continuous history about this 'sensitive' period in Dutch history.³¹⁹ It was reprinted several times and translated into French, Dutch, German, and Russian. It also received critique, however. The Dutch historian Robert Fruin (1823–1899) argued that Motley drew a lot of attention to historical events that lent themselves to portrayal in a beautiful, vivid or dramatic style rather than to 'significant' events that were less suitable for exciting portrayals. Although Fruin admired Motley's work from an aesthetic point of view, he argued that historical facts had to be foregrounded for their importance and not for their potential to generate a good poetic story. Fruin also critiqued Motley's introduction of events that never happened but made for good stories.³²⁰ Based on this criticism and his own research, Fruin published several articles about the Dutch Revolt and his famous book *Tien Jaren uit den Tachtigjarige Oorlog, 1588–1598* (1899).

Another reviewer was the Dutch Catholic historian Nuyens (1823–1894), who remarked that Motley had painted a beautiful history but with the wrong colours. Motley aimed for effect rather than truth, according to Nuyens, because his book

316 John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856); John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic. Volume II* (New York: A.L. Burt Publisher, 1865), 156.

317 Motley's rhetoric can be compared to the work of Jules Michelet, who wrote about the French Revolt in the same way. Their works can be read as an epos of 'right' and 'wrong'.

318 John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic. Volume I* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1858), preface.

319 Van der Zeijden, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn*, 204.

320 Robert Fruin, 'Motley's Geschiedenis der Vereenigde Nederlanden', *De Gids* 26 (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1862): 514–66, 517–519.

had a function in the American context: the American audience mostly appreciated the parallel with the American Revolution, and the Dutch Revolt was a precursor of their own fight for freedom.³²¹ By strongly framing the Dutch Revolt in this way, there was much bias against the Dutch Catholics, who had been portrayed negatively in Motley's interpretation. Nuyens, therefore, tried to give a new interpretation of the past that showed greater appreciation of the 'truth' and the role of the Catholics.³²² This new study also entered the history textbooks.

Despite the critique of Motley, his sketch of Alva as a symbol of tyranny became popular once again in the Netherlands almost two centuries later, when contemporaries of World War II were *keyed* to this 'tyrant' from the sixteenth century. An example here is Arthur Seyss-Inquart (1892–1946), who served the Nazis as '*Reichskommissar*' in the Netherlands and was described as 'Alva II' in the Dutch newspaper *Trouw*.³²³ The author mentions certain similarities as they were both foreign oppressors and shared the same attitude towards the Dutch people. The author hoped for one difference: whereas Alva I quietly left the Netherlands 'gritting his teeth since the country of milk and cheese had slipped through his fingers', Alva II was not allowed to leave: 'The tyrant of the Netherlands of 1940-'45 must die here'.³²⁴

Romance: freedom versus tyranny

Already before World War II, protagonists were keyed to the Duke of Alva on the basis of tyranny. An example is the narration of 1786 by De Boer, who explains that the Dutch governor Willem V had used arms against his own people in the Dutch towns of Elburg and Hattem. The inhabitants were deeply indignant, and Willem V was accused of being a bloodthirsty usurper whose cruelties outweighed those of Alva and Nero.³²⁵ These keys are also present in the textbook series *Overzicht der vaderlandsche geschiedenis* (Survey of national history, 1919) by J.W. Pik:

The Patriotic journals abounded with expressions like 'reprobates', 'slaves of tyranny', 'pests of society' and the like; William V was called 'a bloodthirsty tyrant', an Alva, a Nero (...). It was these events that raised great commotion and outrage against this 'citizen's hangman', as William V was also called, against the man 'who combined the

321 Van der Zeijden, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn*, 204 and 217.

322 Willem Johannes Franciscus Nuyens, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandse beroerten in de XVI eeuw* (Amsterdam: C.L. van Langenhuysen, 1865–1870).

323 'Alva I en Alva II', *Trouw*, May 1, 1945, 1.

324 *Ibid.*

325 M.G. de Boer, *Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland* (Leiden: A.W. Wijnthoff's Uitgevers-maatschappij N.V., 1927), 148.

pleasures of Nero with the revenge of the Spanish tyrant', 'who had arisen to wash his hands in the citizens' blood'.³²⁶

In these cases, the textbook authors did not create the keys by themselves but quoted historical sources, such as the Dutch newspaper *Hollandsche Historische Courant* (23 September 1786). Nevertheless, textbook authors selected these sources (and 'keys') and included them in their main texts. Textbook author Pik explained that he had incorporated text fragments from the past in order to underline or to explain certain things.³²⁷ In his narrative about the Dutch Revolt, Pik also stresses the tyrannical deeds of the Duke of Alva and describes him as a 'ducal blood vulture', who had provoked renewed opposition with his 'harshness'.³²⁸

De Boer also includes various source fragments at the end of his textbook narrative, despite the Association for Teachers suggesting an extended source-book for teachers: 'our national history is not that attractive and needs illustrations in order to change the dead past into something that is really lived by'.³²⁹ He explains that he made the source fragments suitable for students; too academic sources would be useless. Together with L.J. de Wilde, De Boer also published a student book full of historical literature, entitled *Historische lectuur*. Their goal was to illustrate the 'essence' or the typical things of an era, person, people, or nation.³³⁰ Cultural, as well as social, economic, and political history were included, while war events were diverted to the background since most people would be tired of the 'histoire de bataille'.³³¹

De Boer was born and raised in the Dutch city of Groningen and studied history at the city's university. After his studies, he started to teach history at secondary schools in Goes and Amsterdam. Alongside history textbooks he also published

326 J.W. Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis. Tweede deel (sinds ± 1648)* (Zwolle: N.V. Uitgevers-Maatschappij. W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1931), 86. 'Het wemelde in de Patriottische bladen van uitdrukkingen als atelingen, slaven der tirannie, pest der maatschappij en dergelijke; Willem V werd uitgekreten voor een bloeddorstigen dwingeland, een Alva, een Nero (...).' See also page 89: 'Het waren deze gebeurtenissen, die in Holland groote beroering en verontwaardiging wekten tegen den "burgerbeul", zooals Willem V onder meer werd genoemd, tegen den man, "die het vermaak van Nero aan de wraak van den Spaanschen dwingeland paarde", "die was opgestaan, om zijne handen in het bloed der burgers te wasschen".'

327 *Ibid.*, introduction. '...dat ik slechts zinsneden, fragmenten, enz. heb opgenomen, die een of andere uitdrukking of opmerking in den tekst nader onderstrepen of de bedoeling ervan verduidelijken.'

328 J.W. Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel tot ± 1648* (Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1937), 110. 'De volgende maand vertrok "Ducdalve de bloedtgier," de "ijzeren hertog", die door zijn gestrengheid tot hernieuwd verzet had geprikkeld.'

329 M.G. de Boer, *Leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland met historisch leesboek* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1921), introduction.

330 M.G. de Boer en L.J. de Wilde, *Historische lectuur* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1921), introduction.

331 De Boer en De Wilde, *Historische lectuur*, introduction. 'de histoire bataille, waarvan de menschheid voorlopig wel genoeg zal hebben, lieten wij bijna geheel op de achtergrond.'

historical novels ('historisch leesboek') with L.J. de Wilde and an atlas with pictures, together with H. Hetteema Junior. Moreover, since 1894, he had become the editor of the Dutch journal for history (*Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*), meant as background information for history teachers. This changed in 1920: it was presented as an academic journal with a new editorial office. The influence of education remained strong, also because of the individuals in the editorial office, such as H. Bolkestein, J.G. van Dillen, H.A. Enno van Gelder, J. Seerijn and N.B. Tenhaeff. De Boer handed over his post as chairman of this editorial board in 1955.

In 1898 De Boer had obtained his PhD at the University of Heidelberg,³³² and in 1915 he became a private tutor in contemporary history and methods of history education at the University of Amsterdam. In that year, he also published his opening speech about the practical and scientific value of contemporary history (*Over de praktische en de wetenschappelijke waarde der jongste Geschiedenis*). De Boer argued that most teachers covered history until 1870 or 1848 since they struggled with a lack of time and with the academic question as to whether they could teach contemporary history. In his speech, De Boer stressed the practical value and function of contemporary history: to bridge the gap between school and life, between the history textbook and the newspapers.³³³ Furthermore, he argued that contemporary history lays bare the relationship between past and present: knowledge of the recent past is crucial to an understanding of the present.³³⁴ He explained that present events in particular had convinced him of the value of the examination and teaching of contemporary history. Current affairs, he predicted in reference to World War I, will lead to great changes and historians will have to write about them, especially Dutch historians, being neutral during the present War.³³⁵ De Boer's interest in con-

332 His supervisor was P.J. Blok and his dissertation was entitled: *Die Friedensunterhandlungen zwischen Spanien und den Niederlanden in den Jahren 1632 und 1633*.

333 M.G. de Boer, *Over de praktische en de wetenschappelijke waarde der jongste geschiedenis* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1915), 8. 'Waarlijk, als het geschiedenisonderwijs van den jongsten tijd slechts dit deed inzien, dat het heden door talloze banden vast zit aan het verleden, dat alle groote gebeurtenissen en ook dit conflict het gevolg zijn van tal van oorzaken, soms uit het verre verleden, dat in verreweg de meeste conflicten de schuld niet aan één zijde moet worden gezocht, en dat geen vraag moeilijker te beantwoorden is dan die, bij welke partij in een botsing als deze de schuld ligt, dan reeds zou zij haar praktische beteekenis voldoende hebben bewezen.'

334 *Ibid.*, 9.

335 *Ibid.*, 20. 'De gebeurtenissen van den laatsten tijd hebben de kloof tusschen de volken zoozeer verwijld, dat er aan overbrugging in afzienbare tijden wel niet gedacht zal kunnen worden. Het aantal neutralen wordt bovendien bedenkelijk klein. Blijft ons land, gelijk zich voorlopig laat aanzien, buiten den strijd, dan zullen daarom onze historici, vooral de jongeren onder hen, als aangewezen zijn voor een belangrijk aandeel in een zeer omvangrijk werk; ik bedoel het bijeenbrengen, het schiften en het critisch bewerken van het materiaal, waaruit eenmaal het nageslacht, wellicht met meelijdende meewarigheid terugziende op een

temporary history is also visible in his history textbooks. In his series *Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland* (Concise textbook of the history of the nation, 1901), which remained in publication until 1955 and is therefore included in the Dutch textbook sample, De Boer divides history into four eras. The last era starts in 1795, is concerned with the French period, and includes contemporary history. The first is about the rise and fall of the Frankish Kingdom and the unification of the Netherlands under the reign of Karel V. The second is entitled ‘the fight for freedom against Spain’ and the third is concerned with the period beginning with the peace of 1648 and ending with the fall of the Dutch Republic in 1795.³³⁶

In contrast to Alva’s tyrannical image, the Dutch Revolt has often been framed as a fight for freedom and the title of De Boer’s second era is the plot of his upcoming narration. This is also evident in the terms the author uses to describe the causes of the Revolt. The terms underline the lack of freedom, such as Philip’s pursuit of absolutism and his intolerance.³³⁷ Another example is De Boer’s narration of the Dutch town of Haarlem, which was besieged by the Spanish army from 11 December 1572 to 13 July 1573. In the early days of the battle, the Spanish army launched a quick assault of the town walls, but this attempt failed. Although the town withstood the attack, Haarlem became isolated and witnessed a famine. After seven months, the town surrendered and many inhabitants were executed or drowned. In his narration of this event, De Boer emphasizes that Haarlem was *sacrificed* for a higher aim: the cause of freedom.³³⁸ This – almost religious – idiom underlines the main plot of the textbook narrative. De Boer argues that the town had been lost for a good reason: the financial means of Philip II were spent, and his army had become weak and demotivated. A negative aspect of Dutch national history – the defeat of a strategic town – is thus set in a positive light.

The author engages in a similar depiction when addressing the death of Prince William of Orange in 1584. Although De Boer describes this as an ‘irresistible loss’ for the Revolt and as a great shock, he stresses that the Prince’s death reinforced people’s resistance and their determination not to subjugate themselves to the Spanish king.³³⁹ In this way, loss and defeat can fulfil a ‘positive’ function in a national narrative.³⁴⁰

geslacht, dat in een voorbeeldeloozen titanenstrijd zich zelf ten gronde richtte, het koele onbevangen verhaal van wat nu gebeurt, zal samenstellen.’

336 M.G. de Boer, *Beknopt Leerboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland* (1927).

337 *Ibid.*, 72. ‘Zijn streven naar absolutisme en zijn onverdraagzaamheid hadden zijn rijkste erflanden tot opstand gebracht.’

338 *Ibid.*, 53.

339 *Ibid.*, 64–65.

340 See also Dan Porat, ‘A Contemporary Past: History Textbooks as Sites of National Memory’, in *International Review of History Education. Volume 3 Raising Standards in History Education*, eds. A. Dickinson, P. Gordon and P. Lee (London: Woburn Press, 2001), 36–55.

The ‘fight for freedom’ frame is also discernible in the history textbook series by Enneus Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie* (The progress of history, 1925). A year before the publication of his first history textbook, Rijpma finished his dissertation about the development of the Dutch town Kampen in the sixteenth century.³⁴¹ It is interesting that the title of his dissertation and his textbook series share the word ‘development’ (‘ontwikkelingsgang’). Rijpma’s supervisor was Hajo Brugmans (1868–1939), a professor at the University of Amsterdam and since 1903 the successor of G.W. Kernkamp. Brugmans argued for a synthesis in history writing and regarded history as a flow of natural and logical developments. A strive for synthesis is also visible in Rijpma’s textbook series as well as the emphasis on cause and consequence: he often uses the words ‘again’, ‘had to’ and ‘of course’.

In line with his focus on ‘development’, Rijpma considers freedom as an independent spirit with an energy and volition of its own: at the end of the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, *a spirit of freedom* (Rijpma’s italics) tried ‘to pave its way’.³⁴² This spirit of freedom tried to break through in different times, according to Rijpma, and he regards it as a driving force in history. In his narrative about the Dutch Revolt, he connects the spirit of freedom with the religious wars as well as with the battle between absolutism and the bourgeoisie. Although Charles V and his absolutist ideas seemed to triumph in the fight against the Reformation, according to Rijpma, the tide turned when Calvinism reached the Netherlands. He argues that many people supported Calvinism because of its ‘democratic’ ideas and because it allowed people to resist the king in certain situations:

About 1550, when it seemed that Charles V was about to be victorious in his battle against the Reformation, that was the time when the teachings of Calvin were beginning to enter our country, mainly from France. Partly because of its democratic views, this Calvinism managed to gain a strong support amongst the population, particularly in the trade and industry regions in the Southern Netherlands. As Calvin taught that subjects might defy their Sovereign if he attacked their religion, militant Calvinism, with its tight organisation and well-defined dogmas, was much more dangerous for the Catholic government than the teachings of Luther. Later we will see that it was indeed this faith that dared to engage in battle with the Habsburg world power and succeeded in conquering Charles V’s successor.³⁴³

341 *De ontwikkelingsgang van Kampen tot omstreeks 1600: vooral in de laatste jaren der zestiende eeuw.*

342 E. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Historie. II Het tijdperk van 1500 tot 1815. Uitgave B* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1938), 210. ‘Evenals tegen het einde der Middeleeuwen hadden er in de 18e eeuw allerlei veranderingen plaats, die een nieuwe tijd aankondigden, en weer was het als in de dagen van het Humanisme en de Renaissance, een geest van vrijheid, die zich trachtte baan te breken.’

343 *Ibid.*, 39. ‘Omstreeks 1550 scheen Karel V in zijn strijd tegen de Hervorming te zullen zegevieren, maar juist toen begon, vooral uit Frankrijk, de leer van Calvijn ons land binnen te

Rijpma describes the successor of Charles V, Philip II (1566–1598), as the fiercest opponent of the Reformation.³⁴⁴ His intentions are described as the very opposite of freedom: to maintain absolutism combined with the aspiration to gain world hegemony. Rijpma frames the Dutch Revolt as a fight between absolutism/tyranny and autonomy/freedom. This interpretative scheme is referred to once more on the last page where the author ends his textbook narrative with the Enlightenment, which he describes as a movement against absolutism and in favour of people's sovereignty. Rijpma explains that, inspired by Enlightenment, reforms were introduced in different countries but that the 'old, perverted' absolutism still survived in France. Therefore, a revolution 'had to' end this old government system:

... but in France, the country where its most prominent scholars lived, these modern ideas were not adopted. This was where the old, perverted absolutism persisted and where the abuses were the worst. And so it was precisely in France that, rather than gradual reforms, a violent revolution was to end the old system of government.³⁴⁵

Rijpma combines his frame of the Dutch Revolt as a fight between absolutism/tyranny and autonomy/freedom with a clash between the 'foreign' and the 'national', arguing that the sixteenth-century events were a fight against *foreign absolutism* and clearly describing Philip II as a foreigner: as a Spaniard who spoke neither Dutch nor French and as someone who aimed to use the Low Countries for his general political ideas and actions. This sketch is then contrasted with 'our nation' which desired to have an autonomous government that looked after Dutch interests first.³⁴⁶ Prince William of Orange, furthermore, is portrayed as the leader of the 'national party'.³⁴⁷

The dichotomy between the 'foreign' and the 'national' is also emphasized later in the story. When sovereignty was offered to 'foreigners', such as the French

dringen. Dit Calvinisme kreeg, mede door zijn democratische opvattingen, spoedig een grote aanhang onder het volk, vooral in de industrie- en handelsstreken van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. Daar Calvinijn leerde, dat de onderdanen zich tegen de vorst mochten verzetten, wanneer deze hun godsdienst aantastte, werd het strijdbare Calvinisme met zijn hechte organisatie en zijn vastomlijnde leerstellingen veel gevaarlijker voor de Katholieke regering dan de leer van Luther. Wij zullen later zien, dat juist dit geloof de strijd tegen de Habsburgse wereldmacht heeft durven opnemen en de opvolger van Karel V heeft overwonnen.'

344 Ibid., 41.

345 E. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Historie. II Het tijdperk van 1500 tot 1789. Uitgave A* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1933), 246. '...maar in Frankrijk, het land waar de voornaamste theoretici leefden, werden de moderne denkbeelden niet toegepast. Daar bleef het oude, verdorvene absolutisme bestaan, daar waren de misstanden het ergste, zodat juist in Frankrijk geen geleidelijke hervorming, maar een geweldige revolutie een einde moest maken aan het oude regeringsstelsel.'

346 E. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der Historie II* (1938), 53.

347 Ibid., 55.

Anjou and the English Leicester, they proved to be disappointing, according to Rijpma: Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, who had been sent by Elizabeth I to rule as Lord Regent, proved to be a poor commander and was distrusted after he had aimed to strengthen his own power at the cost of the Provincial States. And so ‘the Dutch’ decided to govern themselves and, ‘forced’ by circumstances, they established the Republic of the United Netherlands.

The Dutch had sufficiently learned by now that not a lot was to be expected from outsiders and that they chiefly needed to rely on their own powers. Sovereignty, therefore, was not offered to another foreign Sovereign, but the States took government into their own hands and this is how, by force of circumstance, the Republic of the United Netherlands was founded.³⁴⁸

This remark is strengthened by Rijpma’s description of *water* as the ‘greatest ally’ of the Dutch. More than any other Dutch textbook author, Rijpma emphasizes that it was water that expelled the enemy, for example during the siege of Alkmaar in 1573:

Don Frederic then made an attempt to conquer Holland north of the IJ. In the autumn of 1573, after mutiny had delayed his advance, Alkmaar was besieged, but the army and the citizens managed to counterattack the advancing Spaniards, and soon Holland’s most powerful ally, water, flushed out the enemy forever.³⁴⁹

In his story of the siege of Leiden in 1574, he emphasizes that people had been saved by water once again: the land was inundated, the Spanish troops fled, and food could be sailed to the town.

It was water once again that came to the rescue. The flood defences of the New Meuse and the Holland IJssel rivers were purposely breached, and when a Geuzen fleet, led by Boisot, followed the water, Leiden was finally liberated on 3 October 1574.³⁵⁰

The idea of water being the greatest ally of the Dutch returns in other histories as well: Rijpma keys the war between the Republic and France, England, Münster and Cologne in the period 1672–1678 to the Dutch Revolt in the sixteenth century:

348 Ibid., 78. ‘De Nederlanders hadden nu voldoende ondervonden, dat van vreemdelingen niet veel heil te wachten was en dat zij in hoofdzaak op eigen krachten moesten vertrouwen. De soevereiniteit werd dan ook niet weer aan een vreemde vorst aangeboden, maar de Staten namen zelf het bestuur in handen en zo werd door de dwang der omstandigheden thans de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden gevestigd.’

349 Ibid., 67. ‘Thans deed Don Frederik een poging om Holland te benoorden het IJ te bedwingen. In het najaar van 1573 – een muiterij had de opmars vertraagd! – werd Alkmaar belegerd, maar bezetting en burgerij sloegen de aanstormende Spanjaarden terug en weldra verdreef Hollands machtigste bondgenoot, het water, de vijand voorgoed.’

350 Ibid., 67. ‘Eindelijk bracht ook weer hier het water uitredding. De dijken van Nieuwe Maas en Hollands IJssel werden doorgestoken, een Geuzenvloot onder Boisot volgde het water en eindelijk, de 3^e October 1574, was Leiden ontzet.’

The Netherlands seemed lost, but, as in the battle against Spain, ‘the Low Countries by the sea’ then lined up their strongest ally: water. (...) and a protective circle of water began to amass around Holland.³⁵¹

In Rijpma’s textbook narrative, then, the influence of Robert Fruin is clearly present. In his historiography, Fruin framed the Dutch Revolt as a fight between the ‘national people’ and foreign ‘strangers’, as a clash that led to the birth of the Dutch nation.³⁵² Rijpma formulated the aims of the Prince of Orange in the same way: to create cohesion and tolerance amongst people in order to defend the rights of the ‘Dutch people’ against Spain.³⁵³ Next to success, Rijpma also mentioned failures, observing that collaboration between the Dutch people was more an illusion than a reality due to their religious differences.³⁵⁴

For the Catholic textbook author August Cornelis Jacobus Commissaris (1897–1957), these failures were the basis for a ‘counter-frame’ of the Dutch Revolt, which he portrayed as a tragedy rather than a romance.

Tragedy: the rupture of the Low Countries and lack of freedom

Whereas several textbook authors framed the Dutch Revolt as a romantic ‘founding narrative’ which led to the existence of the (Protestant) Netherlands, the Catholic textbook series *Leerboek der Nederlandse Geschiedenis* (Textbook of Dutch history, 1935) by Commissaris narrates a tragedy: the Dutch Revolt resulted in the rupture of the Low Countries and lack of freedom for the Catholics, who were persecuted and discriminated against by the Calvinists. His series was published by the Catholic publishing company L.C.G. Malmberg and received approval from the Church.³⁵⁵ Although Commissaris frames the Dutch Revolt as a tragedy, freedom and its antonym play a crucial role in his narrative as well.

351 Ibid., 166. ‘Nederland scheen verloren, maar evenals in de strijd tegen Spanje hadden “de lage landen bij de zee” nog een krachtige bondgenoot in reserve: het water. (...) en begon zich voor Holland een beschermende ring van water te vormen.’

352 For a historiographical overview of the Dutch Revolt, see for example: Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*; Judith Pollmann, ‘Internationalisering en de Nederlandse Opstand’, *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 124, no. 4 (2009): 515–535; Guido van Meersbergen, ‘Reflecties op het vergruisde beeld. De Nederlandse Opstand in de historiografie’, *Skript Historisch Tijdschrift* 30, no. 3 (2014): 147–160.

353 E. Rijpma, *De Ontwikkelingsgang der Historie II* (1938), 68.

354 Ibid., 71. ‘De samenwerking van alle Nederlanders was meer schijn dan werkelijkheid, want het verschil in godsdienst verhinderde de ware eenheid.’

355 Church approval therefore played an important role for Catholic textbook series and in that sense, Catholic schools were not entirely ‘free’ in their textbook choices until ca. 1965. August C.J. Commissaris, *Leerboek der Nederlandse geschiedenis, eerste deel* (‘s Hertogenbosch: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1935). He also wrote other history textbooks, such as *Leerboek*

Commissaris was a priest, pastor, and teacher at the Den Ypelaer seminary in Ginneken.³⁵⁶ In the introduction to his textbook, Commissaris argues that Dutch national history has often been wrongly described as the history of the province of Holland, even in early history. This had led to incomprehensible historiography, according to Commissaris: until 1600, Flanders and Brabant had also been important areas, and Holland had been influenced more by these than by the eastern regions. Commissaris therefore maintains that the dichotomy between north and south has been overestimated for a considerable length of time, and that the real opposites, in his view, were ‘Flanders-Brabant-Holland’ and the eastern Netherlands.³⁵⁷ In his argument, Commissaris shares Dutch historian Pieter Geyl’s opinion on the rise of the Netherlands and aim of (re)uniting Flanders and the Netherlands into one united Netherlands (‘Greater Netherlands’ or ‘*Groot-Nederlandse gedachte*’).³⁵⁸

Calvinism had caused the rupture of the Low Countries, according to Commissaris, as this religion ‘attacked’ other beliefs and aimed for ‘hegemony’, whereas other religions aimed for nothing more than freedom of religion.³⁵⁹ This frame is also apparent in his description of specific events, such as the Iconoclastic Outbreak in 1566:

The iconoclastic outbreak and the provocative behaviour of the Calvinists caused a schism in the nation. It had suddenly dawned upon the Catholics what was to be

der Algemene Geschiedenis, Beknopt Leerboek der Algemene Geschiedenis, De Grote Lijn, Overzicht van de Algemene Geschiedenis and Overzicht van de Nederlandse Geschiedenis.

356 B.A. Vermaseren, ‘August Commissaris. Levensbericht van de maatschappij voor Nederlandsche letterkunde’, *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959–1960): 71–74. Vermaseren points out that the historical attitude of Commissaris conflicted with his work as a priest because a priest preaches values which are fixed and eternal, while a historian tends to see values in their context. Commissaris distinguished himself from intolerance and fanaticism. Furthermore, he attached great importance to the classical balance between form and content, between facts and personal engagement. He therefore found it difficult to write about his own time.

357 August C. J. Commissaris, *Leerboek der Nederlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel tot 1795* (’s Hertogenbosch: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1940), introduction. ‘Het gevolg was, dat men de godsdienstige, staatkundige, economische en culturele ontwikkeling van het Nederlandse volk in een eenzijdig-geforceerd licht plaatste en onbegrijpelijk maakte, óók de geschiedenis van Holland zelf. Tot ongeveer 1600 immers lag het zwaartepunt der Nederlanden in Vlaanderen en Brabant, van waaruit vooral Holland zeer sterk beïnvloed werd, en waarmee zijn geschiedenis zeer nauw samenhang, veel nauwer dan die van Holland met de Oostelijke Nederlanden. Toch construeerde men vanaf de vroegste tijden allerlei tegenstellingen tussen Noord en Zuid, terwijl men de werkelijk bestaande tegenstellingen tussen Vlaanderen-Brabant-Holland enerzijds en de Oostelijke, naar Duitsland georiënteerde Nederlanden anderzijds voorbijzag. Wij hebben getracht deze fout te vermijden door tot ongeveer 1600 de geschiedenis te geven van àl de Nederlanden en het volle licht te laten vallen op het uiteengaan van en de groeiende tegenstelling tussen “Nederland” en “België” omstreeks 1600.’

358 Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 325–332.

359 Commissaris, *Leerboek der Nederlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel* (1940), 70.

expected from the other side: not religious freedom and tolerance for all, but a life-and-death struggle. This is why the large majority of the population was happy to take the side of the nation's governess, who, having recovered from the initial shock, took strong measures to suppress the revolution (...).³⁶⁰

Later in his narrative, Commissaris once again argues that the Catholics chose the side of the Spanish in order to gain protection against the Calvinists.³⁶¹ The Iconoclastic Outbreak and the acts of the Calvinists are described as 'provocative' and as the cause for the division of the 'nation' into a Calvinist versus Catholic state: the Netherlands and Belgium (with Flanders).³⁶² Section titles, such as 'The Division of the Low Countries 1572–1579', accentuated the idea of a tragedy.³⁶³ According to Commissaris, the Calvinist hegemony in Holland and Zeeland caused the 'first rupture in the nation', and the Calvinists' provocative acts – such as the oppression of the Catholics – caused an 'irreparable division'. More so than other authors, Commissaris mentions the Dutch persecution of the Catholics.³⁶⁴ He describes Calvinism as an aggressive religion and repeatedly argues that Calvinist intolerance had generated the division of the Low Countries.³⁶⁵

Commissaris' dislike of the Calvinists in his narration of the Dutch Revolt was not only inspired by his Catholic faith and his ideal of a (re)united Netherlands, but it was also a response to many other textbook narratives in which the Cal-

360 Ibid., 79. 'De beeldenstorm en het uitdagend optreden van de Calvinisten veroorzaakten een scheuring in de natie. Het was de Katholieken eensklaps duidelijk geworden, wat ze van die zijde te verwachten hadden. Geen godsdienstvrijheid en verdraagzaamheid voor allen, maar een strijd op leven en dood. Daarom schaarde de grote meerderheid der bevolking zich gaarne aan de zijde van de landvoogdes, die, van de eerste schrik bekomen, krachtige maatregelen nam om de revolutie te onderdrukken (...).'

361 Idem, 98. 'De Katholieken, die alleen uit vrees voor overheersing van het Calvinisme hun heil zochten bij Parma, werden voor Spaansgezind uitgemaakt.'

362 Ibid., 70. 'Dat was de oorzaak, dat reeds in de eerste jaren van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog de Nederlanden verdeeld geraakten in twee onverzoenlijke partijen; de oorzaak, dat de Nederlanden uiteengescheurd werden in een calvinistische en een katholieke staat: Nederland en België.'

363 Ibid., 85.

364 Ibid., 85. 'Vervolging der Katholieken, 1572. Voordat Oranje in Holland was, koelden de watergeuzen en teruggekeerde ballingen hun opgekropte papenhaat op priesters en kloosterlingen, en plunderden kerken en kloosters, o.a. de abdij van Egmond. In Den Briel en Enkhuizen zetelden nieuwe bloedraden onder Lumey en Sonoy. In een paar maanden hebben ze 95 priesters en kloosterlingen ter dood gebracht. De bekendste martelaren waren de 5 Franciscaanse martelaren van Alkmaar, die 24 Juni te Enkhuizen, en de 19 H. Martelaren van Gorcum, die 9 Juli in Den Briel het leven lieten. Waar de geuzen binnenkwamen schonden ze de kerken en vervolgden ze de priesters (...).'

365 Ibid., 93 and 96. 'Het is wederom de afkeer geweest van het onverdraagzaam Calvinisme, die de vereniging der Nederlanden opnieuw uiteenscheurde.' See also p. 92: 'De splijtzam van het Calvinisme, 1578. (...) Voor de Calvinisten ging het opnieuw een strijd worden op leven en dood. Waar ze konden, maakten ze zich meester van de alleenheerschappij en verboden ze de uitoefening van de katholieke godsdienst.'

vinists were depicted as successful heroes who had accomplished the triumph of freedom. An example here is the textbook series *Overzicht der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis* (Overview of national history, 1919), printed by a so-called ‘neutral’ publisher. The author, J.W. Pik, portrays the Calvinists as the most powerful supporters of Prince William, who despite being a minority were the most persistent in their resistance:

The Calvinists in particular, though a small minority of the population, would not desist. Fully relying on God’s assistance, they continued the battle. The Prince found in them his staunchest allies, and these ties between him and the Calvinists would only grow in strength in 1573, when he openly converted to their religion, which he had learned to respect in France.³⁶⁶

Later in his narrative, Pik once again stresses that it had been Calvinism that had empowered and ‘fuelled’ the Dutch Revolt.³⁶⁷ He portrays Prince William of Orange as a hero, using the epithet ‘Father of the Nation’, accentuating his role in the independence of the Low Countries:

Of all great men in our history, William of Orange takes pride of place. To him more than anyone we owe our independence. Full of trust, the people submitted to their skilful leader, and even when major setbacks followed great misfortune, the nation remained loyal to the ‘Father of the Nation’, who, relying on God’s help, never flinched and always kept his ‘calm amidst the unruly waves’, as proclaimed by the engraving (...) on a medal minted in honour of ‘Father William’, showing a kingfisher’s nest afloat in rough seas.³⁶⁸

Commissaris’ narrative contradicts this widespread, dominant image and, arguing that the Prince changed his religion as easily as he changed his clothes,³⁶⁹ the prince is counter-framed as an opportunist: it was politics that decided his religion.³⁷⁰ Moreover, Commissaris explains that the Prince’s ideal – a tolerant,

366 J.W. Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis. Eerste deel* (Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1928), 107. ‘Het waren in ’t bijzonder de Calvinisten, hoewel een kleine minderheid der bevolking uitmakende, die niet van wijken wilden weten. Vol vertrouwen op Gods bijstand zetten zij den strijd voort. In hen vond de Prins zijne krachtigste medewerkers en in 1573 werd de band tussen hem en de Calvinisten nog nauwer, doordat hij openlijk tot hun godsdienst, dien hij in Frankrijk had leeren hoogachten, overging.’

367 Ibid., 159. ‘Tijdens den krijg met Spanje was het Calvinisme, dat zooveel kracht aan den opstand had geschonken, de heerschende godsdienst geworden.’

368 Ibid., 123–124. ‘Onder de groote mannen uit onze geschiedenis neemt Willem van Oranje een eerste plaats in. Aan hem allereerst danken wij onze onafhankelijkheid. Vol vertrouwens gaf het volk zich aan zijn kundigen leider over, en, al volgde tegenslag op tegenslag, de natie bleef den “Vader des Vaderlands” aanhangen, die, vertrouwend op Gods hulp, nooit versaagde, die steeds “rustig was te midden der onstuimige baren”, zooals het randschrift (...) zegt, dat voorkomt op een penning, ter eere van “Willem-vader” geslagen en waarop is afgebeeld het nestje van een ijsvogel, dobberende in de woelige zee.’

369 Commissaris, *Leerboek der Nederlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel* (1940), 93.

370 Ibid., 82.

free, and peaceful society with Catholics and Calvinists fighting together against Spain – had failed due to ‘the intolerance of his most loyal supporters’.³⁷¹

In fact, his life’s ideal, namely to unite the Low Countries into an autonomous, independent state, had already been destroyed by his most loyal supporters: the Calvinists. (...) His partisanship in favour of the Calvinists condemned his work to failure and tore the Low Countries apart. The Northern Netherlands became independent from Spain, but this ‘freedom’ burdened the Catholics with over two centuries of suppression and retrogression. For two centuries, moreover, the ‘free Netherlands’ tied up the main artery of the ‘unredeemed’ Catholic Netherlands.³⁷²

Hence, in contrast to the widespread freedom frame, Commissaris emphasizes that the sixteenth-century events led to a *lack* of freedom: the outcome of the ‘fight for freedom’ was the persecution and discrimination of the Catholics for more than two centuries. Commissaris’ cynicism about the framing of the Dutch Revolt as a quest for freedom is also visible in his comments in the footnotes. He argues, for example, that it was ‘quite remarkable’ that the ‘freedom activists’ repeatedly offered sovereignty to France and England after the Act of Abjuration in 1581.

The repeated offer of our sovereignty to France and England casts a most peculiar light on the advocates of the ‘freedom’ of the Netherlands. What would have become of this ‘freedom’ if, for instance, the King of France had seized the opportunity?³⁷³

Commissaris’ disapproval of the Act of Abjuration is also discernible in other parts of the text, where he argued, for example, that it was not permitted to revolt against the legal king and that it would have been better and more ‘Christian’ to remove the king peacefully rather than violently.³⁷⁴

371 Ibid., 100.

372 Ibid. ‘Feitelijk was zijn levensideaal, de vereniging van de Nederlanden tot een autonome, ja tot een onafhankelijke staat, reeds vernietigd door zijn trouwste aanhangers, de Calvinisten. (...) Zijn partijdigheid ten gunste van de Calvinisten doemde zijn werk tot mislukking en scheurde de Nederlanden uiteen. De Noordelijke Nederlanden werden onafhankelijk van Spanje, maar de “vrijheid” kwam de Katholieken te staan op meer dan twee eeuwen onderdrukking en achteruitzetting. Bovendien bonden “de vrije Nederlanden” twee eeuwen lang de slagader af van de “onverloste” katholieke Nederlanden.’

373 Ibid., 101. ‘De herhaalde aanbieding van de soevereiniteit aan Frankrijk en Engeland werpt wel een heel eigenaardig licht op de voorvechters van de “vrijheid” der Nederlanden. Wat zou er van de “vrijheid” terechtgekomen zijn, als b.v. de koning van Frankrijk had toegeslagen?’

374 Ibid., 105. ‘Toen de afgevaardigden van het Noorden die van het Zuiden aanspoorden tot opstand, om met vereende krachten de Spanjolen te verdrijven, antwoordden deze zeer terecht: dat het toch niet geoorloofd was op te staan tegen den wettigen vorst, en dat de verwijdering der Spanjaard beter en meer christelijk door een goede vrede bewerkt zou kunnen worden dan door geweld, waardoor wij dit arme land in een nieuwe oorlog zouden storten.’

Hence, instead of a heroic and romantic narrative, Commissaris counterframes the Dutch Revolt as a tragedy, which resulted in intolerance, lack of freedom and the division of the Low Countries.³⁷⁵ This frame is also apparent in his other publications, such as *Van toen wij vrij werden* (When we became free). This book was published before his textbook series, and it describes the history of the Catholic Church between 1795 and 1903. The first volume was published in 1927, beginning with the sixteenth century, highlighting the lack of liberty for Catholics in this period and ending with the establishment of freedom of religion. His second volume (1929) began with the latter and is entitled *Van vrijheid naar gelijkheid 1853 tot 1903* (From freedom to equality 1853 until 1903). Just like Nuyens, Commissaris argues that the role of the Catholics in history had been underestimated:

This will show that the share the Catholics had in the fates of the Netherlands is often badly underrated. (...) It will also show that the history of their emancipation casts a surprising light on many historical events (...), providing much greater depth and realism to the history of our entire nation.³⁷⁶

He also argues that the history of ‘our’ people – the Catholics – required its rightful place in education, especially in school history, and he tried to make the two books suitable for secondary education. His books were far more successful than he had expected: they sold out after three months and were reprinted in the fourth. Although he received many positive reactions, some criticized his decision to publish *Van toen wij vrij werden* with Wolters publishers, a Protestant publishing house, in order to reach out to various audiences. In 1935, Commissaris started to write for students directly, and this was an important step forward in the emancipation of the Catholics.

In the Netherlands, freedom of education has been guaranteed by the Dutch constitution (Article 23) since 1848. This date marked the beginning of the ‘battle of the schools’ (*de Schoolstrijd*), a conflict over the equalization of public funding. In 1917, it was decided that the state would fund all schools equally, irrespective of their (religious) signature. In this way, the socio-political context

375 Ibid., 108. ‘Intussen ontstonden er tegen 1600 tegenstellingen, die de beide delen uiteendreven en er twee verschillende staten en volksgemeenschappen van gemaakt hebben: in politiek opzicht de vrije republiek tegenover het vorstelijk absolutisme; in godsdienstig opzicht Calvinisme tegenover Katholicisme, in cultureel opzicht de Hollandse Renaissance tegenover de Barok; in economisch opzicht de weergalozе bloei en welvaart van Holland tegenover de ineenschrompeling van Brabant en Vlaanderen.’

376 August C.J. Commissaris, *Van toen wij vrij werden. Eerste deel: Van schuilkerk tot kathedraal 1795 tot 1853* (Groningen: Wolters, 1927), introduction. ‘Daarbij zal blijken, dat het aandeel dat de Katholieken gehad hebben aan de lotgevallen van Nederland gewoonlijk veel te gering geschat wordt. (...) Ook zal men ervaren, dat de geschiedenis dier emancipatie op vele historische gebeurtenissen (...) een verrassend licht werpt, waardoor het inzicht in de geschiedenis van geheel ons volk veel dieper en reëler wordt.’

is interrelated with the educational and pedagogical context. As we have seen, pillarization in history textbooks played an important role in this research period, influencing the perpetuation of national narratives. Whereas the 'fight for freedom' frame dominated the Dutch history textbooks, the Catholic textbook series presented a counter-frame: while it remained important to narrate the Dutch Revolt, Catholics highlighted another plot, demanding recognition for their contribution to the national fight. Catholic history textbook authors were inspired by the changes in academic historiography: Catholic historians such as Nuyens wrote a new interpretation of the Dutch Revolt with much more appreciation for the Catholics. Moreover, the peace rhetoric in the aftermath of World War I – the Paris Peace Conference, the Treaty of Versailles, and the League of Nations – seems to affect the Dutch history textbooks as well. Instead of freedom and internal peace, the new interpretation of the Dutch Revolt highlights the Catholic lack of freedom and the divided society under the reign of the Calvinists by highlighting the discrimination and even assassination of Dutch Catholics by their fellow citizens.

Victimhood: the 'martyrs of Gorcum'

A well-known example of Catholic victims of the Dutch Revolt are the so-called 'martyrs of Gorcum'. They were murdered by the Sea Beggars, Dutch malcontents – such as nobles, prosecuted Calvinists, seamen and unemployed people – who operated from the sea against the Spanish in support of Prince William of Orange. In historiography, the Sea Beggars have been regarded as either heroes or pirates, depending on their actions and outcomes, circumstances, motivations, and backgrounds.³⁷⁷

Although textbook author De Boer does not mention concrete victims of the Sea Beggars, he describes the Sea Beggars in a negative way as a wild and lawless bunch who were feared by the Spaniards as well as the Dutch. He argues that their boldness initially helped the Revolt: while capturing Den Briel, they did not stick to the plan and this had some good results. However, this boldness quickly turned into cruelty and unbridled unaccountability, according to De Boer, which made them useless as allies of the Prince.³⁷⁸ In line with De Boer, Rijpma describes the Sea Beggars as refugees and sea robbers, who hurt the Spanish and others at sea. Moreover, Pik argues that the Sea Beggars were a 'terror' for the Dutch in-

377 See for example: Van der Zeijden, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn*, 280.

378 M. G. De Boer, *Beknopt Leerboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1904), 50.

habitants.³⁷⁹ Whereas these textbook authors portrayed the Sea Beggars mostly as a *national* enemy, Commissaris makes a clear link between the Sea Beggars and the Calvinists by describing their leaders' backgrounds as 'Calvinist nobility',³⁸⁰ and by showing that the Sea Beggars murdered Catholics, such as the 'martyrs of Gorcum', because of their faith.

In April 1572, the Sea Beggars had taken the Dutch town of Brielle, and after further captures they arrived at Gorcum in June, where they arrested several Catholics because of their faith. As a result of the tension this provoked, the Sea Beggars decided to transport the Catholic prisoners to Brielle. After ten days of torture and humiliation, nineteen Catholics were hanged on 9 July 1572 and dishonoured even after their deaths: their clothes were sold and body parts – such as their noses, ears and penises – were cut off and used to decorate the Sea Beggars' hats.³⁸¹ Whereas Dutch Catholics often associated 1572 and the Sea Beggars with the assassination of the nineteen Catholics, other groups remembered 1572 as the start of the 'liberation': the Spanish were defeated for the first time in Brielle, which led to the 'liberation' of other towns as well.

This contested memory of the year 1572 is also discussed in the textbook series by Commissaris, who argues that Nuyens' new interpretation of the Dutch Revolt, with greater appreciation of Catholics, had an important practical value in 1868 and 1872. In these years liberals and Protestants commemorated the events of 1568 and 1572, ultimately taking the form of a national celebration. Commissaris emphasizes that the Catholics did not protest against the festivities, even if they were painful, but that they did speak out against the *national character* that people attempted to give them.³⁸² For the Catholics, after all, 1572 had been a tragedy rather than a hopeful turning point.

The 'martyrs of Gorcum', therefore, were often mentioned as a well-known example of compartmentalized historiography during the interbellum: Dutch popular and professional media regularly mentioned that the 'martyrs of Gorcum' were featured in every Catholic history textbook but omitted in the oth-

379 Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis* (1928), 102. 'Vele ruwe bandeloze personen bevonden zich onder de Watergeuzen, die, vol wraak bepaaldelijk tegen den Spanjaard, toch ook een schrik voor de Nederlandsche ingezetenen waren.'

380 Commissaris, *Leerboek der Nederlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel* (1940), 84.

381 Chris van der Heijden, 'De zwarte canon. Pleidooi voor een eerlijke geschiedschrijving', *De Groene Amsterdammer*, March 8, 2012, 22–29, 25.

382 August C. J. Commissaris, *Leerboek der Nederlandse Geschiedenis. Tweede deel. Van 1795 tot heden* ('s Hertogenbosch: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1940), 96. 'Het pionierswerk van Nuyens bewees spoedig praktische diensten, toen liberalen en protestanten de herdenking van de slag bij Heiligerlee (1868) en de inneming van Den Briel (1872) promoveerden tot "nationale" feesten. De Katholieken protesteerden niet tegen de feesten, hoe pijnlijk het ook was, dat medeburgers hun vervolging en onderdrukking befeestten, maar wel, en zeer terecht, tegen het "nationaal" karakter, dat men er aan wilde geven.' See also: Van der Zeijden, *Katholieke identiteit en historisch bewustzijn*, 234–296.

ers.³⁸³ The present study, however, shows that, in almost all the examined non-Catholic history textbooks written for secondary education in the 1920–1940 period, the ‘martyrs of Gorcum’ are mentioned, with the sole exception of the textbook series by De Boer. The important difference between the Catholic textbook series by Commissaris and the other series is not the presence or absence of the martyrs but the *narrative framing* of this event. Non-Catholic textbook authors used a different *discourse time* to narrate 1572 than Commissaris. Periodization is a social construction, and it can symbolize significant identity transformations: whereas some textbook authors focused on national identity, Commissaris mostly narrated religious identity.³⁸⁴ At the same time, he aimed for recognition for the Catholic contribution to the national fight.

De Boer describes the events of 1572 in a section entitled ‘a revolt of the people in Holland and Zeeland (1572–1576)’. Rijpma mentions the year 1572 in ‘From Heiligerlee until the pacification of Ghent (1568–1576)’. Although their sections have different starting points, they share the same endpoint that confirmed, directly or indirectly, the unity of the revolt: in 1576, North and South aimed to solve internal (religious) inequality and agreed to work together against the Spanish. Although textbook author Pik did not use the same endpoint, he also highlights the ‘national’ character of the revolt by discussing 1572 in the section ‘the revolt of the people during Alva (1572–73)’.

These endpoints contrast with Commissaris’ narrative structure: aiming to highlight the division between North and South, he presents the ‘martyrs of Gorcum’ as part of a longer list of Catholic victims, described in the section ‘the persecution of the Catholics in 1572’.³⁸⁵ Whereas other textbook authors often focus on Alva’s Council of Blood, Commissaris also writes about the Sea Beggars Lumey and Sonoy and their ‘Council of Blood’, showing that the Sea Beggars

383 Wim Vroom, ‘De martelaren van Gorcum’, *NRC Handelsblad. Zaterdags Bijvoegsel*, December 18, 1993, 7. Until 1995, Wim Vroom was the director of the department of Dutch history at the Rijksmuseum. See also: Els Kloek, ‘De martelaren van Gorkum (1572)’, in Els Kloek (red.), *Verzameld verleden. Veertig gedenkwaardige momenten en figuren uit de vaderlandse geschiedenis* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), 46–49, 46. Els Kloek argued that the martyrs were only taught at Catholic primary schools before 1960 and that they disappeared in all history textbooks afterwards, as a result of secularization and depillarization. See also: Harco Hielkema, ‘In Brielle ligt de geschiedenis op straat: van de Gueux en de martelaren’, *Trouw*, March 26, 2005; Van der Heijden, ‘De zwarte canon. Pleidooi voor een eerlijke geschiedschrijving’, 25. Harco Hielkema argued that most Protestant schools ignored the martyrs and Van der Heijden stated that their story was only shared within the Catholic group.

384 See also: Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time Maps: Collective Memory and the Social Shape of the Past* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004); Piet Blaas, ‘Vorm geven aan de tijd. Over periodiseren’, in *De ongreepbare tijd. Temporaliteit en de constructie van het verleden*, eds. Maria Grever and Harry Jansen (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), 35–48.

385 Commissaris, *Leerboek der Nederlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel*, 85.

vented their rage on Catholics and that they plundered their churches and cloisters.

Commissaris mentions the ‘martyrs of Gorcum’ just after the capture of Brielle. Other authors, however, narrate the assassination differently. Rijpma’s textbook narrative presents the taking of Brielle in April 1572 as a success: other towns followed and declared themselves in favour of the Prince, which led to a *national revolt* – or a revolt of the *people*. Rijpma uses italics to stress the national character and only mentions the ‘martyrs of Gorcum’ at a later point in his narrative. When he discusses the First Assembly of the Free States of Holland in Dordrecht (in July 1572), he argues that the Prince of Orange ‘had to’ fire Lumey – the admiral of the Sea Beggars who had become *stadhouder* of Holland and military commander-in-chief of the conquered territories – because of his incompetence and rude behaviour. The assassination of the priests and monks of Gorcum is mentioned as an example of Lumey’s cruelty, and the event illustrates why the admiral was dismissed. In this way, Rijpma explicitly contrasts Lumey’s cruel deeds with the Prince’s regulations and ideals.³⁸⁶

Whereas Rijpma still narrates both events in relation to the year 1572, Pik introduces the murders in 1573, the year in which Lumey was arrested and briefly imprisoned by the Prince:

For now, Lumey was made head of the military force. However, he was already removed in 1573 for his cruelties and his unruly actions. Lumey had an exasperating habit of raging against clergymen and monks. A particularly notorious feat was accomplished when he hanged several clergymen from Gorcum, after severely maltreating them, in Brielle (the so-called martyrs of Gorcum), acting entirely against the spirit and the instructions of the Prince of Orange, who expressly required that no one be harmed for his station or his faith.³⁸⁷

Rijpma’s and Pik’s textbook narratives are examples of what Polkinghorne considers ‘narrative smoothing’, a process that consists of three strategies to reinforce the narrative plot.³⁸⁸ They leave out ‘irrelevant’ or troublesome details (‘flattening’) and condense the story by exaggerating other parts (‘sharpening’).

386 Rijpma, *Ontwikkelingsgang der historie II* (1938), 64 and 65.

387 See for example: Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis* (1928), 104. ‘Aan het hoofd van de krijgsmacht werd voorloopig Lumey geplaatst; hij werd echter reeds in 1573 afgezet wegens zijne wreedheden en zijn eigenmachtig handelen. Op ergelijke wijze woedde Lumey n.l. tegen geestelijken en kloosterlingen. In ’t bijzonder is berucht geworden, dat hij een aantal geestelijken uit Gorkum na zware mishandelingen te Den Briel liet ophangen (de Gorkumsche martelaren), daarbij geheel handelende tegen den geest en de voorschriften van Oranje, die uitdrukkelijk verlangde, dat niemand om zijn stand of zijn geloof leed mocht geschieden.’

388 Donald E. Polkinghorne, ‘Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness: Relationships and Perspectives’, in *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness*, ed. Jürgen Straub (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005), 3–22, 9.

In this way, they aim to narrate a coherent, consistent, and understandable history ('rationalization'). By leaving out victims of 'internal' disputes, therefore, they can present the taking of Brielle in 1572 as a *national* narrative: as a 'liberation' from the 'Spanish occupation'.

In the previous sections we have examined the specific frames and keys of national narratives in a national context. The next section studies the structures of national narratives across national contexts as this analysis at a higher level reveals shared 'echoes' and transnational narrative structures that can be overlooked when the analysis is limited to specific national contexts and their accompanying stories.

2.5 David against Goliath: a transnational narrative structure

The metaphor of a David-Goliath fight is a well-known model in English and Dutch collective memory. Already in the sixteenth century, the conflict between England and Spain as well as the Dutch Revolt had been portrayed as 'David-versus-Goliath' struggles in order to illustrate the power disparity and to heighten their nation's victory to epic proportions.³⁸⁹ In the Biblical narrative (1 Samuel 17), the giant Goliath is described as the antagonist, the representative of the Philistine army, and insulter of the God of the Israelite army. Most of the Israelites are afraid of Goliath as he is an experienced, tall and well-armed fighter; David, however, dares to fight him. Unlike Goliath, David is described as young (too young to go to battle), full of faith and essentially unarmed. David enters the battlefield with nothing but a stick and five smooth stones. While Goliath is offended by this 'joke of a warrior', David replies:

You come to me with a sword, a spear, and a javelin, but I come to you in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom you have taunted. This day the Lord will deliver you up into my hands, and I will strike you down and remove your head from you.³⁹⁰

David emphasizes not his own bravery but the strength of his faith, and kills Goliath with one stone from a slingshot.

Historical narratives are keyed to this Biblical story to highlight great power disparity, hope (the underdog can win), divine intervention (the grace of God on your side) and the dichotomy between good and evil or between the 'bad guy' and the 'good guy'. Although the David-Goliath allegory can lead to (over)simplified

389 See for example: Winston Graham, *The Spanish Armadas* (New York: Harper Collins, 1972); Christopher Hodgkins, 'Stooping to Conquer: Heathen Idolatry and Protestant Humility in the Imperial Legend of Sir Francis Drake', *Studies in Philology* 94, no. 4 (1997): 428–464.

390 1 Samuel 17: 45–47.

representations of the past, it often plays an important role in national narratives because of its well-known, recognizable, clear-cut theme with prototypical characters. Moreover, such communicative shortcuts that originate in religious sources are especially effective in rendering the world morally comprehensible, even to a secular audience:³⁹¹ they play an active role in people's understanding of the past and present world, and might elicit a particular form of action in the present.³⁹² 'Within a particular worldview, some forms of action become natural, others unthinkable. Different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions, and therefore the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences.'³⁹³ The *narrative* and *mnemonic form* of national history, therefore, can function as a beacon in the present. It can propagate the idea, for example, that Britain can survive 'against all odds' once again.³⁹⁴

This section discusses English as well as Dutch history textbooks that were published in the period between 1920 and 1940, and inquires as to whether the selected case studies – the English defeat of the Spanish Armada and the beginning of the Dutch Revolt – have been framed in line with the David-Goliath model. This study thus seeks to investigate whether certain narrative structures are replicated across specific national contexts and to what extent these frames have been perpetuated over time.

The Invincible Armada: venit, vidit, fugit

After the English defeat of the Spanish Armada, Elizabeth I ordered medals with a reference to Julius Caesar. Instead of the heroic words '*veni, vidi, vici*' (I came, I saw, I conquered), the medals were engraved with the mocking words '*venit, vidit, fugit*' (it came, it saw, it fled). Another insult added with hindsight was the attribution of the word 'invincible' to the Armada after its defeat. The English victory was even more magnified in neo-Elizabethan pamphlets, in which the time of Elizabethan England was portrayed as a 'golden age of heroism and expansive national endeavour'. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 became 'an event retold with such frequency that it becomes a kind of ideological trope, a condensation of the whole neo-Elizabethan project rather than the description of

391 Mark Silk, *Unsecular Media: Making News of Religion in America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 149.

392 Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London: Routledge, 1995), 5.

393 Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 6.

394 Mark Connelly, *We Can Take It! Britain and the Memory of the Second World War* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2004), 2 and 57.

an actual historical event'.³⁹⁵ The English clearly presented themselves as the underdog in order to amplify their victory, and this idea was also perpetuated on stage, as in Thomas Dekker's play *The Whore of Babylon* (1607), highlighting the contrast between 'lambs' and 'giants'.³⁹⁶

Most of the English history textbooks examined that were published in the period between ca. 1920 and 1940 also stress the magnitude of the Spanish Armada and the power disparity. The author of the textbook series *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1924) remarks at the beginning of the textbook that 'Spain had become the greatest power in the world'.³⁹⁷

Not only did her king, Philip II, rule over a great part of Europe, but he had set up a huge Empire over the seas as well. Then he made himself king of Portugal, and claimed all the Portuguese discoveries too. So the Spanish flag ruled the seas, and from every side her great treasure ships sailed proudly in, laden with riches such as no man had ever seen.³⁹⁸

In the narrative of the upcoming battle the imbalance is highlighted even more. Spain and Philip II are depicted as the giant and the English fleet as the underdog. After the author has described how Drake attacked the Spanish navels in Cádiz in 1587, destroying much of the Spanish fleet and capturing substantial supplies, she remarks that:

whole forests were cut down for wood to build new ships; stores and guns were piled along the quays; men were called out, and day and night the work went on, till the 'Invincible Armada', the mightiest fleet the world had ever seen, lay ready to set forth and crush the hated English once for all. And what was happening in England? The Royal Navy only numbered twenty-five ships. Never had such danger threatened. But the call went out and the whole country came forward to answer it.³⁹⁹

The textbook series *Kingsway Histories for Seniors* (1935) describes the Spanish Armada as 'the greatest fleet of the world' and 'full of soldiers'.⁴⁰⁰ Moreover, the author narrates the stress at the home front and remarks that 'all over England people waited, breathless, for news of the Armada's coming'.⁴⁰¹ His tone changes after the narrative of the English victory over the Spanish Armada, describing how 'only fifty out of the hundred and twenty-six great ships of the Armada

395 Catharine Gray, *Woman writers and public debate in 17th-century Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 150–151.

396 See also: Shannon Osborne Ford, 'The Whore of Babylon: The 1588 Spanish Armada', Digital Renaissance Editions, https://digitalrenaissance.uvic.ca/doc/WoB_Armada/ (accessed June 20, 2022).

397 Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books III*, 8.

398 Ibid.

399 Ibid., 13.

400 Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors II*, 67.

401 Ibid.

managed to limp home to Spain'.⁴⁰² The author's choice of the verb 'limp' shows that the tables had been turned: he contrasts his description of the vulnerable Spanish with the strong, iconic image of Sir Francis Drake, a man feared even after his death:

All England sorrowed. But in Spain there was relief; for Drake, the terror of Spain, would no longer roam the Spanish seas. Yet little Spanish boys still mocked the unfortunate Spanish Duke, who had led the Armada, by shouting under his windows 'Drake is coming!'⁴⁰³

Neither of these two textbook series, while emphasizing power disparity, generates a direct key to the Biblical narrative of David and Goliath. The textbook series *The House of History* (1931), however, keys the English fleet to David and describes its opponent as 'the giant fleet'.⁴⁰⁴ Before these interconnections are made, the author sets the scene by emphasizing that Philip II was busy preparing 'the largest and grandest fleet that had ever put to sea, with which he expected to sweep Elizabeth's hardy but ragged sea-dogs off the water, and then have England at the mercy of his army, which was the finest in the world'.⁴⁰⁵ Next to this remark, with the author highlighting the power disparity by describing Spain's navy and army as superior, the author also has an eye for difference in warfare and technique:

The Spaniards, secure in their pride and conquering glory, had not noticed England's Great Harry or the later battleships, which had been built on the same model, lying low in the water, with heavy guns in the body.⁴⁰⁶

The author adds to this remark that the secret of this success was not understood by the Spaniards – 'they believed that Drake's great daring and extraordinary luck were more to be feared than any new intervention in shipbuilding'⁴⁰⁷ – and refers to Callender's *Naval Side of British History* (1924) to show where this 'modern explanation' of the defeat was taken.

Callender published his book just after World War I and keyed this then recent war to Sir Francis Drake and sixteenth-century history on a regular basis.⁴⁰⁸

402 Ibid., 68.

403 Ibid.

404 Muriel Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey* (1931), 139.

405 Ibid., 132.

406 Ibid., 133.

407 Ibid., 135.

408 Geoffrey Callender, *The Naval Side of British History* (Boston: Little, Brown, and company, 1924). See for example page 269: 'Captain Müller of the Emden detached himself from Admiral von Spee, and enlivening his leadership by ingenious ruses comparable to those of Cochrane and Drake, sent a thrill of panic through the Indian Ocean, whose shipping he raided with impunity.' Page 277: 'The concerted attack upon the Mole, the railway viaduct, and the canal at Zeebrugge, described by a French historian as the "finest feat of arms in the

Furthermore, Callender keyed his narration of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada to the Biblical narrative of David and Goliath.⁴⁰⁹ The textbook author of *The House of History* quotes Callender when she portrays the battle of 1588 as a fight between David and Goliath:

It was Sunday evening once more when the English launched a new attack with fire ships. The little blazing vessels, carried forward by a favouring wind, were 'slung as suddenly as David's pebbles at the giant fleet lying sluggishly at anchor'. The Spaniards in face of this new danger, had to cut their cables and put out into the North Sea.⁴¹⁰

In the textbook series *A History of Britain* (1937), the authors Carter and Mears do not work with a direct reference to the story about David and Goliath, but indirectly they also use this communicative shortcut by emphasizing the power disparity: England is clearly portrayed as the underdog and Philip II as master of the world:

England was without allies, a small country, with no regular army, standing alone against the might of the greatest empire in the world, an empire on which, it was boasted, 'the sun never set'. Philip was the master of the New World, and of a considerable portion of the Old. By annexing Portugal (1580) he had absorbed the dominions of his only serious rival in America and the Indies. The famous Spanish infantry were thought to be unbeatable. And it was these very soldiers, commanded by one of the greatest generals in history – the Duke of Parma – who were waiting to invade England. No wonder Philip pushed forward his preparations to crush the insolent islanders.⁴¹¹

All English history textbooks examined thus 'echo' the communicative shortcut of the unequal fight between David and Goliath in their narration of events in 1588. We have already seen that all the English authors examined narrate this

naval history of all times and all countries", deserves to rank for its daring beside the wonder-deeds of Drake, and for the completeness of its success beside the lightning-strokes of Nelson.' Page 278: 'The argument overlooks the fact that Britain established the freedom of the seas by using the surface blockade to overthrow tyrants in the past; and only by using the surface blockade against the Germans could she guarantee that the traditions which she herself had created should be handed on to posterity. In this great struggle for freedom history in many ways repeated itself. As in the sixteenth century, the entire maritime population of these islands answered their country's call. Half the tonnage of the mercantile marine was requisitioned for warlike purposes; and of the merchant seamen, those who lost their lives outnumbered eight times the total casualties at the battle of Trafalgar.'

409 Ibid., 71. 'The Armada lay in an open roadstead, and on a rising tide could be assailed by means of destruction other than gunpowder. On Sunday evening, hastily improvised fire ships were ready, and were slung as suddenly as David's pebbles at the giant fleet lying sluggishly at anchor. The Spanish ships, to save themselves, cut their cables in haste and made for the open sea.'

410 Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey*, 139.

411 Carter and Mears, *A History of Britain. Book II*, 403. See also the edition of 2010, edited and updated by David Evans: E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears, *A History of Britain III 1485–1603* (London: Stacey International, 2010), 101.

historical event as a national romance. Dutch textbook authors, however, were much more ambivalent in their interpretation of the Dutch Revolt. Has this also affected their use of the David-Goliath allegory?

The Iron Duke against the little butter men

'I have tamed people of iron in my day, shall I not easily crush these men of butter?' When the Spanish noble, general and diplomat Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1507–1582) – known as the Grand Duke of Alva in Spain – came to the Netherlands in 1567 to overthrow civil and religious rebels, he is reported to have said these words.⁴¹² The first part of this 'quote' refers to Alva's actions in Naples and Sicily, the second part to the Dutch.

In September 1567, Alva established the 'Council of Troubles', known in the Netherlands as the 'Court of Blood', to prosecute those responsible for the Iconoclastic Outbreak in 1566. The court ordered the execution of many 'heretics', also targeting Catholic nobles who favoured dialogue and disagreed with this outside intervention. In the Netherlands, Alva was infamous for being harsh and cruel, hence his nickname the 'Iron Duke'. It is not sure whether Alva really spoke the words quoted above; they were probably attributed to him by P.C. Hooft, a Dutch historian, poet and playwright (1581–1647). The quote emphasizes power disparity: the iron and ruthless Duke against the little 'butter men'. From 1618, Hooft intended to write a history of the Netherlands, mainly focusing on the Dutch Revolt,⁴¹³ a work of prose and an instruction manual for the Dutch political elite, in a style inspired by the Roman historian Tacitus.⁴¹⁴ For Tacitus, history writing was first and foremost a form of literature, created with a great feeling for drama. The stylistic composition decided which events would be included or excluded, and the sketch of the key figures was very important. Several historians have used the Duke's quote, as described by Hooft, in their narration of the Dutch Revolt.

The representation of the Dutch Revolt as a battle between David and Goliath was already widespread during the Dutch Revolt. In those days, several medals were struck to celebrate a victory or to spread hope, and in 1578 Gerard van Bylaer designed the medal 'Success in the fight against Spain', showing little David with his sling and pebble as opposed to the fully armed giant Goliath. Another example is the Dutch national anthem 'The William' (Wilhelmus), which

412 Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (Rotterdam: Jac. G. Robbers, 1877), 314. Original published in 1856.

413 P.C. Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historiën* (1642).

414 Herman Paul, 'Fathers of History. Metamorphoses of a metaphor', *Storia della Storiografia*, 59–60 (2011): 251–267, 261.

dates back to at least 1572. The eighth verse compares Prince William of Orange with David:

Like David had to fly,
 Before the tyrant Saul,
 So I was made to cry,
 By many noble lords,
 But the Lord did raise him,
 And saved him from distress,
 Gave him a kingdom,
 In Israel's plenteousness.⁴¹⁵

After the Dutch Revolt, the representation of the Dutch Revolt as a fight between little David and giant Goliath played a significant role in historiography as well, as exemplified by the historical writings (1774) of the physician, politician, and author Simon Stijl (1731–1804).⁴¹⁶ Another and well-known example is *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) by John Lothrop Motley. He used the famous 'quote' of Alva and narrated the Dutch Revolt as a contest between 'plucky David' and 'tyrannical Goliath'.⁴¹⁷ Many nineteenth-century history books for youth used Alva's 'quote' to stress the courage and strength of the Dutch people: steel will break under great pressure, but butter must be treated gently or it will slide out of your hands.⁴¹⁸

These authors emphasized that Alva would soon find out that he had misjudged the Dutch. The little men, though made of butter, were strong in determination and fought for a higher aim: freedom.

Several Dutch textbook authors of the early twentieth century also employed Alva's 'quote' in their historical narrative. An example here is from textbook author De Boer (1904): 'The proud Duke had seen the glory of his illustrious

415 'Als David moeste vluchten, voor Saul de tiran, zo heb ik moeten zuchten, met menig edelman. Maar God heeft hem verheven, verlost uit alle nood, een koninkrijk gegeven, in Israël zeer groot.'

416 Simon Stijl, *De opkomst en bloei der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (Amsterdam en Harlingen: Petrus Conradi en F. van der Plaats & Junior, 1774), 139.

417 Colin Pendrill, *Spain 1474–1700: The Triumphs and Tribulations of Empire* (Oxford: Heinemann Educational Publishers, 2002), 225.

418 See for example: Anonymous, *Leven en Daden der Vorsten uit het Huis Van Oranje. Door de schrijfster van de jaren 1830 en 31. Met portretten en platen* (Nijmegen: D.J. Haspels, 1835), 15, 26, 43; H.C. van der Heyde, *Het Morgenrood der Vrijheid, of Den Briel in 1572: Feestgeschenk tevens dienstig als leesboek voor de volksschool. Volume 1* (Purmerend: J. Schuitemaker, 1872), 26; G.E. Gerrits, *Keur van Gedenkwaardige Tafereelen uit den Nederlandsche Geschiedenis. Volume 1* (Amsterdam: G. Portielje, 1825), 207: 'De wreede Alva, die zich eenmaal liet hooren, dat hij weleer een volk van ijzer getemd had, en dus een volk van boter eensklaps kon verpletteren, ondervond thans tot zijne schande, dat dit harde metaal ruw behandeld, buigt; doch dat boter zacht behandeld moet worden, zal ze niet door de handen glijden.'

military career fade when he was up against the little butter men'.⁴¹⁹ He explains that the 'Iron Duke' could not appropriately handle the Dutch people's character, that his severity had driven every Dutchman into a state of revolt, and that he had alienated the Dutch people from their king once and for all.⁴²⁰ De Boer also makes other explicit references to the 'unequal fight' and mentions the 'desperate situation' of 1576 when it seemed as if the battle would be decided against the rebels.⁴²¹ Later in his narration, he describes again how 'our country' stood up to 'powerful Spain'.⁴²²

In line with De Boer, textbook author Rijpma (1925) also draws attention to the power disparity in his narration of the Dutch Revolt. The young Republic is described as weak, small and vulnerable, while Spain is described as a strong world power:

At the start of 1588, the young Republic found itself in dire straits: its government had no authority with the people; discord reigned supreme; the coffers were empty; army payments were in arrears; soldiers were mutinous; experienced commanders were lacking; outside help was not to be expected. And it found itself opposite world power Spain and Parma's military prowess and statesmanship, holding the entire territory of the Republic in its clasp, as the accompanying map clearly shows.⁴²³

Having described the 'sad' situation of the young Republic in 1588 – division, lack of money, rebellious soldiers, and no outside help – Rijpma argues that both Philip's faults and the Dutch people's energy saved 'our country' from its dangerous position.⁴²⁴

Whereas Rijpma does not refer to the famous quote by Alva, J.W. Pik does. In his series (1919), he explains that, although Alva urged Philip II to dismiss him from his tasks, this wish was not granted. After some time, however, Philip II also came to the conclusion that the Duke's methods were not the solution to bridling the Revolt: Pik explains how the Duke's severity had inspired new resistance.

419 De Boer, *Beknopt Leerboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland* (1904), 54. 'Tegenover de "mannetjes van boter" had de trotsche hertog de glorie van een roemvolle krijgsmansloopbaan zien verbleeken.'

420 *Ibid.*, 53–54.

421 *Ibid.*, 55.

422 *Ibid.*, 97.

423 E. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie II* (Groningen and Djarkarta: J.B. Wolters, 1954), 80. 'De toestand van de jonge Republiek was in het begin van 1588 al heel droevig. De regering had geen gezag bij het volk, overal heerste tweedracht, de financiën waren uitgeput, het leger werd slecht betaald, de soldaten muitten, ervaren aanvoerders ontbraken, hulp van buiten was niet te verwachten. En daartegenover stond de wereldmacht van Spanje, de krijgsmansstaatmanskunst van de bekwame Parma, die het grondgebied van de Republiek geheel omklemde, zoals uit het bijgevoegde kaartje duidelijk blijkt.'

424 *Ibid.*, 80–81.

Moreover, the ‘little butter men’ were not defeated but still standing in the midst of their watery landscape:

The ‘ducal blood vulture’ or the ‘Iron Duke’ left the next month, when his harshness had provoked renewed opposition and the ‘little butter men’ held their own surrounded by their pools and lakes and expertly led by the Prince.⁴²⁵

Whereas De Boer, Pik, and Rijpma refer directly or indirectly to the David-Goliath allegory, this is not the case for all the Dutch history textbooks examined. The Catholic series by Commissaris does not employ it in his narration of the Dutch Revolt; instead of a heroic romance, Commissaris depicts the Dutch Revolt as a tragedy which led to the division of the Low Countries and restrictions for the Catholics.

2.6 Conclusion

The aftermath of World War I is clearly visible in the interpretation of history in the four English textbook series examined, and sea power constitutes an important frame in the narration of sixteenth-century history. Various histories are keyed to the year 1588 on the basis of this plotline. Spain, Holland, and France are a recurring triptych in the keying process, having challenged English sea power at different times. ‘Echoes’ of the English victory over the Spanish Armada are intended to show how England held her position of ‘mistress of the seas’ over time. This chapter has analysed the keys generated as recurring accents in historical interpretations that compile a pattern of echoing national narratives. The textbook authors construct meaning by combining histories, places, and times. The generated pattern of interpretation was relevant in the contemporary socio-political context: in the narrations of the Great War, sea-power and the Fleet are emphasized as highly important. Despite the differences between the four series – for example, the Catholic textbook series emphasizes the heroic role of the Catholics during the sea battle and portrays Elizabeth I and Philip II differently to the non-Catholic series – they all frame this event as a *national naval* victory.

The Great War stimulated a moral and pedagogic discourse about peace and school history, since the latter was accused of poisoning children with nationalism. The authors of the English history textbooks examined, however, were not much concerned with the theme of peace. Their generated keys express their pedagogy and show how they ordered the world and gave meaning to the past and

425 J.W. Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel* (1937), 110. ‘De volgende maand vertrok “Ducdalve de bloetgier,” de “ijzeren hertog”, die door zijn gestrengheid tot hernieuwd verzet had geprikkeld, en nog steeds hielden de “mannetjes van boter” zich onder de kundige leiding van den Prins te midden van hun poelen en plassen staande.’

the present. Some textbook authors describe history as a gallery of inspiring examples. An illustration is Drake's 'calm' reply that there was enough time to finish his game of bowls and beat the Spaniards too. Although this famous story is perpetuated in various textbooks, it is absent in the series by Carter and Mears, which was written in close cooperation with academic historians. Other changes are also visible in this series, such as omission of the heroic term 'sea dogs'.

Alongside academic historiography, this chapter has shown how fiction functioned as a mediator in the narration of national history in the examined English textbooks. To stimulate students' skills in memorizing history, several textbook authors referred to famous historical poems. Their use was explicitly recommended by certain scholars: poems have sticking power and with their evocative form and clear content, they would linger in the memory. Although textbook researchers have mostly examined national narratives in relation to academic historiography – which has been regarded as the benchmark of 'good' history – this chapter has demonstrated that textbook narratives can 'echo' different media and a variety of circulating stories. In order to understand the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks, therefore, it is instructive to take this variety into account.

The socio-political context was also central in the Dutch textbook series examined, albeit in another way and in close interplay with the historical disciplinary context. Whereas English authors made 'relevant' keys to the Great War, the Dutch hardly generated any keys: the Netherlands had been neutral in World War I and war keys would not have had the same significance. Moreover, the Dutch Revolt was not a shared communicative shortcut but rather a sensitive topic in historiography. While all English textbook authors wrote about a heroic *national* naval victory in 1588, Dutch authors were living in a 'pillarized' society and used contrasting frames to narrate the Dutch Revolt.

Most textbook authors narrated the Dutch Revolt as a romance, as a (national) fight for freedom against (foreign) absolutism and tyranny. The historical discipline, however, was changing and counter-frames were presented in academic historiography. The Catholic textbook series adopted a counter-frame and explicitly referred to the Dutch historian Nuyens and his changing view on the past as well as the present. According to the textbook author, Nuyens had shown greater appreciation for the Catholics in his writings, and he had protested against the *national* character of contemporary festivities to commemorate years such as 1568 and 1572.

Rather than as a national romance, therefore, the Catholic textbook series narrated the Dutch Revolt as a tragedy which had led to the persecution of the Catholics and the division of the Low Countries. This frame had a function in the present as well: the Catholics aimed for historical recognition and for emancipation, also in education. Moreover, the Catholic textbook author Commissaris

was inspired by the Dutch historian Pieter Geyl and his ideal of the Greater Netherlands (a fusion of Flanders in Belgium and the Netherlands).

Dutch pillarization was clearly visible in school history, but in a different way than is generally assumed. In contrast with the widespread idea that certain Catholic victims were only present in Catholic textbooks, this chapter's narrative analysis revealed that almost every Dutch textbook author mentioned the 'martyrs of Gorcum'. The important difference between the Catholic series and the others was not the presence or absence of the martyrs but the *narrative framing* of this event: in the non-Catholic textbook series, the 'martyrs' were mentioned 'later' in time and in a different context than in the Catholic textbook series.

English as well as Dutch textbook authors used general persuasive imaginaries, for instance framing sixteenth-century history as a David-versus-Goliath fight. The David-Goliath allegory was perpetuated in both countries during the interbellum and demonstrates that, in a certain period, the resemblances between the frames of the national narratives can be quite similar. The next chapter will examine the perpetuation of this transnational narrative structure and will analyse if and how certain factors – such as World War II – affected these resemblances. It will also discuss other changes and continuities in the framing and keying process: Do interpretative patterns change after another world war and what does this mean for the perpetuation of national narratives in the genre of history textbooks?

3 Fights and flashbacks: adaptations in the wake of a new World War, 1940–1965

And looking back, one sees the pattern in a clearer light.
(Edward Henry Carter, 1948)

In 1948, textbook author Edward Henry Carter argued that the impact of World War II ‘has jolted Britain into a new set of living conditions – conditions so different from those of 1937 (date of the first edition)’ – that one can now look back with ‘something near detachment’.⁴²⁶ And looking back, he sees the pattern in a clearer light. A pattern that is mostly ‘unbeautiful’, but ‘relevant to our own story’.⁴²⁷

This explicit reference to a *pattern* in a post-war reprint of a well-known textbook series raises questions about the perpetuation of national narratives in this genre: how did a large-scale event, such as World War II, affect the narration, interpretation, and perpetuation of history in English and Dutch textbooks? To what extent did the framing and keying process change after another world war? Do English and Dutch history textbooks display an increase in the number of keys with the aim of streamlining past experiences and future expectations? Moreover, what does it tell us that this textbook author ‘sees’ a pattern and consciously mentions it in his introduction, whereas Wertsch argues that narrative ‘templates’ – underlying patterns and plots – are ‘not readily available to conscious reflection’ and are used in an ‘unreflective’ and ‘unwitting manner’?⁴²⁸

This chapter scrutinizes changes and continuities in frames and keys identified in the national narratives of English and Dutch history textbooks first published between 1940 and 1965. Section 3.1 is concerned with English history education in this period and discusses the Education Act of 1944, best-selling textbook authors and new educational developments. In contrast with Britain, the Netherlands was occupied by the Nazis during World War II, and section 3.3 discusses Nazi approaches to Dutch history education as well as post-war attempts to bring about a breakthrough in the pillarized textbook market. Sections 3.2 and 3.4 consist of an in-depth analysis of three English and three Dutch

426 E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears, *A History of Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), preface.

427 Ibid.

428 Wertsch, ‘Specific Narratives and Schematic Narrative Templates’, 57.

history textbook series respectively from the timeframe given above. These sections aim to demonstrate the dynamics of narrative configuration and will also analyse adaptations in textbook series discussed earlier. The fifth section discusses national narratives from both countries and examines whether the David-versus-Goliath allegory is still a shared structure after the different war experiences of both countries. In addition to differences and similarities between English and Dutch textbooks, the conclusion elaborates on change and continuity between frames and keys between 1940 and 1965 in relation to the period discussed previously.

3.1 'Britain has not gone soft': a reinterpretation of history

Martin Booth, who completed several interviews with history teachers and their students at five different secondary schools in 1965 and 1966, concluded that history in school appeared to be 'a dreary desert where as far as the eye could see row upon row of school children sit, writing endless notes'.⁴²⁹ He concluded that history departments were 'wedded to techniques which tend to deaden rather than inspire'.⁴³⁰ His work was seen as ground-breaking and contributed to a generation of reform and didactic developments.⁴³¹ With hindsight, his sketches also influenced the historiography of history education. An example is David Sylvester (1994) who labelled history education between 1900 and 1970 as the 'Great Tradition'.⁴³² Recent studies have portrayed a more complex and multi-faceted history.⁴³³ Although history teaching was an ill-equipped struggle in some schools – a job that did not require a degree but rather 'common sense and discipline'⁴³⁴ – this section shows a different perspective by highlighting several important developments and education reforms.

Since 1902, England and Wales had three separate groups of post-primary schools: Grammar Schools, Junior Technical Schools, and Senior Elementary

429 Martin Booth, *History betrayed?* (London: Longmans, 1969), 66. He studied the history departments of five grammar schools.

430 *Ibid.*, 122.

431 Chris Husbands, Alison Kitson and Anna Pendry, *Understanding History Teaching: Teaching and Learning about the Past in Secondary Schools* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003), preface.

432 David Sylvester, 'Change and Continuity in History Teaching, 1900–93', in *Teaching History*, ed. H. Bourdillon (London: Routledge, 1994), 9.

433 See for example this PhD Thesis: Christopher Edwards, *Recovering History Education's Forgotten Past. Diversity and Change in Professional Discourse in England, 1944–1962* (London: Institute of Education and University of London, 2016).

434 David Cannadine, Jenny Keating and Nicola Sheldon, *The right kind of history: Teaching the past in twentieth-century England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 125.

Schools. The perception was that the Grammar Schools were the best, acting as a gateway to professional and executive ranks in employment. Those who failed to gain a place could go the 'second best' Junior Technical Schools. Students who were not capable of or interested in more advanced education could go to the Senior Elementary Schools. Since class and economic wealth were decisive in this educational system, much discussion was generated and during World War II several education reforms were prepared.⁴³⁵

In 1944, these ideas were processed in the Education Act, which aimed to lessen inequalities by providing free secondary education for all children in England and Wales. Moreover, the school leaving age was raised to fifteen. With the 1944 Act, it was agreed that all forms of post-primary education needed to operate under the same code – they shared the term 'secondary' in their names – and needed equal facilities and status.⁴³⁶ After primary school, children of about eleven years were expected to take an examination to decide where they should go next. This test was not, it was claimed, about passing or failing but an attempt to discover which kind of school and approach (theoretical or more practical) would most suit the student.⁴³⁷ This tripartite education system also affected history education: whereas the grammar schools were more focused on the 'formal political outlines' of history, the pedagogic tendency in secondary modern schools moved away from this outline towards social and economic history and towards subjects that were 'relevant to the present'.⁴³⁸ This latter part also included histories of trade, food, and clothing, for example.

Education Minister R.A. Butler steered the 1944 Act through Parliament and is known as one of the most influential figures in charge of education.⁴³⁹ His relationship with Prime Minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) was 'far from being close and destructive'.⁴⁴⁰ They disagreed on several topics, such as on foreign policy towards Germany, and Churchill transferred Butler from the Foreign Office to the Board of Education since he attached little importance to the latter.⁴⁴¹ Churchill did all he could to cut government spending on schools and had little interest in local governments and the improvement of 'village schools

435 See for example *Education after the War*, or *The Green Book* of 1941. This text was drafted by Griffiths G. Williams, William Cleary, H. B. Wallis, S. H. Wood, Robert S. Wood and Maurice Holmes. For more background information, see: Gary McCulloch, *Educational Reconstruction: The 1944 Education Act and the Twenty-first Century* (London: The Woburn Press, 1994), 25.

436 Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: University Press, 1998), 222.

437 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 105.

438 Ibid., 113.

439 Ibid., 102.

440 Ibid.

441 Michael Barber, *Making of the 1944 Education Act* (London and New York: Cassell, 1994), 35.

with a few half-naked children rolling in the dust'.⁴⁴² The war required his full attention and he told Butler that he would not object if he introduced a 'note of patriotism in our schools'.⁴⁴³ Churchill was charmed by English history and thought that it could be used to raise morale: 'to him history was more a matter of religion and sentiment than of education and pedagogy'.⁴⁴⁴

British plans for post-war education reforms and the basis for the 1944 Act were set forth in the White Paper of 1943, *On Educational Reconstruction*. History teaching is hardly mentioned and it only argues for

[a] new direction in the teaching of history and geography and modern languages will be needed to arouse and quicken in the pupils a livelier interest in the meaning and responsibilities of citizenship of this country, the Empire and of the world abroad.⁴⁴⁵

This idea of a 'new' direction in history teaching was widely agreed upon. *The Teaching of History*, a handbook for history teachers published in 1950, described the situation as follows:

The average secondary school pupil leaves school with a confused mass of knowledge, and – even worse – with a hatred of the subject, having been forcibly fed with historical facts and theories which bear no relation to his tastes, aptitudes or mental capacity. The root of failure is found in the lack of any discoverable purpose or coherent plan in the history course, which is said to be related to the facts of the child's experience.⁴⁴⁶

The handbook was published by The Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters (IAAM), and it stated that older, traditional certainties had passed away in the light of the recent war events as well as other developments. It identified several national and international events as important factors necessitating change in history education, as well as the ideas of the early post-war generation of history teachers: 'Their approach to their subject is more philosophical, and they ask their pupils more often for reflection upon what they learn, rather than for knowledge alone.'⁴⁴⁷ IAAM concluded that post-war history education indeed needed a new approach in order to meet the demands of post-war society, and they called for a reinterpretation:

The course of modern history, from the great depression of the early 1930s to the catastrophe of the 1940s has created a world utterly different from that of 1925, and has radically affected the outlook of most thinking people. Those of us whose work is to

442 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 103.

443 Ibid.

444 Ibid.

445 Board of Education, *White Paper: Educational Reconstruction* (London: 1943), 9, <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/wp1943/educational-reconstruction.html> (accessed September 8, 2018).

446 IAAM, *The teaching of history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 1.

447 Ibid., preface.

teach history in the schools are in some way peculiarly aware of this change. We have felt acutely the need for a reinterpretation of our own approach to the past (...). Current events have set the history teacher a new set of problems – or at least have reset him old problems in new and alarming forms.⁴⁴⁸

Moreover, this new approach was needed, it was argued, to address the concern that history had lost its credibility as a school subject.⁴⁴⁹ History teaching required a connection with the child's experiences as well as with their citizenship of the nation and the world.

This 'new direction' of history education was also discussed at an international level. In 1951, UNESCO organized a seminar at Sèvres (near Paris) to discuss the teaching of history and to promote international understanding.⁴⁵⁰ The seminar was attended by seventy teachers from thirty-two countries, probably including the Netherlands since Dutch history education is also discussed in their *International Yearbook of Education* (1951).⁴⁵¹ C.P Hill, who attended the seminar at UNESCO's invitation, published a report about this event in 1953. He argued that the majority of the history teachers present justified their work on a *national* basis: they regarded history education as a training for national citizenship and aimed to foster in their students a love for and understanding of their 'own' country.⁴⁵² Hill understands this national focus but emphasizes that 'men now live on a globe which is shrinking and a world which is fast becoming a closely interrelated unit',⁴⁵³ that contemporary citizens are confronted with 'problems that transcend national frontiers',⁴⁵⁴ and that the United Nations Organization and the constructive cooperation between nations are vital elements of modern citizenship.⁴⁵⁵

A few years later, *The European Inheritance* (1954) was published by Ernest Barker, George Clark, and Paul Vaucher.⁴⁵⁶ They intended to weaken the national bias in history writing via a scholarly work that could be used widely in the

448 Ibid.

449 Edwards, *Recovering History Education's Forgotten Past*, 213.

450 C.P. Hill, *Suggestions on the teaching of history* (Paris: UNESCO, 1953), introduction.

451 UNESCO International Bureau of Education, *International Yearbook of Education 1951* (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000132912?posInSet=2&queryId=e599aa5c-7601-48d5-9d7a-f766fc1466d6> (accessed April 26, 2019).

452 Ibid., 8.

453 Ibid.

454 Ibid.

455 Ibid., 9.

456 Ernest Barker, George Clark and Paul Vaucher, *The European Inheritance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), introduction. 'The work is not a history of mankind. But it is, at any rate, a history of European man, and of his influence on the rest of mankind. This is not to say, for moment, that it has a European bias, or that it attempts to vindicate a particular eminence for the continent of Europe over other continents. It would not be "objective history" if it had that bias or made that attempt.'

education systems of Europe. The origin of this work is located in the winter of 1942–1943, when eight Ministers of Education of allied governments were resident and active in London. The British Minister of Education organised a conference with these Ministers and appointed a Books Commission tasked with thinking about a historical work that could be used in the upper forms of secondary schools as well as in the early years of university courses in various nations. They argued for a history of European civilization, accompanied by maps, illustrations, and historical documents. It had to be a work of independent scholarship, and professors of various countries contributed to the volumes. The editors hoped that their original English version would be translated and used in other European countries, and even outside Europe. Although the editors do not explicitly mention Dutch co-authors in their introduction, their work was discussed in the Dutch journal of history by Hendrik Enno van Gelder in 1955.⁴⁵⁷ He appreciated the European perspective as well as the modern English translation of the historical documents that were included.

In the years after the War, several secondary schools tried to integrate history into ‘social studies’ (together with geography, economics, political science and sociology) with the intention to promote better citizenship. Education needed to save the nation since the recent events had unveiled that the need ‘to make future citizens love democracy, the need for faith in the democratic ideals of freedom, justice, kindness, self-sacrifice and truth must be brought out over and over again.’⁴⁵⁸ In the mid-1950s, however, ‘this period of post-war enthusiasm had faded’ and many schools ‘returned to a traditional curriculum’, partly because of the ‘vague nature’ of the subject and the fact that very few teachers were trained specifically for it.⁴⁵⁹ Moreover, several historians and history teachers were very critical of this development and saw ‘social studies’ as a threat and dilution of their own expertise.⁴⁶⁰

In 1952, the Ministry of Education published the pamphlet *Teaching History*, which gave three reasons for the study of history in response to the post-war debate about the purpose of history and its presentation in education. The first was termed the ‘moral motive’:

457 Enno van Gelder, ‘Overzicht van de geschiedenis van Europa’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 68 (1955): 105–106.

458 Charmian Cannon, ‘Social Studies in Secondary Schools’, *Educational Review* 17, no. 1 (1964): 18–30, 18.

459 Cannon, ‘Social Studies in Secondary Schools’, 21.

460 W.H. Burston, ‘Social Studies and the History Teacher’, *Teaching of History Leaflet* 15 (London: The Historical Association, 1954).

It is good for boys' and girls' character that they should hear or read about great men and women of the past and so learn gradually to discriminate between disinterested and selfish purposes or between heroism and cowardice.⁴⁶¹

The second reason was 'an introduction to heritage', which referred to the students' own environment in which they lived and acted. Instead of a march towards national greatness, as satirized in *1066 and all that*, the pamphlet argued that history demanded 'a certain humility about one's own age and the things to which one is accustomed'.⁴⁶²

But it should be noted that the traditional idea of history as an evolution, as bestowing a heritage, survives and is generally at least implicit in the syllabus. And with it there survives the idea that this heritage is something it is right and valuable to study.⁴⁶³

The third and last reason – 'sympathetic imagination' – explained that the study of history offered students the opportunity to enter a different atmosphere and point of view.

The child-centred approach in which children were stimulated to 'discover things for themselves, in an informal setting, lending priority to inquiry over memory, imagination over instruction' stimulated the *path method* in the history classroom: the in-depth study of a short historical period with its different habits and values, aimed at the extension of a child's imaginative experience by entering another time.⁴⁶⁴ This gave rise to new history textbooks as well, such as by Marjorie Reeves (1905–2003) who wrote the 1950s history books for schools that supported a new approach to history teaching. She was an educationist and historian, with a PhD on medieval heretical mystics, and contributed to twelve volumes of the *Then and There* series, such as *The Medieval Village* (1954), *The Medieval Castle* (1960) and *The Elizabethan Country House* (1984), enabling primary pupils to make sense of people's lives in other places and times. The *path method* also had its critics who saw the lack of relations and continuity as a 'major drawback'.⁴⁶⁵ Reeves encouraged drawing connections between the 'patches' of history via a 'thing string' of narrative and tried to avoid presenting history to children as merely random, disconnected pieces.⁴⁶⁶

These developments in primary education inspired teachers at secondary level: they saw how achievements in primary education could 'liberate' the sec-

461 Ministry of Education, *Teaching History. Pamphlet no. 23* (HMSO, 1952), 11.

462 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 115.

463 Ministry of Education, *Teaching History. Pamphlet No. 23*, 9.

464 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 119.

465 Ibid.

466 Ibid.

ondary school curriculum.⁴⁶⁷ Reeves wrote about a love affair with history, commenting that ‘learning involves a relationship’.⁴⁶⁸ She believed that ‘no learning is complete without some activity of body, mind or imagination’ and several classroom activities – such as play, drama, drawing, painting and writing about early battles as a newspaper reporter – were used in primary and secondary education to stimulate children’s imagination.⁴⁶⁹ Next to her plea for imagination, Reeves became known for using primary source materials in her textbooks. She often asked the question ‘How do we know?’ and thought it was important that students could distinguish between historical accounts based on sources and literary accounts that were not. In 1993, Reeves received the Mellicott Medal from the Historical Association for her contribution to history education.

The ‘source method’ was strongly advocated for secondary school students by certain authors, such as Kenneth Charlton in 1956 and Gordon Batho in 1962.⁴⁷⁰ They both referred to the work of Keatinge (1910) discussed earlier as the origin of their approach. Whereas the IAAM was very critical of the source method for students aged 12–16 and saw it as an attempt ‘to ask the pupil to run before he can walk’, Charlton and Batho argued that students needed to acquire ‘a questioning attitude of mind’ and saw this as one of history education’s principal aims.⁴⁷¹ Batho used the term ‘divine discontent’ to describe the positive scepticism that he aimed for: instead of accepting all historical accounts, students needed to question the reliability and accuracy of historical knowledge. The IAAM, however, saw students as incapable of such exercises: pupils had to ‘trust’ the historical knowledge that was transmitted by teachers and history textbooks. Charlton found it unacceptable to teach students to accept knowledge on basis of trust and referred to the pamphlet *The Undergrowth of History* (1955), in which Robert Birley exposed the thin evidential basis of several famous stories of English history that were perpetuated in textbooks.⁴⁷²

Another person who played an important role in the post-war history education debate was Robert John Unstead (1915–1988). He became a well-known textbook author and aimed to overcome the dull image of history textbooks by publishing his own series in 1953. The four-volume *Looking at History* was richly

467 Willie Lamont, ‘History in Primary Schools, a Comment’, *History Workshop* 19 (1985): 144–147, 146.

468 Marjorie Reeves, *Why history?* (London: Longman, 1980), 1.

469 *Ibid.*, 129.

470 K. Charlton, ‘Source Material and the Teaching of History’, *Educational Review* 9, no. 1 (1956): 57–63; G.R. Batho, ‘Sources’, in *Handbook for History Teachers*, eds. Wyndam H. Burston and Cyril W. Green (London: University of London, 1962), 95–109.

471 Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools, *The Teaching of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 79.

472 Charlton, ‘Source Material and the Teaching of History’, 57.

illustrated and warmly welcomed in primary schools. His first series became an outstanding success and over eight million copies were sold.⁴⁷³ Unstead also wrote the history textbook series *People in History* which featured stories of historical figures 'of exceptional importance in each period'.⁴⁷⁴ Although Unstead argued that history was mainly the history of great men and women, he disliked 'sickly romanticizing or legendary half-truths' and stated: 'There is an abundance of good material without having to perpetuate such apocryphal tales as Raleigh's cloak, Alfred's cakes, the game of bowls'.⁴⁷⁵

Next to textbooks, he also wrote *Teaching History in the Junior School* (1956), a response to critics who questioned the possibility of teaching history to students between 7 and 11 years. Unstead was concerned that history could lose its place in the curriculum and aimed to bring history 'back to life'. He presented the 'vividness of active engagement' against the traditional ways of teaching history, described as a 'legacy of dullness'.⁴⁷⁶ Although he wrote mainly for primary education, his work and ideas inspired teachers in secondary education as well. Unstead, known as 'Mr. History', produced almost hundred titles and became the 'brand leader' among history textbook writers.⁴⁷⁷

His critique of the 'traditional' way was targeted against the 'mistake' that history education needed no adaptation to students' age, interests, and capabilities. He advocated against an extravagant focus on wars and political developments: certain concepts were meaningless to certain students since they lay outside their experiences. Instead, thrilling and exciting stories had the strongest appeal because they drew upon students' emotions and imagination.⁴⁷⁸ According to Unstead, a revitalized history education needed to be embedded in a selection of the right stories (teachers should only select 'true' stories with a proven historical foundation) and in engaging students in the process of storytelling. Moreover, well-told national narratives could convey moral lessons, and he combined this ideal of character training with citizenship education: history lessons could change the uncultured child into a cultured citizen. Unstead argued for exemplary history education:

In other words, they teach history for two main reasons; firstly for what may be called moral values, and secondly, for its power to enrich the minds and imaginations of children. However, daunting it may sound nowadays to speak of moral values, a great

473 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 121.

474 Robert J. Unstead, *The Teaching of History in Junior Schools* (London: A&C Black, 1956), 29.

475 Unstead, *The Teaching of History*, 29.

476 *Ibid.*, 2.

477 William E. Marsden, *The School Textbook: Geography, History and Social Studies* (London: Routledge, 2001), 46; Sean Lang, "'Mr History": the Achievement of R.J. Unstead Reconsidered', *Teaching History* 58 (1990): 24–26.

478 Unstead, *The Teaching of History*, 11.

many folk still believe that honesty and courage, mercy and loyalty are cardinal virtues. And they think that our children are more likely to grow into citizens of the kind of race that, in our better moments, we know ourselves to be, if they have been made aware of the qualities of men and women whom successive generations have admired.⁴⁷⁹

His view on moral education did not correspond with the ‘traditional’ approach: he explicitly argued against the sermonising style of teaching and thought that it was best when students could draw their own moral lessons. He therefore called upon teachers to let history tell its own story: ‘to tell its story even when we cannot point directly to a purpose or a moral. It’s a very good story; what it needs most is a good telling’.⁴⁸⁰ Although he insisted on teaching ‘true’ stories and highly appreciated historical accuracy, he favoured moral guidance and disliked the ‘new debunking’ trends in historical scholarship. The classroom should not be a space for ‘moral relativism’, according to Unstead:

One is aware, of course, that there has been a reaction against the heroic presentation of history. The debunkers can show that Richard I, hero of every schoolboy, was no better than a swaggering bully who treated his social inferiors with revolting barbarity (...). But debunking is a sterile occupation. While observing moderation in hero-worship, there are still those who retain an old-fashioned conviction that the examples of great men and women have fundamental value in teaching history to children. While it is possible to over-emphasize the Great Men of History, there is a fashionable tendency to over-stress the ‘Little Men’, as if all history can be presented in ordinary men’s struggle for food and shelter.⁴⁸¹

Unstead is aware of how ‘debunking’ revisionists write about national history and, although the British Empire was already in dissolution – after 1945, Britain was left bankrupt, anti-colonial movements were on the rise, and the Suez Crisis of 1956 weakened British power in the Middle East – Unstead does not follow this mood. He perpetuates the more traditional portrait of a strong and heroic people by emphasizing their national character and ideals. In the introduction to his textbook series *A History of Britain* (1962), which was also used in secondary schools, Unstead argues:

Also, at a time when it is fashionable in some quarters to belittle Britain’s achievements in the past, I have tried to show that whereas Britain has acted foolishly or badly, her history shows the persistence of ideals which good men have lived by since Alfred’s day. In this story of a thousand years it is the character of a people that comes through; I hope that the readers will recognise this character and be glad.⁴⁸²

479 Ibid., 2 and 3.

480 Ibid., 79. Unstead quotes the Ministry of Education’s *Teaching History: Pamphlet no. 23* (1952).

481 Ibid., 3–4.

482 Robert J. Unstead, *A History of Britain* (London: A & C Black, 1962), preface.

He wants students to 'enter into' the story and selects dramatic storylines focused on individual lives, such as Drake's.⁴⁸³ According to Unstead, storytelling is the 'root of an interest in history', and it is precisely the 'magic of a well told story' that stimulates 'the child's imagination and extended his experience'.⁴⁸⁴ He argues for primary sources as a way to capture students' interest and to enliven the past.⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, he uses primary sources to strengthen his own national narrative. An example is his use of 'focalization'⁴⁸⁶ in the last volume of his series *A History of Britain*. The volume ends with a quote by Mrs. Pandit, India's High Commissioner in London:

Britain has not gone soft. Anyone who thinks so is well wide of the mark. Britain is greater than she has ever been and I, for one, hope she will not give up the world leadership she could so easily retain. (...) I hear people talking about the British being flabby, about the progressive weakness of the once-great empire builders... On the contrary, the British have emerged as a people of vision and courage who have an opportunity to go down in history in a much bigger way than even they thought possible (...). As for the future – all you need do is follow your own traditions of freedom, justice and equality. If you have the courage to go on extending these things to the world, then Britain will not go far wrong.⁴⁸⁷

This sentiment is already present in the beginning. The cover of the book depicts a photograph of the Baptistry Window of Coventry Cathedral, as designed by John Piper. According to Unstead, it demonstrates the light of the Holy Spirit that shines through the 'complex pattern of the life of the world'.⁴⁸⁸ In his foreword, Unstead explains why he reproduced this image on the book cover:

The cathedral, arising as it does from the ruins of its predecessor, is not severed from the past but grows out of it. Founded on faith, fashioned out of all that has happened in years gone by, Coventry Cathedral speaks for the future and for the hope of a new age. It speaks, in a sense, for Britain.⁴⁸⁹

This example also demonstrates that Unstead's history textbooks introduced a revolution in textbook design: his series includes pictures and texts in equal

483 Unstead, *The Teaching of History*, 97.

484 *Ibid.*, 26 and 27.

485 *Ibid.*, 50.

486 Gérard Genette coined the term in 1972 to stress the perspective(s) through which a narrative is narrated.

487 Robert J. Unstead, *A History of Britain. Volume 4: A Century of Change, 1837-today* (London: A. and C. Black, 1963), 225–226. He quotes Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, in an interview with Vincent Mulchrone, *Daily Mail*, July 24, 1961.

488 Unstead, *A History of Britain. Volume 4*, 6.

489 *Ibid.*, 4.

proportions.⁴⁹⁰ Illustrations also entered the classroom in another way, for example via the ‘magic lantern’ and filmstrips.

Furthermore, in 1957 television companies began work on school broadcasting. Next to these innovations inside the classroom, students were encouraged to visit historic towns, castles, or archaeological sites.

The idea of post-war English history education as an intellectual vacuum is therefore too simplistic.⁴⁹¹ Moreover, the *Handbook for History Teachers*, published by editors W.H. Burston and C.W. Green in 1962, depicts a social context of post-war history educators who worked together within an institutional setting.⁴⁹² The book drew on a total of 110 participants (80 men and 30 women) who wrote articles about the content and aims of history education as well as about learning theories, the design of the history classroom, visual aids and museums. The handbook also discussed history textbook series and these reviews provided much input for this study (as explained in the introduction).⁴⁹³ The handbook attended not only to British history and the Commonwealth but also to Europe, the United States and world history.

Ten years earlier, in the pamphlet *Teaching History* (1952) the Ministry had already argued that history teachers in ‘modern’ schools had made attempts to ‘outline the political history of Britain, with at least some reference to that of Europe, the Commonwealth and the United States.’⁴⁹⁴ Moreover, in 1950, the IAAM noted and welcomed ‘a vast widening of the field of interest in the past, to include for example the history of the United States and of Soviet Russia’.⁴⁹⁵ This extra attention is probably also fed by the knowledge of how World War II ended and by the meetings that were held between the ‘Big Three’ – Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin – such as during the Yalta Conference in February 1945 where they discussed the post-war reorganization of Germany and Europe. In the next section, we will see how a transnational context as well as changing ideas about history education affected the narration and interpretation of national history in English textbooks.

490 Jon Nichol and Jacqui Dean, ‘Writing for children: history textbooks and teaching texts’, *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research* 3, no. 1 (2003): 1–29, 12.

491 Edwards, *Recovering History Education’s Forgotten Past*, 20 and 26.

492 The network of institutions included for example: The Historical Association, The Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters (IAAM) and The Ministry of Education.

493 Wyndam H. Burston and Cyril W. Green, eds., *Handbook for History Teachers* (London: Methuen and Co, 1962), 145–152.

494 Ministry of Education, *Teaching History. Pamphlet no. 23*, 11.

495 IAAM, *The teaching of history* (1950), preface.

3.2 Man's struggle to obtain the Four Freedoms

During and after World War II, the narration of sixteenth-century history was not adapted in the English history textbook series discussed in the previous chapter, although some authors added information about World War II and related this contemporary event directly or indirectly to 1588. The latter will be discussed in section 3.5. This section will continue with the analysis of three English textbook series that were first published after World War II.

In 1945, John Johnston Bell published *History in School: A Method Book*. He was a senior tutor at the London Day Training College, a school inspector, and a recognized teacher in the theory and practice of education at the University of London. In teaching the methodology of history, he argued that school history needed to differ from academic history and that it required a different approach: history was not meant to train or load memory but 'to train powers of thought and expression, i. e. to educate not cram'.⁴⁹⁶ He argued that 'we' as teachers had failed despite all 'our university degrees and diplomas' or maybe even because of them: teachers needed to teach history in a different way than how they had studied at university.⁴⁹⁷ According to Bell, history education had to remain in touch with everyday life in order to become *meaningful*.⁴⁹⁸

He put his ideas into practice and published his own textbook series in 1945. Connections with everyday life are present in the various references to the recent war experience throughout his textbook narrative. In the story about the Great Fire of London in 1666, for example, Bell remarks that, after the fire had burned for five days, 'London had the look that was so familiar in 1945'.⁴⁹⁹ Furthermore, he compares history with arithmetic: history deals with solutions to historical problems. 'It is about problems of which your fathers and mothers are still thinking to-day'.⁵⁰⁰ Bell's textbook series is thus divided into different sections, and every section starts with a chapter on the problem or the problem to be solved.

In a way it is like an arithmetic book. You work hard on problems which fill arithmetic books. This history book is full of problems too, but it helps you to solve them. Arithmetic books do not help you to do this. Your teacher shows you how, and then sets you to work on many examples. But this history book after setting the problems goes on

496 John Johnston Bell, *History in School. A Method Book* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Company, 1945), preface.

497 *Ibid.*, 26 and 33.

498 *Ibid.*, 35.

499 John Johnston Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume IV. Power and the People. The Constitution and its History* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Company, 1949), 262.

500 John Johnston Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume I. In and Out of Serfdom 450 A.D. to 1485 A.D.* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Company, 1945), 5.

to solve them. So, if you read carefully, you will find out the solutions for yourselves. (...) Perhaps you will find that the problems have not been well set, or that the solutions do not really answer them. For the queer thing about history is that people who study it find different answers to its problems. That is why arithmetic and history are such different subjects. An arithmetical problem can have only one correct answer. That makes history more difficult and more interesting than arithmetic.⁵⁰¹

Moreover, he invites students to think about their own solutions to historical problems and to do *historical sums*.⁵⁰² History is narrated in a discourse of problems and solutions, and historical events in different time periods are framed as attempts to obtain the four freedoms.

Bell's textbook series is entitled *The Freedom Histories* (1945) and refers to the 'Four Freedoms' speech as delivered by United States President Franklin Delano Roosevelt on January 6, 1941. In this speech, Roosevelt summarized the values and benefits of democracy and proposed four freedoms for everyone: freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of religion and freedom of speech. In the United States, the four freedoms have played an important role, for example in attempts to gain support for war and in defining American values.⁵⁰³ Moreover, Roosevelt's rhetoric became a transnational success and affected the mnemonic form of several English history textbook series. *The Freedom Histories* mentions the four freedoms together with Roosevelt's name on its title page, and Bell explains why he uses this speech to narrate English history:

So Mr. Winston Churchill, our prime minister in war time, crossed the Atlantic in 1941 to see Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the president of the United States. Mr. Roosevelt had talked a great deal about the Four Freedoms, freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. This book has been written to show how we have tried and are still trying to win these freedoms. We have come to believe that all nations must have them.⁵⁰⁴

Since Bell uses the speech of a United States' president as a frame to narrate and interpret English history, he is in a hurry to remark that:

Britons will always be proud that with a population one-third that of the U.S.A. they did in proportion three or four times more for the defeat of Germany than American citizens. British civilians, while working three or four times harder and consuming less

501 Bell, *The Freedom Histories*. Volume I, 6–7.

502 Ibid.

503 John Bodnar, *The 'Good War' in American Memory* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

504 John Johnston Bell, *The Freedom Histories*. Volume III. *The Effects of Geographical and Scientific Discovery on Freedom and Security in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Company, 1946), 283.

food and fewer other things than Americans, suffered terribly from raids, while not a single bomb fell on American soil.⁵⁰⁵

Next to this heroic rhetoric, Bell shows the significance of English history, including the war period, by beginning each volume with a zigzag plotline on a time chart of English historical events. This zigzag plotline stands for the decline into serfdom and the rise of freedom. Furthermore, the textbook narrative refers to an imaginative map, such as in Bell's introduction to the second volume:

Travellers are fond of maps. Often in the course of a long journey they spread one out, point to the spot they have reached, and then trace backwards the line they have travelled from their starting point. They also trace forwards the distance they have to cover before they reach their goals. They look behind and before. It is wise to do the same sort of thing in history. It is wise to make a plan and then, when you are in the middle of it, to look backwards over the completed part and forward to the work which still has to be done. So let us do that.⁵⁰⁶

A characteristic conception of history is Whig history – the past is interpreted as an inevitable development of progress – and this interpretation of history is clearly visible in word and image. Before Bell begins the textbook narrative of volume two, he looks back and forwards, discussing the progress and improvements made during the *journey* of gaining the four freedoms.

Parts of the time-chart are also shown in the narration of specific histories, such as in the first book, *In and Out of Serfdom* (1945).⁵⁰⁷ The Norman Conquest in 1066 A.D. is almost the lowest point in the graph (representing serfdom) and from 1200 A.D. the rise to freedom begins. The author remarks that 'we are free from most of the annoyances to which our early English forefathers were subjected between about 600 and 1200 A.D. From pestilence, famine, hunger, continual attendance at courts and from liability to war in almost every year, we have escaped.'⁵⁰⁸ Bell concludes his first volume with the remark that all Englishmen were free by the end of Elizabeth's reign (1603).⁵⁰⁹ This is also stressed in other volumes of the series, such as in the fourth, entitled *Power and People*, in which

505 Ibid., 28.

506 John Johnston Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume II. Freedoms in Study, Church and Field. 1485 A.D. to 1750 A.D.* (Exeter: A. Wheaton & Company, 1946), 5. Another example can be found in: Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume IV*, 73. 'You know where you are going. But the first travellers who make a journey over an unexplored territory do not have a map to guide them. They sometimes lose their way. They do not know what they will find. In the same way Englishmen, as they lived through the centuries and quarrelled and argued with kings, did not know what kind of government England would have in 1948.'

507 Image: Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume I*, 85.

508 Ibid., 87–88.

509 Ibid., 137.

Bell remarks: ‘Till 1588 England was never free from fear of foreign invasion by some Catholic power.’⁵¹⁰

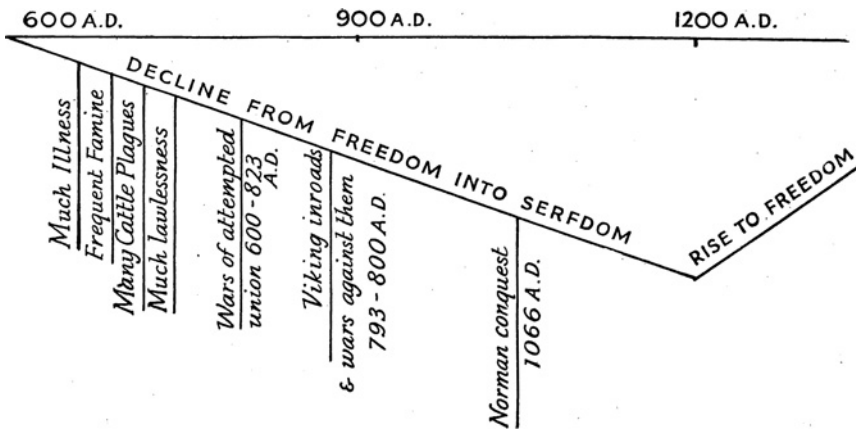


Figure 8: Bell, *The Freedom Histories 1*, 1945, 85

The defeat of the Spanish Armada is narrated in a section concerned with freedom of religion. Bell asks students in the introduction to look at the many churches in their village or city and announces that this chapter aims to explain how these different churches came into existence.⁵¹¹

How did Englishmen become free in religious matters to disobey the orders, first of Popes and then of kings, queens and parliaments? And how did they become free to build churches of the kind they wanted, and to worship God and Christ in ways which they had thought out for themselves? (...) How did we win this kind of freedom, the freedom to stay away from church if we want to?⁵¹²

Although Bell places much emphasis on freedom of religion, it is interesting to see how he speaks to his audience of young pupils: they are not allowed to choose freely and have to believe ‘what your fathers and mothers believe and what you are taught in church and Sunday school’. Bell also adds that it is not his aim to tell them what is right or wrong, ‘but only to tell you a little about what people in England believed in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.’⁵¹³

The narration of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 is incorporated into Roosevelt’s freedom rhetoric, and the author uses two of the freedoms proposed in 1941 – freedom of religion and freedom from fear – to explain and to interpret this sixteenth-century historical event.

510 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume IV*, 204.

511 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume II*, 53.

512 *Ibid.*, 54.

513 *Ibid.*, 55.

The failure of the Spanish Armada made it clear that papal power and papal doctrine could not be restored in England by the armed forces of a Catholic king attacking England on behalf of the Pope. England was left free to settle her religious troubles by herself, undisturbed by fears of foreign armies and fleets.⁵¹⁴

References to the four freedoms are also apparent in the exercises: students are asked to look at the title page and they have to decide which freedom(s) is or are most relevant for the chapter.

His repetitive emphasis on freedom during the whole textbook narrative stands in sharp contrast with the word 'slavery', which he uses in relation to the Spanish Armada: 'Elizabeth knew that in 1587 Spanish shipwrights were hammering away on the vessels of the Armada that was to reduce England to slavery.'⁵¹⁵ Also in other narratives, Bell's focus on the dualistic order between 'freedom' and 'slavery / serfdom' becomes clearly visible, such as in the narrative about Napoleon. He sharply contrasts Bonaparte's hunger for world domination at the height of his power in 1807 with the British accomplishment of abolishing the slave trade in the same year.⁵¹⁶ The Slave Trade Act prohibited the slave trade in the British Empire and abolished the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The United States adopted the prohibition of the trade but did not alter its internal trade rules.⁵¹⁷ Bell selectively uses the word 'slavery', mostly in connection with other empires and rulers. Although Great Britain had become the world's largest slave trader in the eighteenth century, Bell highlights Britain's leading role in the abolition of the slave trade. Furthermore, the textbook author generates a flashback to the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in his narrative about Napoleon:

'We need', said he, 'to be masters of the sea for six hours only, and England ceases to exist'. Other despots have prayed for that mastery and have never won it. The Spanish Armada was driven by Admirals Howard and Drake out of the Channel in 1588, and the Spanish soldiers waiting in the Netherlands could not be ferried across to England.⁵¹⁸

Bell's narrative about Napoleon also includes a fast-forward to World War II, and Napoleon is described as a 'master of Europe'. According to Bell, 'Britain stood alone against him, as she did from 1940 to 1945 against another master of Europe, Adolf Hitler.'⁵¹⁹ And in the section on the fall of Napoleon and his exile to the island of St. Helena in the South Atlantic, Bell explains:

514 Ibid., 93.

515 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume IV*, 213.

516 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume III*, 108.

517 For more information, see: Leonardo Marques, *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776–1867* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2016).

518 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume III*, 106.

519 Ibid., 108.

A few weeks after Waterloo he remarked to an English naval officer on whose warship he was a prisoner: 'Had it not been for you English, I should have been Emperor of the East'. He dreamed all his life of a vast French colonial empire. Only the conquest of Britain would have made that possible. Waterloo was a small battle compared with those of our own day. On June 18th, 1815, British and French guns fired a total weight of 37 tons. In the air raid on Cologne on May 30th, 1943, the 1,043 bombers of the Royal Air Force dropped about 1,500 tons in 90 minutes on about a square mile of the city.⁵²⁰

These interconnections celebrate the strength of the English fleet. The keying process is dominated by a triptych, just as it is in *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1924), although the latter, pre-1945, series refers to Spain, Holland, and France as world powers that challenged English sea power while *The Freedom Histories* (1945) narrates a triptych featuring Philip II, Napoleon, and Hitler. These 'masters of Europe' aimed to invade England but failed due to the English control of the Channel.

In 1588 the Spanish Armada was defeated, largely by English superiority in gunnery and fast-sailing seamanship. The Spaniards had planned a landing without first destroying English control of the Channel. Napoleon and Hitler also failed to destroy that.⁵²¹

The keying process in Bell's textbook series celebrates the nation's sea power because it prevented invasion and led to freedom from fear as well as freedom of religion. According to Bell, England obtained freedom after Elizabeth's reign (1603) and he highlights this unique position by comparing her achievements with other countries.

It is interesting to know that serfdom came to an end in Denmark in 1788 and in Poland in 1848. In France in 1789 the monasteries still had an enormous number of serfs – perhaps 300,000. Serfdom lasted in Russia until 1861.⁵²²

Furthermore, he explains that already during Elizabeth's reign, 'England enjoyed a greater measure of internal peace than any other country. There was no massacre of St. Bartholomew in England'.⁵²³ In other books of the series, the unique position of England in relation to freedom and peace is even more celebrated, also in relation to the contemporary war experience. In the fourth volume, *Power and the People*, Bell argues that visiting foreigners also noticed the freedom of the Britons:

It was noted especially by the few Germans who were allowed to visit us before the Nazi war of 1939 to 1945. To their astonishment they saw us doing the right things without being ordered about. (...) 'Just look at these amazing people', they said. 'In our country

520 Ibid., 119.

521 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume IV*, 208.

522 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume I*, 147.

523 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume IV*, 208.

we are told what to do by our newspapers, on posters and on the radio, whereas in Britain the government to a large extent leaves to people free to do what they think is right and they do it. The British government issues hardly any orders at all'. (...) Frenchmen, like Germans, regard us as a self-disciplined people. Our government often gives us advice instead of orders. (...) And yet Americans have been heard to say that despite our freedom the average Englishman and Scotsman worked harder to save their country than the average German. This is certainly true of our women.⁵²⁴

The price of freedom is 'eternal vigilance', according to Bell, and he emphasizes that his students have to be vigilant and aware of the 'serious nature' of their responsibilities.⁵²⁵ Education is not only about knowledge, according to Bell, but a training in intelligence and character.⁵²⁶ Another element of this education is the Christian world view: in the fourth volume *Power and People* (1949), he critically remarks that the governments in 1947 were so busy with the production of wealth and its distribution that they seemed to forget Christ's word:

'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things will be added unto you'. It is obvious to all of us that if we obeyed the commandments to love God and our neighbour, England would very soon be relieved from fears of want and from other fears as well. It seems at present, as it has seemed in former times too, that our government and ourselves put first things second. They and we are working from the wrong end.⁵²⁷

Even in relation to this critical remark, the author presents the nation's navy as an example for the pupils: 'the Royal Navy knows man's real aim in life. It knows why we want a good life.'⁵²⁸ Then he continues with a passage from the prayer used by the navy's ships at sea. The religious identity narrated here is connected with the national identity.

National identity plays a key role throughout the textbook narrative. Bell uses a transnational mnemonic plot structure to narrate English history, emphasizing that his series addresses the question as to how the English obtained the four freedoms and 'how our ways of government came into existence and then slowly changed'.⁵²⁹ The adverb 'slowly' is very important, according to Bell, and he

524 Ibid., 13–14.

525 Ibid., 326–327.

526 Ibid., 327.

527 Ibid., 28.

528 Ibid., 29. 'O Eternal Lord God, who alone spreadest out the Heavens and rulest the raging of the sea (...). Be pleased to receive into Thy almighty and most gracious protection the persons of us thy servants and the Fleet in which we serve. Preserve us from the dangers of the sea ... that we may be a security for such a pass on the seas on their lawful occasions; that the inhabitants of ours Island may in peace and quietness serve thee our God ... and that we may return in safety with the fruits of our labours and with a thankful remembrance of thy mercies to praise and glorify Thy Holy Name.'

529 Ibid., 327.

describes British conservatism as a national trait and as being inseparable from everything English. ‘English ways of change are queer. We abolish very little. We usually alter our ways of using old things. We rarely set up anything new. We preserve the old. We are all conservatives.’⁵³⁰ Part of this British conservatism is the preference of gradual change to the radical and Bell contrasts this English characteristic with other nations:

Englishmen did not do what oppressed Frenchmen began to do in 1789. They did not rise in rebellion, massacre landlords and behead their king. There was no sudden dreadful revolution as there was in France, neither did Englishmen in despair set up a despot, as Frenchmen did when they accepted Napoleon, or as Germans did when they accepted Hitler. Most Englishmen set to work in a slower safer way. They invented no famous cry like “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”. (...) They did not write and compose so famous a battle song as “The Marseille”. They set to work slowly. They continued to sing “God Save the King”.⁵³¹

British conservatism is often associated with the ‘stiff upper lip’, the Briton who remains resolute and calm in the face of adversity. An example is the famous national legend about Francis Drake, who insisted on finishing his game of bowls upon hearing the news of the advancing Spanish Armada. This idea of the ‘stiff upper lip’ was the creation and product of a particular historical period (1870–1945).⁵³² During World War II, the ‘stiff upper lip’ was associated with the ‘blitz spirit’, which referred to strength, courage, and determination even in the face of the bomb attacks on London and the threat of invasion by Nazi Germany. This alleged stoicism of the British people was, moreover, contrasted with the ‘hysteries’ of Hitler and Mussolini. Although Bell published his textbook series in 1945, he does not describe the military course of World War II. Textbook authors Samuel Arthur Williams and Robert Charles Williams, who adopt Bell’s interpretation of history, do, and they narrate the ‘blitz spirit’ as a specifically English characteristic.

Williams and Williams begin the fourth volume of their history textbook series *The Four Freedoms Histories or the People We Are: A History for Boys and Girls* (1947) with a short historical overview, and they characterize the part about World War II with a picture entitled ‘the morning after the raid’. In their eyes, the picture symbolizes World War II since it represents ‘the spirit of the British people under German bombing’.⁵³³

530 Ibid., 328.

531 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume III*, 234.

532 Thomas Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

533 Samuel Arthur Williams and Robert Charles Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories, or the People We Are: a History for Boys and Girls. Volume 4 – Great Britain and the World: 1870–1949. The Age of Competition* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1949), 24.

Day and night for several months during the winter of 1940–41 the Nazis bombed London and other places. But, in spite of enormous damage to property and heavy loss of life, the attacks did not alter Britain's determination never to surrender.⁵³⁴

They explain that the morale of the British people was far from being broken by the Blitz but instead:

brought forth countless examples of fortitude, cheerfulness, and helpfulness which are the true features of democracy. It was this spirit as much as any material resources which helped Britain to survive'.⁵³⁵

This surviving spirit is already mentioned in the introduction to the fourth volume. Williams and Williams explain that, although many people believed Great Britain would be conquered easily during World War II, Churchill begged to differ.⁵³⁶ In their introduction, Williams and Williams also refer to the title page, which includes two sentences from Shakespeare's play *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second* (1595): 'This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England. This land of such dear souls, this dear, dear land'.⁵³⁷ According to the authors, history will explain why Shakespeare and Churchill had 'so much faith' and 'such affection' for these 'countrymen'.⁵³⁸ They argue that history will show how Britain had stood alone against world powers before and that, as they had also resisted past invasions, such memories would give them hope for the future. In the final chapter of the fourth volume, entitled 'Britain today', this idea is reiterated:

Three times in her history has Britain been threatened with invasion and conquest. The most serious of them was the German attack in the Second World War. In the summer of 1940 all the world expected that a few short weeks would see our country invaded and conquered. The first attack was frustrated in the Battle of Britain, but long, weary months of struggle and endurance passed before the danger was over. What was the power which inspired our people to resist the triumphant Nazi hordes when the odds against them were so great?⁵³⁹

The Four Freedoms Histories (1947) resembles the textbook narrative of Bell in several ways. Next to the emphasis on Roosevelt's four freedoms and national characteristics, such as the blitz spirit, this series highlights the same triptych in the keying process: 'Britain has been threatened with invasion three times'. In the

534 Ibid.

535 Ibid., 204.

536 Ibid., 9.

537 The English textbook series *Kingsway Histories for Seniors* (discussed in the previous chapter) also quotes this play by Shakespeare, at the end of a chapter in which the author describes sixteenth-century England as 'Busy, lively, thrilling with adventure, exceeding loyal to the Queen, ready to face Spaniards and perils of the sea'. Williams, *Kingsway Histories for Seniors II*, 103.

538 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories 4*, 9–10.

539 Ibid., 232.

chapter ‘Britain holds on’, the authors narrate in more detail about the battle of Britain – the German Luftwaffe campaign against the United Kingdom in 1940 – and they key the resistance to the Germans in 1940 to the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588:

They were the retreating remnants of a shattered and disordered armada whose rout meant even more to Britain than had the defeat of the Spanish Armada nearly four hundred years earlier.⁵⁴⁰

In addition to this flashback in a twentieth-century narration, the authors generate a fast-forward to 1940 when they narrate in detail about sixteenth-century events and naval battles.⁵⁴¹

Next to keys between 1940 and 1588, the authors refer to the Battle of Trafalgar (1805) during the Napoleonic Wars (1796–1815). In their narration about Napoleon, the authors describe the British Navy as the ‘obstacle’ that prevented Napoleon’s invasion. Admiral Nelson (1758–1805), the British flag officer in the Royal Navy, is portrayed as a man ‘who was as great on sea as Napoleon was on land’.⁵⁴² The authors conclude the chapter ‘The defeat of Napoleon’ with the following remark:

The end of the struggle with France gave Great Britain safety from foreign attack for a hundred years. (...) Of the Four Freedoms the victory over France gave to the British people Freedom from Fear. This had a great share in giving us Freedom from Want. But, as we know from the experience of the World Wars, conquest of a country may mean the loss of all Four Freedoms, and the defeat of Napoleon prevented this in England.⁵⁴³

Aside from the authors’ writings, the keying process is clearly depicted in an image included at the beginning of every volume in the series *The Four Freedoms Histories*: the journey towards the four freedoms is represented as four rivers flowing towards the sunny future, which is about the year 2000, a glorious horizon, where the four freedoms appear to be arriving at their ultimate destination. On these rivers, several ships are travelling towards this horizon, some of which, threatening the four freedoms, are sinking, while others remain afloat and sail on. The ships of the ‘Armada’, ‘Napoleon’ and ‘Hitler’, representing the danger of invasion, are all sinking in the same river of ‘freedom from fear’ (see the images on pages 132 and 133).

540 Ibid., 203.

541 Samuel Arthur Williams and Robert Charles Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories, or the People We Are: a History for Boys and Girls. Volume 2 – Modern England 1485–1783. The National State* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1948), 115–116.

542 Samuel Arthur Williams and Robert Charles Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories, or the People We Are: a History for Boys and Girls. Volume 3 – Great Britain. The Workshop of the World 1783–1870. Revolutions and Reforms* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1949), 53.

543 Ibid., 69.

While the textbook series *The Freedom Histories* (1945) displays a zig-zag plotline on a time chart, every volume of *The Four Freedoms Histories* (1947) is illustrated with this map with four rivers running through a landscape. Whereas 'real maps' are abstractions of real city- and landscapes and belong to the realm of traditional geography, this 'mental map' displays a fictional, imaginative landscape.⁵⁴⁴ It is a metaphorical map, an imaginative that guide symbolizes a specific pattern of thinking. In their preface, the authors explain this conception of history, related to progress, as well as their generated 'keys':

The main purpose of these volumes is to show that history is the record of man's struggle to obtain the Four Freedoms which alone make life worth living. Instead of trying to give an account of what happened year by year in our long story we have chosen events from the main periods of Britain's history which tell how people in different times have waged the struggle. This enables the pupils to learn the essentials of our history (...). All the events are seen to make a continuous story, with the roots of today's events buried in times gone by. When the events are connected with the Freedoms in this way their importance and meaning become clearer to the pupils, and thus scope is provided for the spirit of inquiry and criticism which is developing in them.⁵⁴⁵

The 'four freedoms speech' of President Roosevelt in 1941 has become a trans-historical frame incorporating the past, present, and future. The contemporary experience of World War II affects and interacts with the narration of history: the defeat of the Spanish Armada in the sixteenth century is narrated and interpreted by a contemporary *mnemonic form*, which is visible in word and image. The authors explicitly conclude their narration about 1588 with the remark that the defeat of the Spanish Armada 'helped our forefathers towards gaining two of the Four Freedoms – freedom from fear and freedom of religion.'⁵⁴⁶ In the exercises the authors also refer to the four freedoms, for example in the following question: 'Which of the Four Freedoms do you think was in the most danger in the time of Queen Elizabeth?'⁵⁴⁷ Or: 'Which of the Four Freedoms do you think were specially threatened by the Spanish attack on England?'⁵⁴⁸

This new mnemonic form – as illustrated by the 'mental map' – accentuates a different pattern of interpretation in comparison with the pre-1940 perception of sixteenth-century history. The dominant frame in which to narrate about the

544 Zerubavel, *Time Maps*, 4 and 7; Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer and Jörg Meibauer, 'Metaphorical maps in picture books', in *Maps and Mapping in Children's Literature: Landscapes, seascapes and cityscapes*, eds. Nina Goga and Bettina Kümmerling-Meibauer (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017), 75–93, 77.

545 Samuel Arthur Williams and Robert Charles Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories, or the People We Are: A History for Boys and Girls. Volume 1 – The earliest times to A.D. 1485: The making of a nation* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1947), 5.

546 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories* 2, 116.

547 *Ibid.*, 106.

548 *Ibid.*, 116.

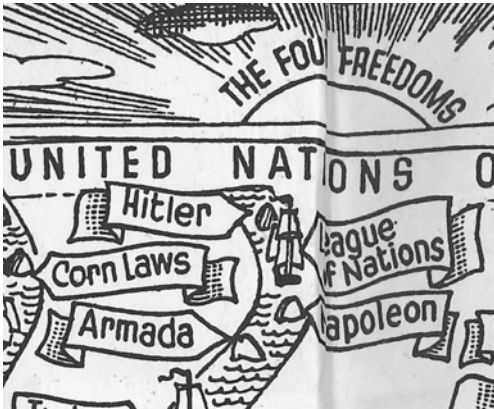


Figure 9: Enlarged section of figure 10

English defeat of the Spanish Armada is no longer ‘England who became mistress of the seas’ but, inspired by the contemporary war experience, the ‘danger of invasion’ in relation to the four freedoms. The new plot is already emphasized at the start of Volume Two: the upcoming chapters are introduced in a short overview and the authors announce that they will tell how Drake ‘saved our land from invasion’.⁵⁴⁹ Although the change in power is still mentioned⁵⁵⁰, the authors place much more emphasis on the danger of invasion:

Our country has been threatened with invasion several times since 1588, but until the German threat in 1940 the danger has never been as great as that from the Spanish Armada. Our seamen had given freedom from fear of Spanish domination to their countrymen, and the great Queen had proved a good captain who had brought the nation safely through storm and tempest (...).⁵⁵¹

In addition to the keying process *between* the volumes of the series, the authors also generate keys *within* the volume that discusses the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in detail. In their narrations about eighteenth-century events, the authors refer back to 1588 and forward to World War II. The chapter ‘How the English Prevented the French from Becoming Masters of Europe’ discussed the Battle of Blenheim in Germany (1704) and begins with the following lines:

In 1945 our nation came victoriously through a life-and-death struggle with Germany. In Chapter VII we saw how the Spanish Armada was defeated and the attempt to conquer England was brought to naught. Two hundred and fifty years ago our country was faced with a similar danger. This chapter will tell how it was overcome.⁵⁵²

549 Ibid., 13–14.

550 Ibid., 115 and 118.

551 Ibid., 115–116.

552 Ibid., 153–154.

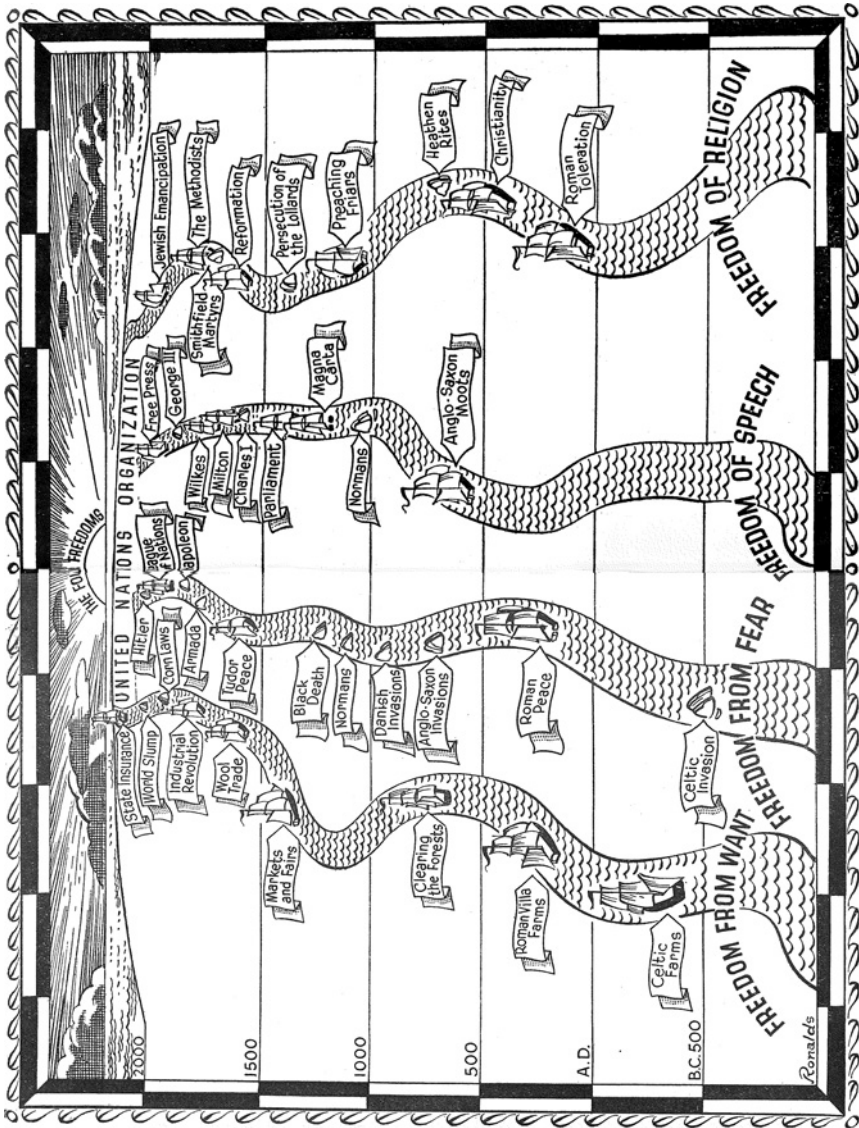


Figure 10: Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories or the People We Are*, 1947

Later in the textbook narrative, in the chapter ‘How the British fought the French in North America’, the authors argue that French soldiers aimed ‘to wipe out the memory of Blenheim’. They explain that France had regained her strength and that her statesmen had the desire to make their country the greatest power in Europe.⁵⁵³ Moreover, they emphasize that no other nation in Europe was as powerful as France at this moment. Meanwhile on the British side:

Old memories were revived of the Spanish Armada and of the Spanish claim to rule the New World. War was declared. The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, was against the war. He knew that France was a more dangerous rival to Britain than Spain was, and, indeed, before long the war with Spain was overshadowed by the greater struggle with France.⁵⁵⁴

Furthermore, the authors contrast the mighty position of France with the weak situation of Britain, who was ill-prepared for war and even had a navy in a bad state: ‘the ships were ill-supplied and unseaworthy’ and ‘the admirals seemed to have lost the skill and fighting spirit of Sir Francis Drake and the Elizabethan Sailors.’⁵⁵⁵ Despite these precarious conditions, the authors mention two advantages on the British side: Britain had command of the sea, and the British colonists far outnumbered the French.⁵⁵⁶ This enabled them to destroy the French fleet so that ‘the danger of invasion was past’.⁵⁵⁷ The authors emphasize the skills of William Pitt, ‘who understood how to use the fleet’ and describe him as ‘one of the greatest War Ministers our nation has ever had’.⁵⁵⁸

Furthermore, the authors explain that people often compared Churchill to William Pitt during World War II. Both these leaders had had great faith in their country and believed that ‘she had a mission to perform in bringing freedom to the world’.⁵⁵⁹ Volume Four also makes clear why Churchill plays an important role in the narration of national history: his ‘noble words’ express the ‘spirit of Britain’. Part of the speech, ‘We shall fight on the beaches’ (June 4, 1940), is quoted, in which Churchill expressed his confidence that ‘we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny’.⁵⁶⁰ It is precisely the *once again* in this quote that underlines the keying process in the authors’ textbook series.

Since their series repetitively narrates the ‘danger of invasion’ and places much emphasis on the nation’s role in preventing this, it is worth examining how

553 Ibid., 167.

554 Ibid.

555 Ibid., 168.

556 Ibid., 170.

557 Ibid., 174.

558 Ibid., 171.

559 Ibid., 171–172.

560 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories* 4, 198.

the authors have written about 1066, the year in which England actually was invaded. This historical event is addressed in Volume One, and the authors start their narration with a question:

Why does every person in England remember 1066 better than any other date in our history? It is because it marks one of the greatest changes that have ever taken place in England. Life is different for you and me and all of us because of the Norman Conquest. We remember it, too, because this was the last time our country was conquered by a foreign army.⁵⁶¹

Already at the beginning, the authors emphasize that 'our country' was conquered for the last time during the Norman Conquest. Moreover, when they narrate about this conquest in more detail, they explain why this could happen to England:

England had been beaten because the people in the different parts of the country were not united as a nation. (...) But in their fear and hatred of the foreigner they became gradually more friendly towards one another; they forgot some of their jealousies and came in time to think of themselves as Englishmen. After the Norman Conquest England became a nation; she was no longer a number of little kingdoms each trying to be independent, and since that time no foreign enemy has ever been able successfully to invade our land.⁵⁶²

The conquest is narrated as an event that led to England's birth as a *nation*. Moreover, the authors mention that some 'people think that if it had not been for the Norman Conquest, England to-day might have been but a small nation, like Norway or Denmark'.⁵⁶³ It had been precisely the Norman Conquest that had made them 'Englishmen' and built a strong, invincible nation that could no longer be invaded.

The idea that national unity prevents invasion occurs in the authors' other narratives as well, such as in the chapter 'How the English defeated the Spanish Invader. The Storm breaks: the Defeat of the Armada' in the second volume. Internal struggles are overcome in order to stand up to 'the invader':

All Englishmen rallied to the defence of the native land; even the Roman Catholics, who were suspected of plotting against the Queen, came forward to fight for her. Quarrels and jealousies were forgotten; all united to face the invader. The famous writer Richard Hooker said, 'The fear of external danger caused the forces at home to be more united.'⁵⁶⁴

561 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories* 1, 80.

562 Ibid., 86.

563 Ibid., 90.

564 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories* 2, 108.

The authors emphasize unity in devotion to the Queen and, in the summary, they remark that England developed into a nation-state during the Tudor period (1485–1603).⁵⁶⁵

In 1958, Rowland W. Purton published his textbook series *New View Histories*. Whereas the series discussed previously arranged the historical narrative chronologically (with some flashbacks and fast-forwards), Purton's series is mentioned under the header 'topical arrangement' in the *Handbook for History Teachers*.⁵⁶⁶ According to Purton, a chronological overview of history leads to the obscurity of earlier periods long before students reach the end of the course. Nor does he favour a purely thematic approach to history, since this tends to divide history 'into a number of watertight compartments, which, in the minds of the scholars, often have little or no connection with the other'.⁵⁶⁷ He thus aims for a 'middle course' and publishes four thematic volumes, which narrate history in chronological order.⁵⁶⁸ The first volume, *Our Heritage*, deals mainly with political history, whereas the third volume *Our People* is primarily on social history. The second volume is entitled *Our Commonwealth* and traces the evolution of the Commonwealth and the European expansion overseas. *Our Democracy* is the final volume, focusing on elementary constitutional history, civics, and economics.

His narration of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada displays a hybrid form: Purton integrates and combines the pre-war frame [England as mistress of the seas] with the post-war frame [danger of invasion and upholding of the four freedoms]. His second volume *The Commonwealth* (1958) shows several similarities with the third volume *The Building of the British Empire* (1927) from the textbook series discussed earlier, *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1924). Purton also portrays Drake as one 'who was roused to defy the might of Spain', and he again uses the 'sea-dogs' metaphor.⁵⁶⁹ Drake and other sixteenth-century seamen played a significant role since they caused a change in power:

It must be remembered that it was our seamen who reduced the power of Spain and their deeds help us to believe that the Elizabethan age was one which helped to make England great.⁵⁷⁰

565 Ibid., 106 and 117.

566 Burston and Green, eds., *Handbook for History Teachers*, 152.

567 Rowland W. Purton, *New View Histories. No. 1 – Our Heritage* (London & Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1958), introduction.

568 Ibid., introduction. 'The author feels that there is a great deal to be said in favour of following a middle course and these books have been written to cover a four-year course which, to his knowledge, has been followed with great success in some schools.'

569 Ibid., 121.

570 Ibid., 126.

Next to the fact that the defeat of the Spanish Armada made clear that Philip was no longer master of the seas, this English triumph is seen as the dawn of the British Empire:

These sea-dogs have gone down in history as those who challenged the might of Spain, but they did more than capture Spanish gold. The effect of their attacks was the ruin of Spanish commerce, and when the supplies of gold ran out, Spain was finished. Drake died at sea in 1596. Within a few years, the English had begun to settle in some of the islands which had formed part of the Spanish Empire. The British Empire was in its early stages. It remained for history to show whether we were to have a more realistic outlook with regard to our colonies than Spain had done. We shall see, in later chapters, how other seamen of this same period began to build the British Empire as the sea-dogs were destroying the Spanish one.⁵⁷¹

However, in contrast with the 1920s narration, Purton 'uses' the rise of the British Empire to explain the contemporary Commonwealth, which is 'not an empire, but a family of nations, held together by respect rather than force.'⁵⁷² The last chapter, 'The Changing Commonwealth', begins by explaining that many people, incidents, and adventures have helped to establish 'our family of nations'⁵⁷³:

But to whom should we turn and say that they were mainly responsible? It is difficult to say. Firstly to the adventurers who sailed the seas to discover new trade routes, for undoubtedly they put the lands on the map and enabled them to be developed. Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Martin Frobisher, Henry Hudson, are names which stand out.⁵⁷⁴

The beginning as well as the end of the second volume show that Purton frames Drake (and other seamen) as well as their discoveries and victories as important for the founding of the nation, the British Empire, and finally, for a world-wide Commonwealth. This storyline is also visible in the images included (see next page); the visual overviews buttress the textual narrative. The first one is portrayed at the beginning of the textbook and outlines the development from the founding of a nation to the building of a world-wide Commonwealth, highlighting 'adventure' and 'discovery' in this process.⁵⁷⁵ The second image is included in the final pages and shows who built the Commonwealth: next to others, Purton pays special attention to adventurers, explorers, and sailors.⁵⁷⁶

571 Rowland W. Purton, *New View Histories. No. 2 – Our Commonwealth* (London & Glasgow: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1958), 57.

572 *Ibid.*, 9.

573 *Ibid.*, 253.

574 *Ibid.*

575 *Ibid.*, 11.

576 *Ibid.*, 252.

The pioneers of the past contributed to the success of the Commonwealth, according to Purton, and he traces the contemporary ‘greatest groups of nations’ back to these people:

Have you looked at a map of the world? Did you notice how much of it was coloured in the same shade as the British Isles? (...) Yet it is only because of great pioneers of the past that we have such a Commonwealth, united as it is to-day in one of the greatest groups of nations ever to work together for the mutual aid of one another.⁵⁷⁷

Moreover, he describes the spirit of adventure as a specifically British characteristic, keying this sixteenth-century spirit of the adventurous ‘sea-dogs’, such as Drake and Raleigh, to other periods, events, and people:



Figure 11: Purton, *New View Histories. Our Commonwealth*, 11

577 Purton, *Our Heritage*, 12.

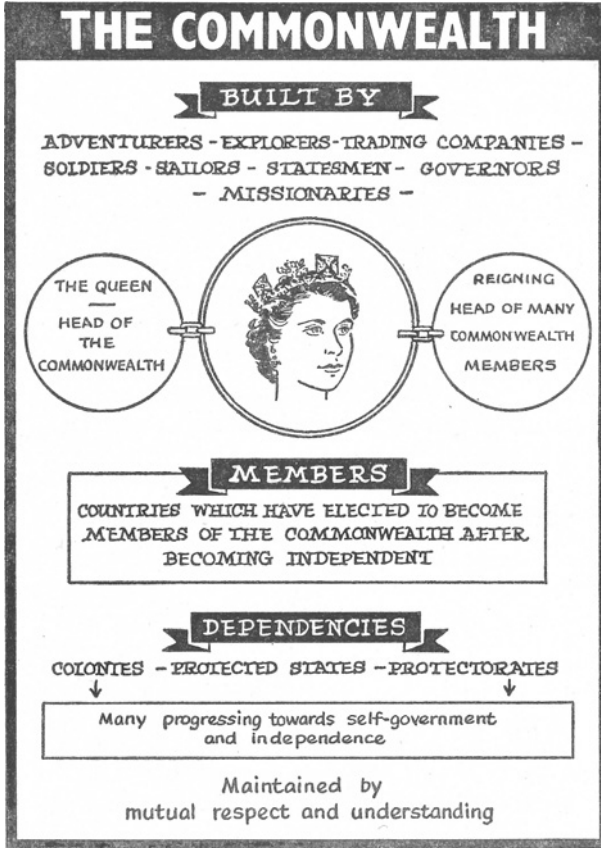


Figure 12: Purton, *New View Histories. Our Commonwealth*, 252

The spirit of adventure is characteristic of the British people. It has been shown in the past and can still be seen to-day. (...) Hundreds of years have passed since the British sea-dogs struggled desperately to conquer the seas, but it is only in recent years that we have seen a similar spirit in the conquest of Everest. Many famous names will come to mind. Raleigh, Drake, Cook and Livingstone found new lands and to these we owe much, but many others helped to build up the Commonwealth.⁵⁷⁸

The cross-reference between sixteenth-century sea battles and the conquest of Mount Everest is also present in the first volume *Our Heritage*. The penultimate chapter of this textbook depicts Britain after World War II. Although there were many problems, ‘much progress was made and the country was soon reasonably well on its feet again’.⁵⁷⁹ To underline this progress, the text narrates in more

578 Purton, *Our Commonwealth*, 12.

579 Purton, *Our Heritage*, 248.

detail how the news that the highest mountain had been conquered reached London and refers back to the prosperity of the previous Elizabethan Era. It was

on the eve of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II and the crowds, who were already rejoicing, were thrilled at the achievement of the Everest climbers. Many people had already expressed the hope at the beginning of the new Elizabethan era that it might be as prosperous as the previous one, and the news of the Conquest of Everest made them feel that it had started in the right way.⁵⁸⁰

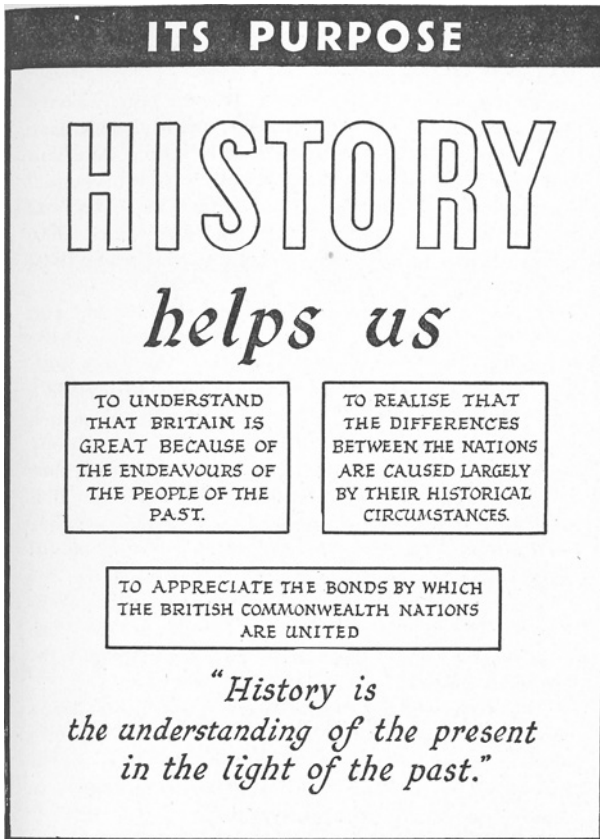


Figure 13: Purton, *New View Histories. Our Heritage*, 11

In *Our Heritage*, Purton maintains that people's endeavours of the past help us to understand that 'Britain is great'. Moreover, history helps us 'to appreciate the bonds by which the British Commonwealth nations are united'. He includes these objectives in a visual outline and summarizes: 'History is the understanding of the

580 Ibid., 250–251.

present in the light of the past'.⁵⁸¹ In his textbook narrative, he uses 'keys' between different periods, events and persons to underline this continuity between the past and the present and to highlight Britain's achievements.

Furthermore, with regard to the value of history, he explains that most people can recall stories of the past – some with truth in them and some 'purely legends' – because they were enchanting stories that aroused interest in history.⁵⁸² However, instead of narrating 'enchanting stories', Purton stresses the importance of focusing on the *heritage* of history, using Drake and the legend about his insistence on finishing his game of bowls before going to battle as an example:

Neither must it be imagined that Sir Francis Drake was famous because he liked to play bowls (...). No one will say that these stories are not picturesque, or that they have no value as stories, but, on the other hand, they show little of the heritage which is ours. When we consider that (...) Drake and Raleigh did much to build our Commonwealth and protect our shores, do we not see something of far greater importance and of far more value to us?⁵⁸³

Purton emphasizes the importance of remembering Drake since he contributed to the building of the Commonwealth and protected 'our shores' (rather than because of an alleged partiality to bowls). After all, 'the safety of our country was to depend largely on sea-power'.⁵⁸⁴

Alongside similarities with a 1920s textbook series, Purton's textbook narrative also displays parallels with the series *The Freedom Histories* (1945) and *The Four Freedoms Histories* (1947). In addition to his interpretation of sixteenth-century history as the dawn of the British Empire and the contemporary Commonwealth, he uses the post-1945 frame 'danger of invasion' to narrate the events of 1588. Drake's name appears again in the final pages of *Our Heritage*, where Purton points out:

Our heritage, too, is built around the names of those great men and women who have done so much to defend our shores against the aggressor, and who have put love of their country higher than regard for themselves. Drake and Grenville, Nelson and Wellington have their names in history, but we must remember those who served as well as those who commanded for the 'unknown warrior' has done as much in his own way as the man whose name may be found in history books.⁵⁸⁵

Protection from invasion by Drake and Grenville in the sixteenth century is keyed to acts of defence by seamen of other historical periods, such as Nelson. Moreover, the textbook author keys these famous commanders to the 'unknown warrior', a

581 *Ibid.*, 11.

582 *Ibid.*, 9.

583 *Ibid.*

584 *Ibid.*, 112.

585 *Ibid.*, 254.

term that originally refers to the unknown soldiers who died during World War I. This reference is also visible in his second volume, which states that ‘the hundreds of “unknown warriors” all over the world helped to build up British prestige’.⁵⁸⁶

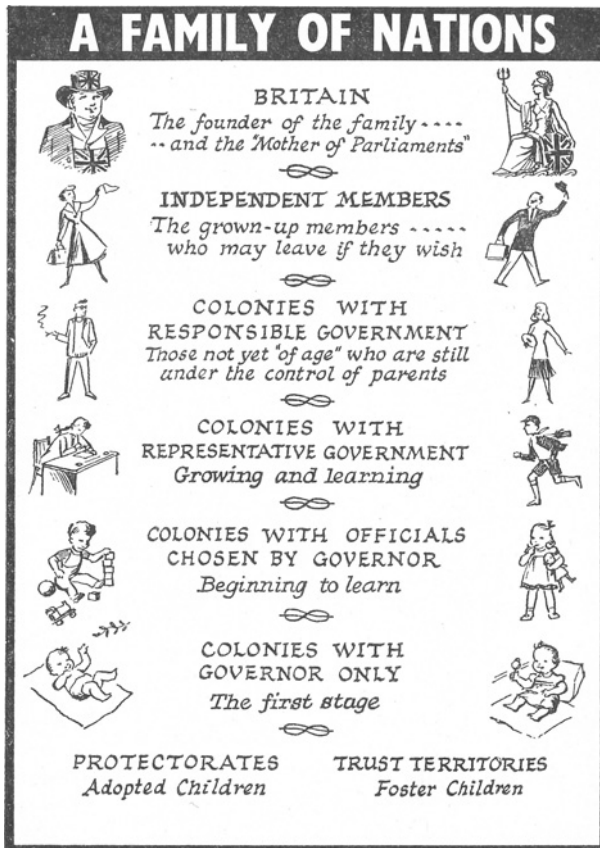


Figure 14: Purton, *New View Histories. Our Commonwealth*, 243

Furthermore, the author explicitly refers to World War II and Roosevelt’s four freedoms. At the end of the first volume, he incorporates a visual outline that summarizes ‘our heritage’. The words ‘a great nation’ feature at the top of the diagram, accompanied by the four freedoms further down (see image on page 143).⁵⁸⁷ Purton proudly announces that ‘our heritage is greater than that of most peoples’⁵⁸⁸ and emphasizes that such a legacy also leads to responsibility, ‘for we

586 Purton, *Our Commonwealth*, 254.

587 Purton, *Our Heritage*, 252.

588 *Ibid.*, 13.

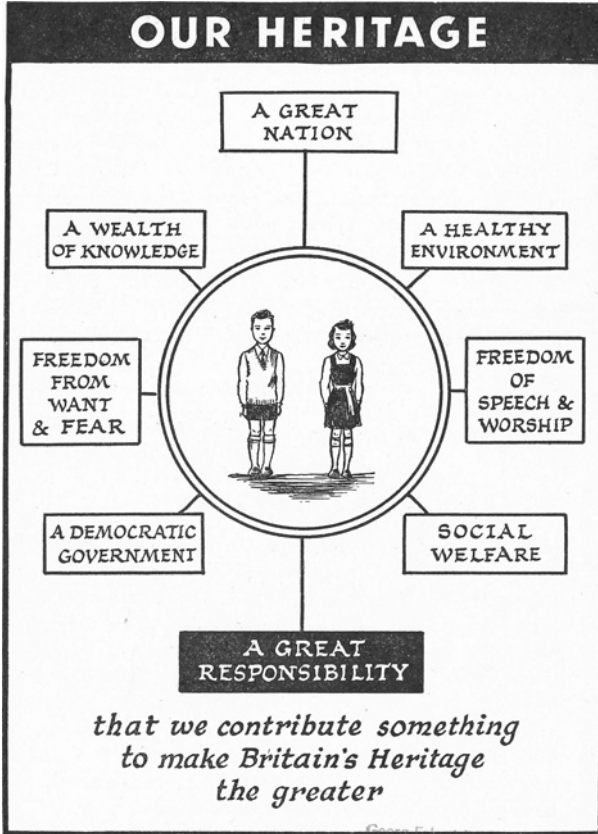


Figure 15: Purton, *New View Histories. Our Heritage*, 252

must continue to lead the world in all aspects of life and particularly in the understanding of people and their ways'.⁵⁸⁹ Purton compares the countries of the Commonwealth to the five main stages of development of human life. Some countries are 'babies' while others are becoming more and more independent. He argues, furthermore, that 'we must remember that just as the parents of a family are very pleased to see their children progress from one stage to the next and help them in any possible way they can, so the Government at Westminster also encourages the countries of the Commonwealth to progress and helps them to do so'.⁵⁹⁰ Purton finishes *Our Heritage* by remarking that the Commonwealth can become even greater via patience and understanding.⁵⁹¹

589 Purton, *Our Commonwealth*, 256.

590 *Ibid.*, 242 and 243.

591 Purton, *Our Heritage*, 256.

This section has shown that the post-1945 history textbook series examined display a *reinterpretation* of sixteenth-century history in the light of the recent war, sometimes in combination with pre-1945 plotlines. This section has also examined adaptations in English history textbook series that were first published before World War II and discussed in Chapter Two. These history textbooks, however, were reprinted in exactly the same form and no adaptations were added.

Can the same be said for Dutch history textbooks or did the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands impact the narrative of sixteenth-century history in already established textbook series? Moreover, do post-1945 Dutch history textbooks likewise display a reinterpretation of sixteenth-century history? These questions will be answered in section 3.4, after a sketch of the Dutch context in the next section. Section 3.3 discusses Nazi ideas of Dutch history education as well as post-war attempts to break through the pillarized textbook market.

3.3 A breakthrough in Dutch pillarization

Despite all attempts to once again remain neutral, the Netherlands were invaded by Nazi Germany on May 10, 1940, and the Dutch army surrendered five days later after the bombing of the city of Rotterdam. In September 1940, Dutch Germanist Jan van Dam (1896–1979) published his ideas on the reform of Dutch education, presumably at the request of his colleague Geerto Snijder, who was in contact with the imperial commissioner of the Netherlands Arthur Seyss-Inquart. Van Dam's focus was the reinforcement of the national character of education by depillarization.⁵⁹²

Shortly thereafter, he became chairman of a committee that checked and censored teaching materials, and in November 1940 he was appointed Secretary General of the new Ministry of Education, Science and Cultural Protection. Although history education was regarded as highly important, the hours for this school subject were not increased during the war.⁵⁹³ Nevertheless, National Socialists tried to imbed their interpretations into history and were mostly concerned about the 'beginning' and the 'end'. The German ancestors of the Dutch people were to be highlighted in a positive way, and the narrative about World

592 Frits Boterman, *Duitse daders: de jodenvervolging en de nazificatie van Nederland (1940–1945)* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Arbeiderspers, 2015), 250–253; Peter Jan Knegtman, Paul Schulten and Jaap Vogel, *Collaborateurs van niveau. De opkomst en val van de hoogleraren Schrieke, Snijder en Van Dam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996), 190.

593 Marnix Beyen, *Oorlog en Verleden. Nationale Geschiedenis in België en Nederland, 1938–1947* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), 193–194; A. Bartels, *Een eeuw middelbaar onderwijs 1863–1963* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1963), 233–243.

War I and the Treaty of Versailles was to include the unfair treatment of Germany.⁵⁹⁴

Next to attempts to adapt and censor existing teaching materials, the idea had been put forward to publish a new history textbook. Jan de Vries, a professor at Leiden University, was commissioned to direct Dutch students' attention to their German past, and in 1942 he published *Onze Voorouders* (Our ancestors). This textbook was to be compulsory for all secondary school students, but many schools protested. Religious schools complained, for example, that there was no mention of Christianity at all in the book.⁵⁹⁵

Besides discussions about the concrete content of history lessons, the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands fuelled the debate about the relationship between school history and academic history. Van Dam's list on the reform of Dutch education included the wish to reduce the overly intellectual character of secondary education. He was not the only one: several National Socialists also regarded Dutch history education as too intellectualist:

One-sided intellectualism, or the pure application of logical reason, has proven to have disadvantages both in education and in science. (...) Our Dutch youngsters will need to be taught those qualities that are the most esteemed for the future of our entire nation: honour, courage, obedience, simplicity, readiness to take responsibility and make sacrifices.⁵⁹⁶

History education was to become more national, which meant in the service of the nation.⁵⁹⁷ In 1943, Eugen Honsberg, director of a school in The Hague, wrote an article entitled 'History as science and as school subject' in *Nieuw Nederland* (The new Netherlands), a monthly National Socialist magazine. He argued that historical understanding is intertwined with subjectivity: a historian needs to appreciate certain facts and events and decide which to include or neglect in his story. In this process, Honsberg explains, writers attribute value to parts of the whole and they relate history to themselves and their own time. This connection with the present is exactly the power of history:

594 Beyen, *Oorlog en Verleden*, 195–196.

595 Knegtmans, Schulten and Vogel, *Collaborateurs van niveau*, 270; Beyen, *Oorlog en Verleden*, 200.

596 H. Roos, 'De geest van ons onderwijs', *Nieuw Nederland: maandblad voor economie, staatkunde en cultuur*, December 15, 1942, 414–429, 420–421. 'Het eenzijdig intellectualisme, het zich zuiver toeleggen op logisch denken toonde bij het onderwijs en in de wetenschap zijn nadeelen. (...) Onze Nederlandsche jeugd zal moeten worden opgevoed tot de eigenschappen, die voor de toekomst van de volksgemeenschap het hoogst worden aangeslagen: eer, moed, trouw, gehoorzaamheid, eenvoud, bereidheid, verantwoordelijkheid te dragen en offers te brengen.'

597 J. Flentge, 'Om de vernieuwing van ons onderwijs', *De Waag: algemeen cultureel, politiek en economisch weekblad voor Nederland*, November 14, 1941, 680.

If understood in the right way, therefore, the continuing comparison of the present to the past does not pose a threat to history as a science, but the peculiar profit of historical questioning is precisely that, using information from the present, it undertakes to represent one's own *zeitgeist* by examining related events from previous history.⁵⁹⁸

The present and the personality of the historian influence his research questions and writings, and precisely this double relativity generates the value of his work, according to Honsberg.

He claims that 'academic history' and history education are two different things, with different principles and goals.⁵⁹⁹ Academic history shapes the anthropomorphism and formless past with an eye on the present and future. History education has to start with this structured history and, according to Honsberg, to stimulate respect for the great men of the past and their accomplishments as well as love for the nation and confidence in the future.

Moreover, the author compares his own time with that of the Reformation and argues that a great political change (rather than a religious change) will transform the world. Since politicians hold the future in their hands, he continues, they have the authority to decide what needs to be appreciated in history: 'Each age receives its task from God. (...) As the task that we were given is a political one, present-day historical science must be a political science.'⁶⁰⁰ Next to his plea for history as a political science, he argues that nations and race are the motors of history; they decide the direction. This conception of history is also visible in other articles in which National Socialists describe history as a 'show' in which blood fights against blood.⁶⁰¹

Since the interbellum, an international network of peace conferences had existed, and history education was a much-debated topic during these meetings. After World War II, the discussions and ideas about peace education as well as about the gap between 'academic history' and school history continued. Mutual history textbook revision was a significant element: chauvinistic and nationalistic elements were removed in order to stimulate international understanding. In 1951 the International Institute for Textbook Improvement (*Internationales*

598 Eugen Honsberg, 'Geschiedenis als wetenschap en als onderwijsvak', *Nieuw Nederland* (1942): 487–496, 489. 'Indien op de juiste manier begrepen, vormt dus het voortdurend meten van het heden aan het verleden geen bedreiging der historische wetenschap als wetenschap, maar ligt juist daarin de eigenaardige vruchtbaarheid van het geschiedkundig vragen, dat uit de gegevens van het heden zijn eigen tijdgeest door de verwante gebeurtenissen der voorafgaande geschiedenis probeert uit te beelden.'

599 *Ibid.*, 491.

600 *Ibid.*, 490. 'Ieder tijdperk ontvangt van God zijn taak. (...) Daar de taak, die ons werd opgelegd, een politiek is, moet de historische wetenschap van heden een politieke wetenschap zijn.'

601 J. Nijssse, 'Wat is er eigenlijk gebeurd? De nieuwe tijd wil een nieuwe geschiedschrijving met het bloed als eenige maatstaf', *De Misthoorn*, November 15, 1941, 14.

Institut für Schulbuchverbesserung; later Georg Eckert Institute and today Leibniz Institute for Educational Media) was founded in Braunschweig (Germany), with the support of UNESCO, in order to promote international textbook research and peace education. In the summer of 1951, UNESCO organised a congress in Brussels that was partly dedicated to the revision of history textbooks, with several Dutch teachers present.⁶⁰² Next to international understanding, the country representatives sought to correct the images of their nations. The Dutch report of this congress notes that the German assessment of Dutch history textbooks was 'very, very good' and that the description of World War II met with 'great appreciation'.⁶⁰³

For the Dutch, the lack of chauvinism in their history textbooks was a reason for national pride, as was the Dutch neutrality during World War I.⁶⁰⁴ Nationalism and internationalism almost became synonyms in the myth of Dutch tolerance and neutrality.⁶⁰⁵ Gerardus van der Leeuw, professor of theology at Groningen and the first post-war Minister of Education, argued that Dutch schools taught enough dates and facts but 'too little myth'; that is, too little about the power of history that is alive.⁶⁰⁶ History teachers, he maintained, needed to place more emphasis on the foundations of the Dutch people and their royal family. Moreover, he proposed to make the national anthem a compulsory part of the history curriculum.⁶⁰⁷ Several scholars argued for a balance between the national and international orientation of history education. An understanding of 'the other' was as much important as self-knowledge, according to Theodor Jakob Gottlieb Locher, a history teacher and the successor of Huizinga at the University of Leiden since 1946.⁶⁰⁸

World War II also stimulated an interest in didactics and pedagogy, and in 1952 these classes became compulsory for students aiming to teach at secondary schools. These students were also obliged to do an internship.⁶⁰⁹ De Vletter and

602 Alexander Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden. Betrokkenheid en distantie in het Nederlandse geschiedenis-onderwijs (1945–1985)* (Leuven: PhD thesis, 2012), 118.

603 *Ibid.*, 121.

604 Tina van der Vlies, 'Van nationale heldenonderwijs tot "vredesvak". Hoe twee wereldoorlogen het schoolvak geschiedenis veranderden' [From teaching national heroes to peace education. How two world wars changed school history], *Geschiedenis Magazine* 49, no. 4 (2014): 52–55.

605 Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 123.

606 Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Balans van Nederland* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1945), 149. 'Wij leeren op school wel genoeg geschiedenis, dwz. jaartallen en feiten, maar lang niet genoeg mythe, dwz. dat ons de levende kracht van het verleden niet nabij genoeg wordt gebracht.'

607 Beyen, *Oorlog en Verleden*, 278–281; Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 121.

608 Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 123.

609 Joop G. Toebe, 'Van een leervak naar een denk- en doevak. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlands geschiedenis-onderwijs', *Kleio* 17 (1976): 202–284. Also in: *Bij het afscheid van dr. P. v. d. Meulen* (1976): 66–148, 73.

Albers had already made attempts at renewal in the thirties and several Dutch state universities had started to appoint teachers in didactics or pedagogics in 1939 but the enthusiasm for innovation had been tempered by the economic crises in the twenties and thirties. Moreover, most teachers had been ‘far too busy in drawing the lines of demarcation based on the principles of their particular denominational group (...) for them to pay very much attention to pedagogical and didactical innovations’.⁶¹⁰

The Nazi occupation in the years 1940–1945 had given impetus to mutual understanding and engagement between Catholics and Protestants in the Netherlands. During the war, former political foes had become allies in the context of the underground resistance and together they developed ideas of a less divided and more harmonious society.⁶¹¹ This ‘Breakthrough’ (*Doorbraak-gedachte*) aimed to break through pillarization, mostly at the elite level: political cooperation needed to be based upon similarities in concrete political ideas rather than different ideologies or principles.⁶¹² Moreover, both religious and non-religious persons cooperated in the Dutch People’s Movement (*Nederlandse Volksbeweging*) and they made a public call claiming ‘that in particular the Christian antithesis and the class struggle were no longer fruitful bases for the solution of social problems, that a period of free discussion was absolutely necessary’.⁶¹³ At first glance the movement seemed to succeed: shocked by the war, people broke with their old ways and were ready for a new beginning. Soon after the war, however, it became clear that the overwhelming majority of the Dutch people had returned to their trusted ‘pillars’ and that the time for national renewal had come in the light of urgent post-war problems, such as repairs and the conflict in the Dutch East Indies.⁶¹⁴

Nevertheless, nine history teachers (eight men and one woman) with different backgrounds were determined to achieve a breakthrough in the pillarized textbook market. They visited each other on a regular basis in the Dutch city of The Hague from 1946, with the ambition to write a history textbook series that could

610 Joop G. Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject? The problem of the combination of history with other human and social sciences in particular with social studies in secondary education in the Federal Republic of Germany, England and the Netherlands* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 218.

611 Rudy B. Andeweg and Galen A. Irwin, *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 41.

612 Hans Daalder and Galen A. Irwin, *Politics in the Netherlands: How Much Change?* (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1989), 24.

613 Ibid.

614 Remieg Aerts, Herman de Liagre Böhl, Piet de Rooy and Henk te Velde, *Land van kleine gebaren. Een politieke geschiedenis van Nederland 1780–1990* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom, 2013); J.C.H. Blom and E. Lamberts, *History of the Low Countries* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999), 445.

be used in different kind of schools and was acceptable to different groups of people.⁶¹⁵ This group of nine teachers (*Novem*⁶¹⁶) included teachers from both public schools and religious schools, and also a social democrat, a pacifist, a Jew, and an anthroposophist. These authors were thus not only writing *about* history; they were writing history themselves.⁶¹⁷ In 1954 they published their history textbook series *Wereld in Wording* (The world in the making) at Van Goor Zonen, a publishing house with no explicit Protestant or Catholic signature.

Illustrations became very important in the series, for example to show a contrast between different approaches or visions and to train the critical eye of the student.⁶¹⁸ The authors also hoped that the students would ask questions themselves and incorporated different perspectives into the textbook. The textbook series began as an experiment but became a huge success and 600,000 copies were distributed.⁶¹⁹ The series was reprinted until 1984, and even after this date the textbooks were still being used in secondary schools.

Wereld in Wording also refers to *Novem*'s other ambitions: to include global perspectives, to show continuity between the past and the present and to teach about contemporary history. Other textbook series also started to cut down on more traditional material in order to leave room for the more recent decades. An example is *Fundamenten en Mijlpalen* (Foundations and milestones, 1959) in which the authors explain that 'much material from the past which is interesting in itself does not provide the pupil with any support at all in determining his place in contemporary society'.⁶²⁰ Furthermore, the textbook authors argue that students need an 'insight into today, into their world of tension and unity, into the problems of democracy and dictatorship, the problems of race, etc.'.⁶²¹ These textbook authors placed more emphasis on contemporary history in order to turn the negative image of history education.

Public opinion, the press, the radio, television commentators and official institutions do not always judge history teaching favourably. One often hears that it falls short of its duties and that the results of all the effort invested are not considerable; this is blamed on rigidity, conservatism, antiquarian concerns, and the failure to sense the importance of the present day; much history teaching is regarded as ballast and knowledge of facts

615 R. Leeuwenhoek, R. Eleveld and L.G. Dalhuisen, 'Dertig jaar *Novem* / *Wereld in Wording*', *Geschiedenis in de klas* (1990): 28–38.

616 The nine authors were Pater W. Beemsterboer S.J., C.J. Canthers, Mr. A.C. Henny, Mej. M. Jacobs, Dr. J.A.J. Jousma, H.J. Nannen, Dr. L.C. Suttorp, G.J. de Voogd, and Dr. H.F. Wessels.

617 Leeuwenhoek, Eleveld and Dalhuisen, 'Dertig jaar *Novem*', 35.

618 *Ibid.*, 31.

619 *Ibid.*, 33.

620 M.B. van der Hoeven and R. Reinsma, *Fundamenten en Mijlpalen I* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1959), VI.

621 *Ibid.*, VI.

that are useless for the pupils. History teachers (...) know this and they know that the criticism is not entirely unfair.⁶²²

This is a quote from the Memorandum (1963), presented to the Secretary for Education, the Arts and Sciences and supported by all the history professors in the Netherlands.⁶²³ This acknowledgement of the bad image of history education was followed by a summary of many new developments, such as more attention paid to contemporary history, European and cultural history, and the ambition to be equally respectful in the description of religion.⁶²⁴

Before this Memorandum, Dutch history teachers had already sent another paper to the same address (1961), protesting in the light of the threat to reduce the number of hours that could be dedicated to their subject. In 1962, this letter was belatedly published in the Dutch Journal for History (*Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*) because it was still a relevant issue. The letter argues that the idea of reducing the number of hours available for history education disregards its value, suggesting that it be a luxurious school subject, a collection of curiosities with no real ‘use’ for life. The authors of the letter argue for ‘historical thinking’ as the real value of history education in view of its ‘liberating’ and ‘enriching’ qualities in generating understanding, critical thinking, and a sense of perspective.⁶²⁵

The poor image of history education and the utilitarian tendencies in the Ministry of Education threatened history in schools: Pieter Geyl even spoke about the ‘cultural plundering of a new generation’.⁶²⁶ The rise of the social sciences in the fifties and sixties had contributed to the poor image of history education and fuelled the criticism of the time. Most history teachers ended their lessons around the year 1900 and hardly discussed contemporary history in the classroom at all.⁶²⁷ In Germany, people spoke of ‘*Geschichtsmüdigkeit*’ (history fatigue) when lamenting the disappearance of the tradition of *Historia Magistra*

622 J.A.J. Jousma and P. Fontaine, ‘Memorandum inzake de huidige praktijk van het onderwijs in geschiedenis’, *Kleio* 4, no. 3 (1963): 9–14, 10. See also: J.A.J. Jousma and P. Fontaine, ‘Memorandum inzake de huidige praktijk van het onderwijs in geschiedenis’, in *Kleio de pols gevoeld. De toestand van het geschiedenis-onderwijs bij het V.H.M.O.*, ed. D.J. Roorda (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1965), 13–20.

623 Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 220.

624 Jousma and Fontaine, ‘Memorandum’, 11.

625 The editors, ‘De plaats van het vak geschiedenis op de middelbare school’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* (1962): 356–358. On October 5, 1961, professors Hugenholtz and Smitskamp offered the letter to the Ministry. The letter was signed by the history faculties of the universities in Amsterdam, Leiden, Groningen, Nijmegen, and Utrecht.

626 Pieter Geyl, ‘Ernstige aanslag op het geschiedenisonderwijs. Minister ruïneert niet “maar een schoolvak”’, *Vrij Nederland*, July 16, 1960, 251. In Dutch: ‘geestelijke roof op een nieuwe generatie’. See also: Beyen, *Oorlog en Verleden*, 279–281.

627 Albert van der Kaap, *Vakdossier Geschiedenis* (Enschede: Stichting Leerplanontwikkeling, 2010), 13. Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 55–56.

Vitae – history as life's teacher.⁶²⁸ Ten years before the British historian John Harold Plumb published his book *The Death of the Past* (1969), the German Alfred Heuß wrote about the loss of history in *Verlust der Geschichte* (1959) and already argued that history as a science had destroyed 'history as memory'.⁶²⁹ According to him, vital historical memory had lost its power and history had become an isolated, antiquarian discipline, to be found in libraries and in the auditoriums of scientific institutes and archives.

Until World War II, contemporary history was not valued as real 'history', despite the work of G.W. Kernkamp in 1904 and M.G. de Boer in 1915. It was ultimately the recent war experience of 1940–1945 that paved the way for contemporary history,⁶³⁰ and the State Institute for the Documentation of War (*Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie*) was founded on 8 May 1945. Furthermore, well-known historians such as Romein and Presser were working on contemporary history, and this field gained official recognition from universities via the establishment of chairs, such as in Nijmegen in 1961.⁶³¹

In 1963, P.A.M. Geurts published a plea for teaching contemporary history.⁶³² He argued for a pragmatic approach to history education and that the teaching of the subject needed 'to give the pupils insight into the world system in which they live by explaining the historical development of its various aspects'.⁶³³ He also wrote about this topic in *Kleio*, a journal dedicated to history education and founded in 1959 by the Dutch History Teachers Association (VGN: *Vereniging van leraren Geschiedenis en staatsinrichting in Nederland*). In 1963 the journal published, next to the Memorandum mentioned above, an overview of calls for contemporary history. First, the journal mentions the state commission which administered the history examination in 1961, noting with 'great concern' the 'inadequate knowledge of recent history, a shortcoming that is, in fact, particularly unacceptable for prospective teachers'.⁶³⁴

In the same year, the VGN established a committee with the task of revising the examination requirements. Another signal came from Loe de Jong, director of the State Institute for the Documentation of War, who called for more knowledge

628 Ed Jonker, 'De betrekkelijkheid van het modern historisch besef', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden CXI* (1996): 30–46, 36.

629 Ibid.

630 Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 137, 147–158.

631 Toebees, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 222.

632 P.A.M. Geurts, *Pleidooi voor onderwijs in eigentijdse geschiedenis* ('s Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 1963).

633 Ibid., 10.

634 P.A.M. Geurts, 'Roep om eigentijdse geschiedenis', *Kleio*, no. 2 (1963): 4–7, 4. 'Een andere tekortkoming, die die commissie met bezorgdheid moest constateren, betreft de ontoereikende kennis van de recente historie: een manco, dat in het bijzonder bij a.s. leraren eigenlijk ontoelaatbaar is.'

about the recent war period. He had taken a test sample to see which history textbooks wrote about World War II, and was concerned by the results. He declared it unacceptable that textbook authors hardly wrote about the occupation of the Netherlands, pointing out that the recent war events were – for now – much more important than many other historical events:⁶³⁵

The February Strike (...) is much more important here and now than the Hook and Cod Wars, and the raid of the Leeuwarden prison is much more important here and now than anything written about the Sea Beggars.⁶³⁶

Proponents of contemporary history in the classroom agreed on the idea that students needed to acquire insight into contemporary society, but while De Jong and others placed emphasis on the recent (war) events to this end, textbook author Van Voorst van Beest wrote a plea in *Kleio* in which he pointed out that this understanding had to be backed up by knowledge and insight into historical events that go further than ‘yesterday’. He compared history education with mathematics and argued – just like the English textbook author Bell – that students must perform ‘historical sums’:

In a sense (...), I would like to compare history education with doing sums (...). The study of history trains pupils to be able to understand present situations by comparing them with past situations. Would it be possible, perhaps, to remove barriers to European integration in a way similar to that which helped to mould German and Italian unity (such as economic collaboration and cultural unity)? Are contemporary solutions to certain problems (the new Social Security Act, for instance) the only possible solutions? (...) By engaging in conversations on these and similar topics, pupils do indeed develop their understanding of history and, when told the story of Charles XII’s campaign for Russia, for example, spontaneously observe that Napoleon and Hitler, much to their disgrace, were to repeat the past.⁶³⁷

635 Geurts quotes Loe de Jong in ‘Roep om eigentijdse geschiedenis’, 5.

636 Ibid., 5. ‘De Februaristaking (...) is nu en hier veel belangrijker dan de Hoekse en Kabeljauwse twisten, de overval op de gevangen in Leeuwarden is nu en hier veel belangrijker dan wat geschreven wordt over de Geuzen.’

637 C.W. van Voorst van Beest, ‘Pleidooi tegen ongeproportioneerd onderwijs in eigentijdse geschiedenis’, *Kleio*, no. 3 (1963): 7–9, 8. ‘Ik zou het geschiedenisonderwijs echter in zekere zin (...) willen vergelijken met het maken van sommen (...). Die studie van de geschiedenis oefent de leerlingen, zodat zij eigentijdse situaties kunnen verstaan door vergelijking met situaties uit het verleden. Zouden hindernissen, die een Europese integratie in de weg staan, soms genomen kunnen worden op een wijze, analoog aan die, welke de Duitse en de Italiaanse eenheid hielpen vormen (o.a. de economische samenwerking, de culturele eenheid)? Zijn eigentijdse oplossingen van bepaalde problemen (b.v. de nieuwe Bijstandswet) de enige mogelijke oplossingen? (...) Met een gesprek over deze en dergelijke zaken wordt toch wel degelijk enige historisch besef bijgebracht en de leerlingen merken, bijvoorbeeld bij het verhaal over de tocht van Karel XII naar Rusland, spontaan op, dat Napoleon en Hitler dat verleden tot hun schade herhaalden.’

The widespread call for contemporary history led to new examination regulations in 1965. The tables had turned: only the last fifty years were tested, together with certain themes from other centuries. These new regulations of 1965 were of great importance for history teaching as they ‘tended to take the wind out of the sails of the critics’ at a time that propagated and demonstrated intense political and social involvement.⁶³⁸

These discussions around Dutch history education ultimately led to the production of new textbook series. Moreover, after the occupation of their nation during World War II, several Dutch authors made adaptations to their already established textbook series that emphasized continuity in their interpretations of national history and emphasized aspects pertaining to the nation’s identity thus rendering visible the performative function of history textbooks.⁶³⁹

The next section examines these new Dutch history textbooks published between 1940 and 1965, analysing the frames and keys generated in order to understand how relationships to the national past, present and future are articulated.

3.4 Remodelling Dutch national narratives

Before analysing the newly written series, this section first examines reprints of the De Boer series, *Beknopt Leerboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland* (Concise textbook of the history of the nation, since 1901) and the Rijpma series *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie* (The progress of history, since 1925). These two series display interesting adaptations after World War II. In the 1946 reprint, for instance, De Boer dedicates a section to the tyranny of the Duke of Alva by adapting the paragraph on ‘the mood against Alva’ around the beginning of the Revolt:

Even though measures were indeed taken which – it cannot be denied – were well intended, the terrible coercion to which our people were subjected aroused a fierce hatred in our populace. This was vented in the well-known Sea Beggars’ songs, amongst other things, of which we will give some examples in Fragments XI–XV.⁶⁴⁰

638 Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 223 and 225; Maria Grever, ‘Opvattingen en misvattingen over het geschiedenisonderwijs’, in *Geschiedenis op school. Zes voordrachten over het geschiedenisonderwijs*, eds. Pim den Boer en G.W. Muller (Amsterdam: KNAW, 1998), 27–48; Stephan Klein, Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel, “‘Zie, Denk, Voel, Vraag, Spreek, Hoor en Verwonder’”: Afstand en Nabijheid bij Geschiedenisonderwijs en Erfgoededucatie in Nederland’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 123, vol. 3 (2011): 380–395, 385.

639 Jay Winter, ‘The Performance of the Past: Memory, History, Identity’, in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, eds. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree and Jay Winter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 11–23, 15.

640 M.G. de Boer and J. Presser, *Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1946), 43. ‘Ontbrak het dus niet aan maatregelen, waaraan een goede strekking niet valt te ontkennen, de vreselijke dwang, ons volk opgelegd, wekte bij de bevolking een felle

Pointing out that Alva also undertook some ‘good measures’, such as introducing one criminal code for the whole country, De Boer explains that he incited fierce hatred by imposing his ‘terrible constraints’ on the Dutch people and refers to the songs of the Sea Beggars (‘geuzenliederen’) to show how this hatred found expression. The pre-1945 and post-1945 history textbooks contain the same source fragments of Sea Beggars’ songs while the post-1945 textbooks draw more attention to these songs: De Boer explicitly refers to these songs in his narrative about the Dutch Revolt and in the introduction.⁶⁴¹

The extra attention given to these Sea Beggars’ songs is no coincidence. The ‘spirit of resistance’ against the Spanish in the sixteenth century was an example and inspiration for the resistance against the Nazis at the time. During World War II, the songs were ‘recovered’ from the past and, in the first years of the war, legally published as poems in literary magazines. Later, the songs were published in illegal journals and newspapers, and ultimately as a book.⁶⁴² Reprints of songs with an anti-Catholic message were avoided, since they could have had a destructive rather than constructive effect.⁶⁴³ The function of the Sea Beggars’ songs during World War II is also mentioned in the narrative of the contemporary war when the author explains that illegal literature renewed their tradition.⁶⁴⁴

The Dutch Revolt gains new significance in the post-1945 reprints in the newly added narrative of World War II. Historian Jacques Presser became co-author of the series and probably wrote the section ‘The Netherlands during World War II’ in the thirteenth edition of 1947. The words ‘our’ and ‘we’ are often used in this paragraph. The textbook describes the superior power of Nazi Germany as well as the terror, hunger, resistance, and battles. Moreover, the authors explain how the Germans had destroyed several parts of the country and now threatened to inundate more areas.

When the situation became untenable and capitulation was imminent, the allied airplanes were given permission to drop food parcels, a sight as moving and unforgettable as that of Boisot in Leyden on 3 October 1574! After some negotiations in Wageningen,

haat. Deze uitte zich o. a. in de beroemde Geuzenliederen, waarvan wij onder de Fragmenten XI–XV enige staaltjes geven.’

641 Ibid., introduction. ‘In deze veertiende druk, de eerste na de bevrijding van ons vaderland, hopen wij de bruikbaarheid voor de school te hebben verhoogd door het aanbrengen van verwijzingen in de tekst naar de fragmenten en illustraties.’

642 Jeroen Dewulf, *Spirit of Resistance: Dutch Clandestine Literature during the Nazi Occupation* (New York: Camden House, 2010), 105.

643 Ibid., 104.

644 M.G. De Boer and J. Presser, *Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland. Tweede deel* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1947), 81.

the full capitulation of the German army on Dutch territory finally followed in the morning of 5 May 1945. Our fatherland was free!⁶⁴⁵

The differences in distance and time seem to dissolve, and it seems as if the authors witness both events simultaneously: the contemporary aeroplanes and Leiden in 1574. The two moments in time are compared on the basis of their exposure to severe food shortages. The arrival of food meant survival and, in the end, liberation. The year 1574 was not the end of the Dutch Revolt, but the strategic position of the city of Leiden rendered the events of this year an important 'victory' for the Dutch.

It was probably co-author Presser who keyed World War II to the Dutch Revolt. In 1941, Presser published *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (The Eighty Years' War), together with J. Romein, A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, R.E.J. Weber and J.W. Wijn. Presser could not use his own name since he was Jewish, so published under the name of his friend and colleague B. W. Schaper. This book narrates historical analogies between the Dutch Revolt and World War II and can be read as encouragement to resist and oppose the Nazis. The book became so popular that the Nazis forbade its reprint in 1942.

Presser was not unique in his rhetoric. Queen Wilhelmina did the same in her speeches in which she emphasized that the Netherlands had fought for freedom earlier in time.⁶⁴⁶ She also compared the Nazi oppression with the Spanish oppression in the sixteenth century and a fragment of her speech for the University of Leiden in 1946 is included in the textbook:

As in its great and illustrious past, Leiden has once more stood up to a superior enemy in a seemingly hopeless battle. Sprung from our great battle for freedom, Leyden University is a symbol, or even more than that, it is a part of our freedom itself. It is a living testimony to how persistent faith and an uncompromising love of freedom gave the citizens of Leyden the strength, in one of the darkest hours of their struggle, to persevere in the unequal battle against the enemy.⁶⁴⁷

645 Ibid., 83. 'Toen de toestand onhoudbaar en de capitulatie op handen bleek, kregen geallieerde vliegtuigen vergunning voedsel-pakketten naar beneden te werpen – een ontroerende en onvergetelijke aanblik, als die van Boisot in Leiden op 3 October 1574! En na enige onderhandelingen in Wageningen volgde in de ochtend van 5 Mei 1945 de volledige capitulatie van de in Nederland vertoevende Duitse legermacht; ons vaderland was vrij!'

646 Coos Huijsen, *Nederland en het verhaal van Oranje* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2012).

647 De Boer and Presser, *Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland. Tweede deel*, 128. 'Andermaal heeft Leiden getrouw aan zijn groot en roemrijk verleden tegen een overmachtigen vijand in een hopeloos schijnende strijd stand gehouden. Geboren uit onzen grooten vrijheidsstrijd, is de Leidsche universiteit een symbool, ja, meer nog dan dat, een deel van onze vrijheid zelf. Zij is het levend getuigenis, dat in een der donkerste uren van den strijd om onze onafhankelijkheid volhardend geloof en onbuigzame vrijheidszin aan Leidens burgerij de kracht gaf om den ongelijken strijd tegen den vijand vol te houden.'

During the war, keys between the Dutch Revolt and the recent situation were drawn in present-day communication in order to encourage and activate people in the present. It is interesting that these keys also entered the more official genre of history textbooks, with a function in the inter-generational transmission and interpretation of history. An example is the established history textbook series *Beknopt leerboek der algemene geschiedenis* (Concise textbook of general history, 1946) by De Boer and Presser. In the introduction they explain that they had to expunge many texts and images since the previously two parts of the textbook had to be incorporated into one. They argue that the most important topics required the most weight and begin with a poem by Daniel Heinsius (1581–1665) about the Dutch Revolt ‘since it is the first print after the liberation’:⁶⁴⁸

MESSAGE TO THE SPANIARDS

Where the sky expands and clouds do float
 There is our home, where children and women
 Are out of slavery and far from your hand
 Wherever you are not, there is our fatherland.
 Birds are uniquely born to traverse
 The sky with their wings, horses to ride,
 Mules to carry their burden or tug
 Their tether with their necks, and we to be free.⁶⁴⁹

The poem was also used in some protest magazines with the adapted title: ‘message to the Germans’.⁶⁵⁰ It accentuates the Dutch love of freedom and hatred of tyrannical constraints. Although De Boer and Presser are careful in their description and interpretation of recent developments – ‘since they are still ongoing and cannot satisfactorily be put in historical perspective’⁶⁵¹ – it is striking that they clearly frame and key World War II to the Dutch Revolt in order to create a continuous pattern of interpretation. It was a fight for freedom against slavery and tyranny just like the fight against Alva and Philip II in the sixteenth century.

Rijpma’s series *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie* (The progress of history, 1925) also displays adaptations after World War II. The original author of the series, Enneus Rijpma, died in 1946 and was succeeded by his son J.H. Rijpma,

648 This is probably an idea of Presser’s. He also uses this poem in his book about the Dutch Revolt, first published in 1941.

649 M.G. de Boer en J. Presser, *Beknopt leerboek der algemene geschiedenis* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1946), introduction. ‘AANSPRAAK AAN DE SPANJAARDEN Al daar de hemel strekt en daar de wolken drijven, / Is ’t even, waar men woont, als kinders en de wijven / Zijn buiten slavernij, zijn verre van uw hand, / Al daar gij niet en zijt daar is ons vaderland. / De vogel is alleen geboren om te snijden, / Met vleugelen de lucht, de paarden om te rijden, / De muilen om het pak te dragen, of de lijn, / Te trekken met de hals, en wij om vrij te zijn.’

650 ‘Aanspraak aan de Duitsers’, *De vrije kunstenaar* (1943): 8.

651 De Boer and Presser, *Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland. Tweede deel*, 83.

who released his first reprint in 1948. In the post-1945 reprints of the series, J.H. Rijpma highlights the dichotomy between absolutism and freedom; Volume Two narrates the Dutch Revolt and ends with a short abstract in which the authors summarize the era not only as the age of religious wars, as his father did, but also as ‘battles of absolute Sovereigns against their opponents’.⁶⁵² Moreover, the volume begins with a newly added introductory overview in which the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are presented as antipodes. Several characteristics of each period are mentioned, such as restrictions and the importance of the mass above the individual in contrast with freedom and individualism. J.H. Rijpma explains how kings sought to acquire absolute power in the Middle Ages and how these actions collided with the power ambitions of the citizens, resulting in an ‘inevitable’ struggle between the nobility, the absolute king and the (higher-class) citizens. He describes this clash as a fight between *absolutism* and ‘a political opinion that to some extent could be called *democracy*’.⁶⁵³

This newly added dichotomy in the interpretation of history is present not only in the introductory overview but also in the historical narrative. Sketching the end of the Dutch Revolt and its governing effects, J.H. Rijpma begins to use the word ‘democracy’ in contrast with ‘absolutism’: ‘The former absolutism and centralisation, then, had turned into their opposites: a government that might be called something of a “democracy” and regional particularism’.⁶⁵⁴ His father E. Rijpma did not use the term ‘democracy’ in this context; J.H. Rijpma remodels his father’s narrative in hindsight following the contemporary experience of World War II. The socio-political context thus affected his narrative and interpretation of the past.

Dutch historians, however, such as Robert Fruin, Petrus Johannes Blok (1855–1929) and even the Marxist historian Jan Romein (1893–1962), portrayed Dutch history not as a fight for democracy⁶⁵⁵ but rather characterized the Dutch Re-

652 J.H. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie IIA* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1954), 248; J.H. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie IIB* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1956), 324. ‘Dat alles ging gepaard met heftige strijd; dit is ’t tijdperk der godsdienstoorlogen + de strijd van de absolute vorst met zijn tegenstanders. (...) in de Noordelijke Nederlanden werd in een tachtigjarige harde strijd het vrèemde, Spàanse absolutisme door de burgerij vernietigd, en kon het Calvinisme zegevieren (...).’

653 Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie IIA* (1954), introduction; Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie IIB* (1956), introduction; J.H. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie II* (Groningen: Wolters, 1958), introduction.

654 J.H. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie IIA* (1954), 91; J.H. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie IIB* (1956), 91; J.H. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie II* (1958), 91. ‘Het vroegere: absolutisme en centralisatie was daarmee verkeerd in zijn tegengelen: een regering die men enigszins “democratie” zou kunnen noemen, en gewestelijk particularisme.’

655 Henk te Velde, ‘The emergence of the Netherlands as a “democratic” country’, *Journal of Modern European History* 17, no. 2 (2019): 161–170, 166.

public as an aristocracy, with an ‘aristocratic-oligarchic’ character.⁶⁵⁶ Although in 1950 historian Pieter Geyl wrote about the ‘democratic tendencies in 1672’⁶⁵⁷, J.H. Rijpma uses the word ‘democracy’ in the context of the Twelve-Year Truce (1609–1621). Moreover, Rijpma’s plotlines to understand sixteenth-century history also play a role in the narration and interpretation of World War II in his third volume. The dichotomy between absolutism and democracy is immediately introduced in the first sentence of Rijpma’s World War II narrative.⁶⁵⁸ Sense is made of World War II by generating a continuous pattern of interpretation: the narration of the Dutch Revolt and World War II are both embedded in the same scheme of interpretation in which absolutism and dictatorship are contrasted with democracy and freedom. His rhetoric might be influenced by Dutch politicians: the end of World War II was seen as a victory of democracy and the prime minister of the first post-war government, which included social democrats as well as Catholics, argued that they wanted to work out a ‘national democracy’.⁶⁵⁹

Whereas De Boer and Rijpma highlight the dichotomies of freedom-tyranny and democracy-absolutism in their post-1945 reprints, history textbook series first published after World War II framed and keyed history in another way. This will become especially clear in the analysis of the textbook series *Wereld in Wording* (The world in the making, 1954) and *Mensen en Machten* (People and power, 1962). But first, a textbook series published in 1940 warrants examination.

In that year, Arij Blonk and Jan Romein published their textbook series *Leerboek der Algemene en Vaderlandse geschiedenis* (Textbook of general and national History).⁶⁶⁰ Blonk, born in 1883 and a history teacher at The Hague, focused on the period until 1550 and Romein, born in 1893, wrote the other chapters. Romein began to study theology in 1914 but became primarily interested in Marxism. A year later, he changed his degree course from theology to literature and history. As a graduate, he aimed to coach teachers and established the Institute for the Study of History in 1926 (Instituut voor Historische leer-gangen).⁶⁶¹ Moreover, Romein became a professor and well-known historian at the University of Amsterdam in 1939, and wrote several historical works, sometimes together with his wife Annie Romein-Verschoor. In 1942 he was dismissed from his professorship by the Nazis because of his Marxist sympathies.

656 *Ibid.*, 169.

657 Pieter Geyl, *Democratische tendenties in 1672* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1950). See also: Pieter Geyl, ‘Democratische tendenties in 1672’, *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Nieuwe reeks, deel 13, afdeling letterkunde* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1950), 294–354.

658 J.H. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie* IIIB (Groningen: Wolters, 1963), 299.

659 Te Velde, ‘The emergence of the Netherlands as a “democratic” country’, 169.

660 Since 1961, J.M. Pluvier had also been involved in the writing process.

661 Presser also worked at this institute.

During the war, Romein was occupied with theoretical history and wrote in favour of synthesis in history writing. He died in 1962 and in this year the textbook series was reprinted for the last time.

Romein's academic background and ideas on history are clearly present in this textbook series: for example that class conflict is the motor of history, a viewpoint also apparent in his narrative of the Dutch Revolt, or his description of the Iconoclasm. Whereas some textbook authors assign the blame to the Calvinists, such as the Catholic author Commissaris (discussed in the previous chapter), Romein's account is supplemented with information about the poor circumstances of the people, famine, and the repression of religious freedom. He also mentions the fact that people were trained to use violence, having employed it to liberate several imprisoned Calvinists. Moreover, he contrasts the words and hesitant attitude of the 'leaders' with the rising 'awareness' that it was time for action. This 'awareness paved its way during the Iconoclasm', according to Romein:

Events then took a turn that nobody had foreseen. The suppression of religious freedom; the hardship that still affected the poorer parts of the population due to the famine, which had reached unprecedented heights when speculators had bought up grain the previous winter; the fanaticism, stirred up by sermons attended by increasing numbers of people; the lessons in violence, learned by liberating religious prisoners; and the dilly-dallying of the leaders, who did nothing but submit petitions; all this, finally, created a general mood insisting that, after many, many words, it was now time for action. And this mood finally exploded in the iconoclastic outbreak.⁶⁶²

In his explanations, Romein focuses on socio-economic structures and the effect of political decisions on society. This is also visible in Romein's portrait of the Prince of Orange. Whereas several textbook authors portray him as a hero with tolerant ideas, Romein shows another side to this national figure. He argues that the prince's striving for power clashed with the aims of Philip II⁶⁶³ and concludes

662 Arij Blonk and Jan Romein, *Leerboek der Algemene en Vaderlandse Geschiedenis. Deel II Nieuwe Geschiedenis en Franse Revolutie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1941), 61–62. 'Toen namen de gebeurtenissen een door niemand voorziene wending. De onderdrukking der geloofsvrijheid, de ellende, waarin een deel van het lagere volk nog verkeerde door de hongersnood, die tengevolge van het opkopen van graan door speculanten in de vorige winter een ongekende hoogte had bereikt, het fanatisme, aangewakkerd door de steeds talrijker bezochte hagepreken, de scholing in geweld, opgedaan bij de bevrijding van om het geloof gevangenen, de aarzeling tenslotte van de leiding, die alleen maar rekwesteerde, leidde tot het besef, dat er nu op de vele woorden eindelijk eens daden moesten volgen. En dat besef brak zich baan in de Beeldenstorm.'

663 *Ibid.*, 60. 'Maar behalve beminnelijk, was hij ook zeer op zijn macht gesteld en het is dit machtsstreven, dat in botsing kwam met de nieuwe staat van zaken.' See also: Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 14. In contrast with Geyl's nationalistic perspective, he advocated a particularistic interpretation. He emphasizes that the Dutch Revolt was not a homogenous movement, but three separate movements. Moreover,

that the Revolt was mainly a fight for the maintenance of autonomy. The Republic, he explains, was not necessarily a ‘paradise’ for every inhabitant and the ‘pursuit of riches, though securing status and power, also had its darker sides’.⁶⁶⁴

Romein therefore aims to narrate the Dutch Revolt as a complex history in which several causes and consequences played a role. He also sought balance in his narrative of national history, visible, for instance, in his narration of 1572, a sensitive year in Dutch history as we saw in the previous chapter. Having mentioned the ‘martyrs of Gorcum’ and the ‘Protestant religious hatred that damaged matters’, Romein notes that religious hatred was also targeted at Protestants, such as in the assassination of Huguenots during the ‘Massacre of Saint Bartholomew’ in France:

Lumey, who had actually incited all of this, became the Prince’s deputy for the time being, but his cruel exploits against some twenty priests from Gorkum (the Gorkum martyrs), amongst others, forced the Prince to dismiss him before long. If it was Protestant religious hatred that inspired these injurious events, it was to take place on a much larger *scale* at the hands of Catholics in France in that same summer.⁶⁶⁵

The Marxist viewpoint is also clearly visible in the narration about 1572: Romein argues that the year caused a ‘social turnover’ and explicitly discusses social changes within cities that came with the decision to revolt against Spain.

For what actually happened in Holland after 1572? If a town in Holland chose to side with the Prince, this meant not only opposition to Spain, and not only a change of religion but also social upheaval. It meant new people in charge, who were much less compliant than those who had been ousted. With the revolt of 1572, many members of the upper classes had fled the towns of the North and, in their administrative positions, had been replaced by members from the lower orders who were much less inclined to obey either King or nobleman. The towns, moreover, were the main sponsors of the resistance movement, and all of this could not but diminish the influence of the nobility.⁶⁶⁶

various factors influenced them, such as religious motives as well as the erosion of local privileges.

664 Arij Blonk and Jan Romein, *Leerboek der Algemene en Vaderlandse Geschiedenis. Deel II Nieuwe Geschiedenis en Franse Revolutie* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1958), 102 and 104. ‘Als men dit alles zo hoort, moet men wel bedenken, dat lang niet voor iedere inwoner de jonge Republiek een paradijs was. En dat het streven naar rijkdom, die aanzien en macht verzeerde, ook donkere zijden toonde.’

665 Arij Blonk and Jan Romein, *Leerboek der Algemene en Vaderlandse geschiedenis* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1941), 65. ‘Lumey, die feitelijk de stoot tot dit alles gegeven had, werd voorlopig ’s Prinsen plaatsvervanger, maar zijn wreed optreden o.a. tegen een twintigtal priesters uit Gorkum – de Gorkumse martelaren – noopte den Prins hem spoedig weer te ontslaan. Benadeelde hier de godsdiensthaat de zaak van Protestantse zijde, in diezelfde zomer gebeurde dat in Frankrijk van Katholieke zijde op veel groter schaal.’

666 *Ibid.*, 74. ‘Want wat was er eigenlijk sinds 1572 in Holland gebeurd? Wanneer een Hollandse stad de zijde van de Prins koos, dan betekende dat niet alleen een afval van Spanje, niet alleen

It is remarkable that Romein explicitly refers to and reflects upon the (academic) historiography of the Dutch Revolt. Although he uses a term of historian Fruin – the ‘prelude’ – to sketch the start of the Dutch Revolt, he also emphasizes that it is important to keep in mind that people in the sixteenth century did not see or experience the events as a ‘prelude’ or ‘prologue’:

Later, historiographers termed the first twelve years of Philip II’s government in the Low Countries the ‘prelude’ to the revolt. There is nothing wrong with using this term, if only one bears in mind that, at the time, people were not deliberately preparing a revolt. Up until 1559, when the King, delayed by the war with France, was still living in Brussels, there was no more resistance than there had been at the time of Charles V. Philip was initially even more forthcoming towards the nobility than his father had been.⁶⁶⁷

In their textbooks, Blonk and Romein avoid stereotypes and discuss several characteristics of historical persons. Keys to individuals such as Alva as a symbol of tyranny or the Prince of Orange as a liberator (as in the history textbooks by De Boer & Presser or Pik) are not found in this series.

Nevertheless, they do key historical events and times. In the third book of the series, published in 1949, Blonk and Romein key the contemporary war experiences to the Siege of Leiden during the Dutch Revolt. The authors explain that the University of Leiden was closed by the Nazis since its staff remained ‘loyal to their calling’ in their defence of their right for freedom.⁶⁶⁸ This remark about the university’s calling refers back to 1575, the year in which Prince William of Orange founded Leiden University as a reward for the heroic defence against Spanish attacks. Whereas other textbook authors discussed, such as De Boer & Presser and Rijpma, key World War II only to the sixteenth century, Blonk and

een verandering van godsdienst, maar ook een sociale ommekeer. Dan kwamen nieuwe mensen op het kussen te zitten, die veel minder onderdanig waren dan de verdrevenen. In de steden van het Noorden waren nl. bij de opstand in 1572 vele der gegoeden gevluht. In het bestuur waren ze vervangen door andere personen, veelal uit lagere klassen voortgekomen en zomin geneigd om de koning als om de adel te gehoorzamen. Bovendien betaalden de steden in hoofdzaak het verzet en ook dit moest uitlopen op een vermindering van de invloed van de adel.’

667 Ibid., 59. ‘Latere geschiedschrijvers hebben de eerste twaalf jaren der regering van Filips II in de Nederlanden het “voorspel” van de opstand genoemd. Er is niets tegen om die term te handhaven, als men er maar steeds bij bedenkt, dat de mensen destijds niet bewust op een opstand aanstuurden. Tot aan 1559, toen de koning, opgehouden door de oorlog met Frankrijk, nog in Brussel woonde, is er van verzet niet méér sprake dan ten tijde van Karel V. Filips was aanvankelijk zelfs tegemoetkomender tegenover de hoge adel dan zijn vader geweest was.’

668 Arij Blonk and Jan Romein, *Leerboek der Algemene en Vaderlandse Geschiedenis. Deel III* (Groningen – Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1949), 412–413. ‘Tegen het doordringen van de nazi-beginselen ontstond een algemeen verzet. De sluiting der Leidse Universiteit, die – haar roeping getrouw – onvervaard opkwam voor de vrijheid der wetenschap en voor de geestelijke goederen onzer cultuur, tekent de geest onder de intellectuelen.’

Romein also key World War II to other histories, stating for example that the Dutch people were immune to Nazi propaganda since they remembered the times of Napoleon and Louis XIV and the danger of being absorbed into a larger kingdom.⁶⁶⁹

In 1954, the nine collaborating authors (*Novem*) published their textbook series *Wereld in Wording* (The world in the making).⁶⁷⁰ Already in the introduction to the first book of the series, their aims of ecumenical and inter-religious cooperation are interconnected with history. They stress that history fosters understanding between peoples: by studying national and global history, people will be less tempted to condemn others as well as their own visions and habits. ‘Tolerance’ is thus an important concept in the *Novem* textbook narrative, as is the section on the Dutch Revolt. One of the authors, G.J. de Voogd, mentioned ‘the tolerance of Erasmus’ as his ideal and he connected this idea with his own times.⁶⁷¹ In 1946, De Voogd had published a book about Erasmus and he begins his book on *Erasmus and Grotius: two great Dutchmen and their message to our time* as follows:

The times in which Erasmus lived are reminiscent of ours in many ways: old traditions are abandoned; new ideas are coming in; fierce oppositions manifest themselves; the foundations of the social and intellectual structure of the world are shaking. (...) He stands at the dawn of an era of which we might be witnessing the end. And he enters the ‘raging world’ of his day, proclaiming his misunderstood message of reasonableness, peace and tolerance.⁶⁷²

De Voogd describes Erasmus as a prototype of the contemporary quest for peace and tolerance: Erasmus saw division between different nationalities as a threat for world peace, which was his primary ideal, and argued for ‘global citizenship’.⁶⁷³ De Voogd highlights this ideal by quoting Erasmus’ letter to a French friend in which he argues that, instead of nationalism, it is more philosophical to

669 Ibid., 412. ‘Het Nederlandse volk, immuun voor de plumpe propaganda der Duitse nazi’s, bleef het evenzeer tegen de nog sterker verfoeide N.S.B. Wij wisten te goed uit Napoleons tijd en die van Lodewijk XIV welke gevaren een kleine natie zouden bedreigen, wanneer deze opging in een “Germaanse gemeenschap” en dan nog wel onder Hitlers leiding en die van zijn arrogant “Herrenvolk”.’

670 *Novem, Wereld in Wording* (Den Haag: Van Goor Zonen, 1954).

671 Leeuwenhoek, Eleveld and Dalhuisen, ‘Dertig jaar Novem’, 35.

672 G.J. de Voogd, *Erasmus en Grotius: twee grote Nederlanders en hun boodschap aan onze tijd* (Leiden: Nederlandse Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1946), 7. ‘In vele opzichten herinnert de tijd, waarin Erasmus leefde, aan de onze. Oude tradities worden doorbroken, nieuwe denkbeelden bieden zich aan, felle tegenstellingen openbaren zich; het maatschappelijk en geestelijk samenstel der wereld schudt op zijn grondvesten. (...) Hij staat aan het begin van een tijdperk, waarvan wij wellicht het einde beleven. En hij treedt in de “razende wereld” van zijn dagen, zijn niet begrepen boodschap brengende van redelijkheid, vrede en draagzaamheid.’

673 Ibid., 50.

think about the world as the common homeland of all people, since we are all connected in Christ.⁶⁷⁴ In the conclusion of his book, De Voogd wonders what Erasmus would have to say to ‘us, his own countrymen and the world’ and notes:

Erasmus provides us with the standards for a true community of people, standards derived from Christianity and human reason; he rejects war as being unchristian, as inhuman, as unreasonable; he shows us evil and undertakes to educate us into another credo, the only one that will allow us to build a dignified society.⁶⁷⁵

The authors of *Wereld in Wording* also highlight Erasmus’ concept of tolerance, adopting it as the dominant plotline of their textbook narrative. They also aim to narrate a balanced story and challenge the romantic narrative of ‘we’ against ‘foreign’ Philip II, such as in Rijpma’s textbook series (1925). This becomes clear in the authors’ description of the Erasmus statue in Rotterdam. They explain in the caption that the Spaniards removed the statue in 1572.⁶⁷⁶ However, not only the Spaniards are depicted as opponents of Erasmus’ tolerance: the Calvinistic preachers who protested against a new Erasmus-statue in 1622 are also featured.

Moreover, in contrast with the enthusiasm about the rise of the Dutch Republic in the ‘romantic narrative’, these authors are more moderate. They compare the past situation with the contemporary idea of a Republic in order to highlight the lack of influence on the part of the people:

The Republic differed from a modern republic to a large degree. There was no such thing as any kind of organized popular influence: in our Republic, there was no president, no actually elected representatives, and no organized parties.⁶⁷⁷

The authors also mention several negative consequences of ‘our’ independence, such as the dominance of the Calvinists and the lack of freedom for other groups of people attributed a second-class status.⁶⁷⁸ They had freedom of conscience but

674 Ibid., 48.

675 Ibid., 175. ‘Erasmus geeft de normen aan voor een waarachtige samenleving der mensen, normen ontleend aan het Christendom en aan de menselijke rede; hij wijst de oorlog af als on-Christelijk, als on-menselijk, als on-redelijk; hij toont ons het kwaad en tracht op te voeden tot een andere gezindheid, van waaruit alleen een menswaardige samenleving mogelijk zal zijn.’

676 Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 2. Nieuwe Geschiedenis* (Den Haag: Van Goor Zonen, 1961), 19. ‘Aanvankelijk richtte men in Rotterdam een houten beeld van Erasmus vóór zijn geboortehuis op. In 1557 werd dit vervangen door een gekleurd stenen beeld, dat de Spanjaarden in 1572 neerhaalden. In 1622 kwam toen het koperen beeld van Hendrick de Keyser, zij het onder hevige protest van de calvinistische predikanten.’

677 Ibid., 251. ‘De Republiek verschilde in sterke mate van een moderne republiek. Van georganiseerde volksinvloed was geen sprake. In onze Republiek kende men geen president, geen echte volksvertegenwoordiging, geen georganiseerde partijen.’

678 Ibid., 254. ‘De calvinisten hadden hun strijd voor “de ware godsdienst” gewonnen. Aan andersdenkenden (rooms-katholieken vooral, maar ook doopsgezinden en lutheranen) bleef de uitoefening van de godsdienst in het openbaar onthouden. Zij bleven bovendien

no freedom of religion. Especially the Catholics were hit by these measures, according to Novem:

This affected Catholicism in particular. After the bishops had vanished, the clergy and the faithful were left to their own devices. Ordances forbidding the public practice of religious worship and the want of regular pastoral care made them feel unsafe and insecure.⁶⁷⁹

Instead of portraying the Dutch Revolt as a romance with a glorifying victory for 'freedom' and the 'nation' over the 'tyranny' of the 'foreign' Philip II (De Boer and Presser, Pik, Rijpma) or as a tragedy (Commissaris), Novem narrate a 'balanced' story with extra attention to background detail. This is discernible, for example, in the descriptions of Charles V and Philip II. Instead of clearly portraying them as the 'enemy' who were driven by their thirst for power and absolutism – as Rijpma did (1938)⁶⁸⁰ – Novem demonstrate and explain the viewpoints of these sixteenth-century monarchs, who saw world hegemony as the only correct way to govern humanity.

We can say that Charles pursued world domination, but it is incorrect to see him as a power-mad figure whose thirst for power meant to subjugate everything and everyone to his will. (...) He believed that the exercise of world domination was the only right way of governing humanity, and that circumstance had made him the one who was to take on this task. (...) Is it odd, then, that Charles should have felt called upon to join all Christian forces for this, the greatest of purposes, and that irreconcilable Western divisions would only serve to thwart his ambition? Hence his drive to unify the most divergent countries to his crown by a comprehensive marriage programme. (...) Hence, too, his firm opposition to Luther's activities, which caused dissent amongst Christians.⁶⁸¹

burgers van de tweede rang, daar zij geen openbaar ambt mochten bekleden. Maar zij behielden de vrijheid van geweten.'

679 Ibid., 97. 'Vooral het katholicisme werd hierdoor getroffen. Na het verdwijnen der bisschoppen waren geestelijken en gelovigen aan hun lot overgelaten. De plakaten tegen openbare godsdienst oefeningen en het ontbreken van de normale zielzorg gaven hun een gevoel van onveiligheid en onzekerheid.'

680 E. Rijpma, *De ontwikkelingsgang der historie. II Het tijdperk van 1500 tot 1815. Uitgave B* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1938), 210.

681 Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 2* (1961), 56–57. 'Wij kunnen zeggen, dat Karel de wereldheerschappij heeft nagestreefd, maar het is niet juist hem te zien als een machtsfiguur, die uit heerszucht alles en allen aan zijn wil wenst te onderwerpen. (...) Hij beschouwde het uitoefenen van de wereldheerschappij als de enige juiste wijze waarop de mensheid bestuurd moest worden en hijzelf was door de omstandigheden degene, die deze taak op zich moest nemen. (...) Is het een wonder, dat Karel zich geroepen voelde, alle christelijke krachten te bundelen voor dat grote doel, en dat een te grote verdeeldheid van het westen hem daarbij zou hinderen? Vandaar zijn streven, door een uitgebreide huwelijkspolitiek de meest uiteenliggende landen met zijn kroon te verenigen. (...) Vandaar ook zijn vastberaden verzet tegen het optreden van Luther, dat verdeeldheid onder de christenen bracht.'

The textbook narrative clearly demonstrates cooperation between Protestant and Catholic authors.

These authors hardly generate any key to the Dutch Revolt throughout their textbook narrative: sixteenth-century history is a 'sensitive' topic with a complex background. Another explanation can be found in the authors' post-1945 attitude, where they are careful with patriotic language and the glorification of national heroes. An example is the narrative of the Battle of the Dogger Bank (1781), a naval battle between a British and Dutch squadron during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. The authors explain that, after 1713, the country was no longer a great power and 'that the war went bad, even though the unimportant victory at the Battle of the Dogger Bank was glorified in exaggerated wording'.⁶⁸² The authors quote a song in which several Dutch sea heroes from the past – such as Michiel de Ruyter, Maarten Tromp and Piet Hein – rose from their graves to fulfil their naval role.⁶⁸³ The song displays certain similarities with the poem *Drake's Drum* discussed earlier – they both depict the resurrection of sea heroes – but the Dutch authors remark: 'It would appear to be unnecessary to observe that the poet is exaggerating wildly here.'⁶⁸⁴ Although Novem label certain historical keys as theatrical, judgemental statements are only occasional in their work. They present a painting by Jan Lievens (1661) in their narrative on the Dutch Revolt and explain that the struggle of the Batavians and Canninefates against Rome was used as a glorification mechanism for 'our' fight against Spain.⁶⁸⁵ The painting shows how Frederick Henry, Commander-in-Chief in the Dutch wars against Spain, is raised on a shield as was the nobleman Canninefate Brinio. Brinio was an ally of Julius Civilis and the Batavians in their fight against the Roman oppressors (Batavian Revolt, 69–70 BCE). Whereas Prince William of Orange has often been compared to Civilis, Brinio is compared to his son: Frederick Henry (1584–1647). The Batavian Revolt is seen as a precursor of the Dutch Revolt, since these mythic forefathers were also rebelling, not so much against the Roman Emperor but against the governor's unreasonable behaviour.

682 Ibid., 199. 'De oorlog verliep slecht voor ons, ook al werd de onbelangrijke slag op de Doggersbank als een grote overwinning verheerlijkt in de overdreven bewoordingen, waarin men in die jaren sterk was.'

683 Ibid. 'Zo treft den trotschen Brit de lang getergde moed. Des dapperen Bataviers! Terwijl een stroom van bloed, van bak- en stuurboord af, in zee stort onder 't enteren. Den Brit ontzinkt de moed in dezen hoogen nood! De Batavier staat pal in 't aanzien van den dood. En beukt en scheurt de macht van Albion aan flenteren! Het donderend geluid, gemaakt uit de open mond. Van 't bulderend kanon, dreunt schier den aardbol rond. En wekt de helden op, die lang zijn overleden. De Ruyter, Tromp, Piet Hein verzezen uit hun graf. Uit vrees, dat Bato's moed den laatsten doodsnik gaf. Zij komen – zien – en gaan gerust weer naar beneden.'

684 Ibid. 'Het lijkt overbodig op te merken dat de dichter hier behoorlijk doordraaft.'

685 Ibid., 105. See also: Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 1 tot 1715* (Den Haag/Brussel: Van Goor Zonen, 1968), 257. 'Frederik Hendrik als Brinio op het schild verheven (wandschildering in de Burgerzaal van het Amsterdamse stadhuis). De strijd van Batavieren en Kaninefaten tegen de Romeinen dient hier ter verheelijking van onze oorlog tegen Spanje.'



Figure 16: Jan Lievens, 'Brinio raised on a Shield', 1661 (Koninklijk Paleis Amsterdam, photo by E. & P. Hesmerg)

Tolerance is also an important theme in the textbook series *Mensen en Machten* (People and power), first published with Meulenhoff in 1962 by A.J.V.M. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren. They were both history teachers in Waalwijk and their series was meant for Catholic secondary school students. At first, Vercauteren used Commissaris' history textbooks for his lessons, the same book from which he himself had been taught history,⁶⁸⁶ but found the books difficult and requiring numerous clarifying notes. Consequently, he began to use the earlier discussed series *Wereld in Wording* as well as headlines from newspapers to discuss contemporary issues in relation to history.⁶⁸⁷ He was contacted by the publishing house Meulenhoff to write a new textbook series and together with his colleague Adang he wrote *Mensen en Machten* (1962), which was reprinted until the nineties.⁶⁸⁸ Their textbook series was originally written for the junior classes of Catholic secondary schools and focused on the main events and persons in history, including from recent decades.⁶⁸⁹

In 1966, Vercauteren wrote an exam booklet with the title 'Towards unity in the society of nations' and this idea also characterizes the 1962 textbook series.⁶⁹⁰ The authors aim to contribute to a better understanding between people, and their textbooks also discuss current themes with this in mind.⁶⁹¹ Next to this moral aim, they argue that history education can give insight to the structures and growth of 'our' modern society.⁶⁹²

This is related to my view of human beings: you should at least try to improve the happiness of your fellow human beings. But this is extremely difficult, for all of history is full of proof to the contrary. There is growth in the world, however. Try to guide it in the right direction. This is my Christian background. (...) We selected relevant texts from inspirational contemporaries, such as President Kennedy and Pope John XXIII, but also from Pascal, for example. Our editors were enthusiastic; they gave us free rein as authors, and we were never told that something could not be done.⁶⁹³

686 Jan van Oudheusden, 'In gesprek met een oude leermeester. Frans Vercauteren', *Kleio*, no. 7 (2008): 6–9, 7.

687 Ibid.

688 Ibid. He was contacted when the outline of the Mammoth Act became apparent.

689 A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 1. Semi-concentrische leergang geschiedenis in drie delen voor het katholiek voortgezet onderwijs* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff Amsterdam, 1962).

690 Ibid., 9. Original title of the exam booklet: 'Op weg naar eenheid in de samenleving der volkeren'.

691 A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 3. Semi-concentrische leergang geschiedenis in drie delen voor het katholiek voortgezet onderwijs (met afzonderlijke werkschriften)* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff Amsterdam, 1966), introduction.

692 Adang and Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 1* (1967), introduction.

693 Ibid. 'Dat heeft te maken met mijn mensbeeld: je kunt minstens proberen ertoe bij te dragen dat je medemensen ook gelukkig worden. Maar dat is harstikke moeilijk, want heel de geschiedenis zit ook vol van bewijzen van het tegendeel. Maar er zit groei in de wereld.

They clearly believe in progress and their Whiggish view is also visible in their sketch of Erasmus. He is described as ‘the great humanist’, as the counsellor for tolerance between different religions. However, Erasmus’ efforts were in vain for the time being, according to the authors.⁶⁹⁴ Only the French people reached a solution that ‘feels modern’: Catholics and Protestants received freedom of religion after a bloody conflict.⁶⁹⁵ They also remark that the fifteenth century was a period of transition: for the first time, people had opinions that ‘sound familiar to us’ and these people in the fifteenth century ‘stood on the threshold of a new time’.⁶⁹⁶ This new time manifested itself in the sixteenth century when different countries struggled with questions about religion in relation to tolerance:

In the sixteenth century, all these countries were facing the following questions: will the old and the new religions be allowed to coexist freely? Will there be freedom of religion (religious tolerance) or will a particular religion be protected by the State (state religion)?⁶⁹⁷

According to the authors, it was not until the eighteenth century that French and English writers argued, in line with Erasmus, for freedom of religion for everyone.⁶⁹⁸

In the reprint of 1971 the authors placed even more emphasis on (in)tolerance and clearly framed their textbook narrative around the Dutch Revolt in these terms. Chapters Five and Six are entitled ‘Tolerance or Intolerance’ and, based on this theme, sixteenth-century events are keyed to twentieth-century developments.⁶⁹⁹ Chapter Six begins with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in

Probeer die in goede richting te sturen. Dat is mijn christelijke achtergrond. (...) Van inspirerende tijdgenoten als president Kennedy en paus Johannes XXIII kozen we relevante teksten, maar ook van bijvoorbeeld Pascal. We waren als auteurs volkomen vrij. Onze redacteurs hebben ons nooit teruggefloten, ze waren enthousiast.’

694 Adang and Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 1* (1962), 143.

695 Ibid., 135. ‘Alleen in Frankrijk kwam men na een bloedige strijd tot een oplossing die modern aandoet. Hier kregen katholieken en protestanten volledige geloofsvrijheid.’

696 Ibid., 161. ‘Niet alleen voor de Nederlanden, maar voor geheel Europa was de vijftiende eeuw een overgangsperiode. In deze eeuw vonden namelijk grote veranderingen plaats in de opvattingen die men had over het geloof, over de kunst, over de wetenschap en over de handel. Voor het eerst ging men in die tijd dingen beweren die ons nu heel vertrouwd in de oren klinken. Juist hierom kan men zeggen, dat men in de vijftiende eeuw op de drempel stond van een nieuwe tijd.’

697 Ibid., 134–135. ‘In al deze landen kreeg men in de zestiende eeuw te maken met de volgende vragen: mogen de ouden en de nieuwe kerken vrij naast elkaar bestaan? Zal er godsdienstvrijheid zijn [tolerantie of verdraagzaamheid] of zal er een bepaalde godsdienst door de staat worden beschermd [staatsgodsdienst]?’

698 See also: A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 2^{yh}. Thematische leergang geschiedenis voor het voortgezet onderwijs* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Educatief Amsterdam, 1973), 128.

699 A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten. Deel 3* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Educatief Amsterdam, 1971), 74.

1948, and the authors quote parts of Article 18 about freedom of consciousness and religion. Nowadays, almost everyone agrees with this article, the authors explain, but people who lived in the sixteenth century were ‘not yet ready’ to adopt such a view.⁷⁰⁰ This idea of ‘not yet’ is also present in the authors’ introduction, in which they explain their aim to narrate history as a process of growth.⁷⁰¹ Progress and finalism are thus clearly demonstrated in their textbook narrative.

Volume One ends with the year 1648, the end of the religious wars, and the dawn of ‘tolerance’. The next volume, about the period 1648–1870, begins with the illustration *Gelykheid* (Equality) and shows how Erasmus’ ideal of tolerance became reality.⁷⁰² The authors’ caption for the 1795 engraving states that several people in Europe and the United States called for freedom and equality in the period 1648–1870. This engraving illustrates this idealism, according to the authors: several people – such as a preacher, farmer, soldier, and a sailor – encircle lady ‘Freedom’ and they are bound together by lady ‘Justice’.⁷⁰³ 1648 is thus narrated as a turning point, and the authors thus underscore a discontinuous time experience based on (in)tolerance.⁷⁰⁴

Although *Wereld in Wording* (1954) and *Mensen en Machten* (1962) both frame the Dutch Revolt in relation to tolerance, some differences are also perceptible. Whereas Novem sought to sketch a nuanced portrait of Philip II, he is clearly described as the enemy by Adang and Vercauteren. They introduce him as a ‘real Spaniard’, who did not speak French or Dutch. Moreover, they argue that the Netherlands were subordinate in Philip’s eyes and that ‘Philip’s attitude inspired resistance’.⁷⁰⁵

700 Ibid.

701 Ibid., introduction.

702 A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 2. Semi-concentrische leergang geschiedenis in drie delen voor het katholiek voortgezet onderwijs* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff Amsterdam, 1963).

703 Ibid., introduction. ‘Tussen 1648–1870 hield men in Europa en Amerika vurige pleidooien voor de vrijheid en de gelijkheid van alle mensen.’ n Graveur uit 1795 beeldde het idealisme van die dagen op treffende wijze uit. Een predikant, een landbouwer, een bisschop, een matroos en een soldaat omringen een vrouwenfiguur die de Vrijheid voorstelt. In de wolken zweef de Gerechtigheid die de groep met een lint omstrikt houdt. Voorts staan op de prent nog exercenterende burgers, twee engeltjes met een hoorn van overvloed en drie vrouwenfiguren (de Liefde, de Vrede en de Eendracht). Op de voorgrond links Neptunes en rechts Mercurius.’

704 Maria Grever, *De encscenering van de tijd. Oratie Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam (The Choreography of Time. Inaugural address Erasmus University Rotterdam)* (Rotterdam: Overbosch, 2001), 11 and 18.

705 Adang and Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 1* (1962), 147. ‘Bij Filips II bleek van dit alles zeer weinig. Hij voelde zich een echte Spanjaard. Hij sprak geen Frans of Nederlands. Noodgedwongen verbleef hij hier vier jaar. Na 1559 liet hij zich niet meer buiten Spanje zien. Duidelijk liet hij merken, dat de Nederlanden voor hem slechts een ondergeschikte betekenis

Moreover, Novem accentuate the *nation* in their account of sixteenth-century history in order to synthesise the Protestant and Catholic narrations of the Dutch Revolt.⁷⁰⁶ Adang and Vercauteren focus on *Europe* in their textbook narrative and, although they mention the rise of the nation-state in the sixteenth century as well, it is narrated as an important factor in the disruption of European unity. The authors focus on the recovery of European unity, for example quoting the Pentecost speech of Pope Pius XII (1943), in which the latter argued for harmonious evolution rather than revolution and promoted mutual understanding from the individual to the interstate level.⁷⁰⁷ The authors also include text fragments from historians and scholars showing that the ideas of a united Europe and a League of Nations go back to the Middle Ages.⁷⁰⁸

This section has thus shown a shift in interpretation. The textbook series by Blonk and Romein (1940) was mostly influenced by developments within history scholarship. In their series, they explicitly reflect on academic historiography and replace the nationalist approach with a Marxist viewpoint, covering a variety of motives and factors. Reprints of pre-1940 history textbook series contain no reflection on these changes in academic historiography. Rather, any adaptations only serve to perpetuate the ‘fight for freedom’ frame. In the light of World War II and the occupation of their nation, Dutch textbook authors increasingly highlight the dichotomies of freedom versus tyranny and democracy versus absolutism. In hindsight, the word ‘democracy’ is used in the narrative of sixteenth-century history and some authors generate direct keys between the Dutch Revolt and World War II. However, the two series examined that were first published

hadden. Zo gemakkelijk als zijn vader vrienden maakte, zo tot verzet prikkelend was zijn houden.’

706 For example, Novem emphasize that the Dutch environment with its many rivers, ditches and lakes caused significant trouble for the Spanish soldiers. Novem, *Wereld in Wording 1* (1968), 221. ‘Ook onder de nieuwe landvoogd ging het de Spaanse zaak niet voorspoedig. De rivieren, sloten en plassen stelden de Spaanse oorlogsvoering voor zware problemen. Dit ondervonden ze o. a. bij het beleg van Leiden (1574).’

707 Adang and Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 3* (1966), 169. ‘Onze voorganger Pius XII heeft hier reeds op gewezen: “Rechtvaardige oplossingen zijn niet te vinden in revolutie, maar in harmonieuze evolutie. Geweld heeft nooit iets anders gedaan dan afgebroken, nooit opgebouwd; passies gewekt, ze nooit bedaard; haat en puinen opgestapeld, nooit de twistenden verzoend; het heeft mensen en partijen steeds voor de noodzaak geplaatst, na de harde ervaring en op de puinen van hun tweedracht, moeizaam alles weer op te bouwen.” [Toespraak Pinksteren 1943]. Op alle mensen van goede wil rust heden ten dage een onmetelijke taak: het herstel van de betrekkingen in de samenleving op de grondslagen van waarheid, rechtvaardigheid, liefde en vrijheid; de betrekkingen tussen de individuen onderling, tussen de burgers en de staat, tussen de staten onder elkaar, en tenslotte tussen de individuen, gezinnen, organisaties en staten enerzijds en de wereldgemeenschap anderzijds. Het is een hoogst nobele taak; ze brengt de ware vrede tot stand, die rust op de door God ingestelde orde.’

708 Adang and Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 1* (1967), 173.

after World War II – *Wereld in Wording* (1954) and *Mensen en Machten* (1962) – both begin to highlight (the growth in) tolerance in their narratives of the Dutch Revolt rather than the fight for freedom.

Until now, this chapter has examined nation-specific plotlines featuring re-interpretations of history and structural adaptations in relation to the national context. In both countries, the binary opposition between ‘freedom’ and ‘slavery’ or ‘tyranny’ has played an important role. The previous chapter showed that history textbooks of both nations also made use of the David-versus-Goliath allegory. The next section examines the possible perpetuation of this allegory in English as well as Dutch textbooks, despite the different war experiences of the two nations. The hypothesis is that World War II acted as the catalyst in highlighting or neglecting keys to this communicative shortcut.

3.5 The David-Goliath allegory after World War II

In the midst of the Battle of Britain – the air battle between the Royal Air Force (RAF) and the German Luftwaffe in 1940 – Churchill keyed the contemporary war events to the years 1588 and 1801:

Therefore, we must regard the next week or so as a very important period in our history. It ranks with the days when the Spanish Armada was approaching the Channel, and Drake was finishing his game of bowls; or when Nelson stood between us and Napoleon’s Grand Army at Boulogne. We have read all about this in the history books; but what is happening now is on a far greater scale and of far more consequence to the life and future of the world and its civilization than these brave old days of the past. Every man and woman will therefore prepare himself to do his duty, whatever it may be, with special pride and care.⁷⁰⁹

He aimed to underscore the importance of the contemporary events, remarking of the RAF pilots: ‘Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few’,⁷¹⁰ a phrase often cited later in the media. The Battle of Britain was mythologised as a fight between plucky little Britain and the giant Nazi Germany. According to historian Richard Overby, Churchill’s words encapsulated the myth of the battle for those searching for words to describe it; these lines ‘somehow captured that spirit’ and ‘immediately people took it up as a way of

709 Churchill, ‘Every man to his post’, broadcast on September 11, 1940 (CHAR 9/176A/40), <http://www.battleofbritain1940.net/document-48.html> (accessed March 19, 2018) and <https://www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org/every-man-to-his-post.html> (accessed September 8, 2018).

710 Churchill, ‘The Few’, speech to The House of Commons, August 20, 1940.

describing a David versus Goliath view of RAF fighter command'.⁷¹¹ Churchill's rhetorical skills created 'the blueprint' for the interpretation of English history: a narrative of how 'we' stood alone against Imperial Spain, Napoleon, and Hitler.⁷¹²

After World War II, the author of the textbook series *The House of History* (1931) adds a short section about this most recent war. The chapter 'Britain and the Second World War' covers only three pages of 324 and describes a 'titanic war', highlighting the power disparity just as in the narrative of the English defeat of the Spanish Armada.

But this greatest chapter in history is too recent to recount in detail. It is however remarkable that Britain, in spite of a titanic war, continued on its path of a better life for all.⁷¹³

The concept of a 'titanic war' is strengthened by the author's description of the Battle of Britain in 1940, a year described as the 'most critical and heroic in the long story of our country'.⁷¹⁴ The author explains that Hitler had overrun many countries in June 1940, except Britain and the British Commonwealth, who 'stood alone' against Nazi Germany.

This famous phrase of standing alone also plays an important role in the textbook series *A History of Britain* (1937). After World War II, Carter and Mears describe how 'we fought Hitler's Europe alone', to all the world's surprise.⁷¹⁵ When they narrate the Battle of Britain in detail, they once again emphasize that Britain 'stood alone against Europe'.⁷¹⁶ They highlight the underdog who was able to defeat the giant, 'even with the odds against them':

In August 1940 Hitler turned his huge air-force (the Luftwaffe) on Britain. The Battle of Britain was one of those amazing victories of small numbers over large; it was also one of the crucial points of the War – the British could beat the Germans, even with the odds

711 Richard Overy quoted by Channel 4 News, *Battle of Britain. Churchill's 'few' remembered*, August 20, 2010, <https://www.channel4.com/news/articles/uk/battle%2Bof%2Bbritain%2Bchurchillaposs%2Bapofsfewapos%2Bremembered/3749387.html> (accessed July 7, 2022). See also: Richard Overy, *The Battle of Britain. The Myth and the Reality* (New York: Norton, 2000).

712 Connelly, *We Can Take It!*, 95. These representations of 1940 and 1588 as David-versus-Goliath battles are persistent, and have even remained so in the last decades when historians have criticized this 'Churchillian myth'. They argue that this myth is a 'disservice' to the many people 'who fought and died alongside the British': the pilot who shot down the largest number of Luftwaffe raiders in 1940 was a Czech, for example. See also: Russell Phillips, 'Britain did not "stand alone" in 1940', November 11, 2014, <https://www.russellphillipsbook.s.co.uk/britain-stand-alone-1940> (accessed September 8, 2018).

713 Dorothy Gordon, *The House of History. The Fourth Storey* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1953), 324.

714 Masfield, *The House of History. The Second Storey*, 323.

715 E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears, *A History of Britain. Section 4. 1783-Present day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 1042.

716 *Ibid.*, 1046.

against them. 'Never in the field of human conflict', said Churchill of the R.A.F., 'was so much owed by so many to so few'. The Germans were denied command of the day skies of Britain; they could never hope to command the British seas. The invasion did not come.⁷¹⁷

The underdog position and various precarious situations are highlighted in order to enlarge the nation's achievement: 'our prestige was greater than it had ever been and more widely acceptable because based more on moral than on material grounds. (...) There was, in those days, no doubt that Britain led the world and became its metropolis.'⁷¹⁸ Next to the emphasis on 'standing alone', this quote shows another characteristic of the David-versus-Goliath frame: the struggle for a higher objective. In this case it was freedom and it was the persistence in pursuing this ideal that led to national prestige.

Textbook authors Carter and Mears use the concept of standing alone in several histories (1588, 1797 and 1940); albeit without keying these histories.⁷¹⁹ The textbook series first published after World War II, however, do display these keys.

In his series *The Freedom Histories* (1946), Bell writes: 'By 1797 Britain stood alone against France and the enslaved powers, just as she did in 1940.'⁷²⁰ A few pages later, he continues: 'Napoleon was master of Europe. Britain stood alone against him, as she did from 1940 to 1943 against another master of Europe, Adolf Hitler.'⁷²¹ The event of 1588 is mentioned in the same section, in which the author portrays Philip II as another 'master of Europe'. Bell describes how Napoleon attempted to combine Spanish and French navies in order to guarantee 'navel mastery in the English Channel' for a short space of time.⁷²² He continues to emphasize that 'other despots have prayed for that mastery and have never won it',⁷²³ and follows with the example of the Spanish Armada.

His sketch of Philip II as a 'master' is underlined in other volumes of the series, which depict him as 'the most powerful Catholic prince of the time' who 'sent his great fleet, the Armada, carrying 8,000 sailors and 22,000 soldiers, to conquer England in 1588 and restore the Catholic faith and depose Elizabeth'.⁷²⁴ Next to these numbers, he also mentions 17,000 trained and experienced Spanish soldiers, who were waiting in the Spanish Netherlands to be transported by the

717 Ibid.

718 Ibid., 1042.

719 See for example: Carter and Mears, *A History of Britain. Section 5* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 707; E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears, *A History of Britain. Book III 1688-1815* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 707.

720 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume III* (1946), 101.

721 Ibid., 108.

722 Ibid.

723 Ibid.

724 Bell, *The Freedom Histories. Volume II*, 92.

Armada ‘to the conquest of England and to the destruction of Elizabeth and the Protestant faith’.⁷²⁵ This textbook author highlights the power disparity by mentioning impressive numbers. Although Bell does not mention David or Goliath explicitly in his textbook series, he frames and keys 1588 to other histories on the basis of this communicative shortcut: his narrative highlights the power disparity in order to enlarge the accomplishments of the underdog who had already conquered several giant ‘masters of Europe’ in the past.

Williams and Williams utilize the same keying process in the textbook series *The Four Freedoms Histories* (1947). They emphasize in their narrative of 1588 that, although a variety of internal and external dangers were threatening England in the sixteenth century, the worst peril came from Spain, ‘the greatest Power in Europe’.⁷²⁶ An important difference in comparison to Bell’s series is Williams and Williams’ remark that the Spanish Empire *claimed* to be master of the world.⁷²⁷ Although the authors highlight the power of the Spanish Empire and its geographical dimensions,⁷²⁸ attention is drawn to the ‘blow to her pride and reputation’ after the English conquered the Spanish Armada, after which, the authors explain, the power of Spain began to decline.⁷²⁹ The authors contrast the Spanish claim to world domination with the actions of Drake and the other sea dogs who

showed the world that she [The Spanish Empire] was not all-powerful, and that she could be defeated if boldly attacked. This gave our forefathers a confidence and faith in their country which helped them in many a fight.⁷³⁰

The authors further clarify this statement in the volume dedicated to modern history. They remark that only twice in the history of modern Europe has ‘the Continent (...) been dominated by one nation – once in our own time by Nazi Germany; once over a hundred years ago by France’.⁷³¹ In their narrative on Napoleon, the authors sketch how the French commander had overrun many countries in Europe ‘and in all-time Great Britain was the only European nation which was not defeated by France’.⁷³² Later in the story, the authors go further and argue that ‘it looked as if Napoleon would have to conquer and starve the whole of Europe in order to conquer the stubborn islanders of Britain’.⁷³³

725 Ibid.

726 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories II*, 95.

727 Ibid., 87.

728 Ibid.

729 Ibid., 115.

730 Ibid., 93.

731 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories III*, 47.

732 Ibid., 40.

733 Ibid., 58.

In their narrative of World War II, the authors again emphasize more than once that Britain ‘stood alone’ during World War II.⁷³⁴ They depict this situation even more dramatically, commenting that ‘to most of the world – it seemed as if Hitler had won the War, and that a few weeks would see the conquest of Britain’.⁷³⁵ They also quote Hitler, who is supposed to have remarked: ‘I can see no reason why the War must go on’ after the fall of France: he thought that Britain ‘in three weeks would have her neck wrung like a chicken’.⁷³⁶ In contrast with this assumedly easy invasion, the authors portray the ‘spirit of Britain’ as expressed in the ‘noble words’ of Mr Churchill: ‘we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone’.⁷³⁷

Throughout their narrative of World War II, the authors render Churchill’s rhetoric of *once again* and *if necessary alone* explicit in their framing and keying process. While narrating the recent war, the authors refer back to the Napoleonic era and emphasize that Britain *stood alone* in these times as well.⁷³⁸ Furthermore, they key their description of the Battle of Britain (1940) to 1588 and narrate these events under the sign of ‘standing alone’.⁷³⁹ A few lines after this connection between 1588 and 1940, the authors quote Churchill: ‘Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few’.⁷⁴⁰ The authors connect the recent underdog position of England (‘we stood alone’ against the Nazis) to their underdog position in 1588.

In the textbook series *The Four Freedoms Histories* (1947), the authors frame and key several histories using the allegory of David and Goliath, emphasizing the power disparity (standing alone against a world power) in order to illustrate the extraordinary victory and hope for the future (the underdog can beat the giant). The authors also highlight another aspect of the allegory: ‘divine intervention’. When the authors ‘quote’ Drake we are reminded of David who pointed to the strength of God in his answer to Goliath:

In spite of the size of the Armada our forefathers, and especially the seamen, were full of confidence. Sir Francis Drake said, ‘Never was fleet [*sic*] so strong as this, but the Lord’s strength is stronger.’⁷⁴¹

734 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories IV*, 24, 188 and 190.

735 *Ibid.*, 196.

736 *Ibid.*

737 *Ibid.*, 198.

738 *Ibid.*, 197.

739 *Ibid.*, 24.

740 *Ibid.*, 204.

741 Williams and Williams, *The Four Freedoms Histories II*, 108.

Throughout the story, the authors also refer to the phrase: ‘God blew with his Winds, and they were scattered’.⁷⁴² And at the end of the story, ‘not only England but all Protestant Europe rejoiced’.⁷⁴³

The Protestants saw in this great disaster to the enemy of them all a clear proof that the Almighty had come to their rescue. (...) The enemies of England found it hard to understand the mysterious ways of Providence. The full title of the Spanish fleet was ‘the Most Fortunate and Invincible Armada,’ and when it set sail it carried with it a banner blessed by the Pope and bearing the words, ‘Arise, O Lord, and be the Judge of Thy Cause.’ The Protestants said God had now shown which was His cause.⁷⁴⁴

This textbook narrative is clearly written from a Protestant perspective. This claim of a special relationship with God can also be characterized as a feature of a national narrative: many nations have claimed that God was on their side and this unique relationship was often accompanied by a protective Christian mission against ‘intruders’.⁷⁴⁵ Berger and Lorenz have pointed out that European national narratives usually present Islam as the ‘other’ of Christian Europe.⁷⁴⁶ However, in English and Dutch textbook narratives of sixteenth-century history, the dichotomy is between different denominations of Christians. Although the phrase ‘God blew and they were scattered’ was well-known, the Catholic series *The Grip-Fast History Books* (1925) does not refer to it, nor does it ‘quote’ Drake, but rather Philip II:

‘I sent you to fight against men, not winds’, said Philip, when the news was brought him. ‘I thank God, who has given me so many resources that I can bear without inconvenience so heavy a loss. One branch has been lopped off, but the tree is still flourishing, and able to supply its place.’⁷⁴⁷

In the textbook series *New View Histories* (1958), the author does not mention divine intervention; rather, he stresses other characteristics of the David-Goliath frame, such as the power disparity between the underdog and the giant. He explains how the Spanish Armada set sail in 1588: ‘One hundred and twenty-six ships hoped to reach the Netherlands, but a handful of English seamen were determined that they should not.’⁷⁴⁸ The power imbalance and the determination to win also return in his narrative of the Napoleonic era and World War II. In relation to the battles against France at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the author remarks: ‘Seldom have the British excelled themselves more than at

742 Ibid., 112.

743 Ibid., 114.

744 Ibid., 114–115.

745 Stefan Berger and Chris Lorenz, ‘National Narratives and their “Others”: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and the Gendering of National Histories’, *Storia della Storiografia/Geschichte der Geschichtsschreibung* 50 (2006): 59–98, 74.

746 Ibid.

747 Kerr, *The Grip-Fast History Books III*, 16.

748 Purton, *Our Heritage*, 124.

Trafalgar and Waterloo, when almost alone, they fought against tremendous odds.⁷⁴⁹ And in his description of 1940, the author once again mentions that Britain stood alone against Nazi Germany:

Soon France fell and Britain stood alone – alone, that is, except for the support of the Commonwealth. Most people, including the United States of America, felt sure that we were finished, or that at best we should have to make peace with Germany. However, the British people had no such thought and the spirit that existed may be summed up in the words of Mr. Winston Churchill, who had become Prime Minister: ‘We shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be (...) we shall never surrender’. Those were dark days, but the determination and courage of the people were never higher. (...) In September the Battle of Britain began. Vast waves of German aircraft, outnumbering our planes by ten to one were met with courage and many destroyed.⁷⁵⁰

This account differs from the other two textbook series in that the role of the Commonwealth is significant. The author presents the Commonwealth in unity, as ‘a family of nations, held together by respect rather than force.’ He explicitly remarks that it is ‘quite unlike any of the great empires of the past, in which the conquered bowed to the conqueror and took the first opportunity to rise against their masters’.⁷⁵¹ This difference is already underlined in relation to sixteenth-century history, in which context the author emphasizes that the English seamen began to build a different Empire to the Spanish one.⁷⁵²

To conclude, the David-Goliath allegory was given specific attention in English history textbooks after World War II, in the narrative of the contemporary war and – in hindsight – in that of 1588. Moreover, several textbook authors emphasize that England ‘stood alone’ against several masters of Europe, keying Philip II to Napoleon and Hitler. In the series *New View Histories* this phrase of ‘standing alone’ is stretched: the Commonwealth is included and the author is careful to portray it as a family of nations rather than a ‘traditional’ Empire.

The David-Goliath allegory is also placed at the forefront of the narrative in the reprints of established Dutch history textbook series just after 1945. In the reprint of 1951, De Boer still refers to the Dutch as the ‘little men of butter’, as explained in the previous chapter.⁷⁵³ The author makes other explicit reference to an unequal fight, noting the ‘desperate situation’ of 1576: according to De Boer, it seemed as if the battle would be decided against the rebels.⁷⁵⁴ Later in his nar-

749 Ibid., 181.

750 Ibid., 235 and 236.

751 Purton, *Our Commonwealth*, 9.

752 Ibid., 57.

753 De Boer, *Beknopt Leerboek der Geschiedenis van het Vaderland* (1951), 45. ‘Tegenover de “mannetjes van boter” had de trotse hertog het afgelegd.’

754 Ibid., 55.

rative, he again accentuates that ‘our country’ had stood against ‘powerful Spain’.⁷⁵⁵ And again, this idea of an ‘unequal fight’ against a superior power returns in De Boer’s and Presser’s narrative of World War II. In the edition of 1947 they explain that the enemy’s ‘supremacy was enormous’.⁷⁵⁶ Next to the power disparity, the authors emphasize the fight for a higher aim. Moreover, the textbook authors end their textbook with a speech of Wilhelmina in which sixteenth-century history and the present war experience are keyed on the basis of a fight for freedom and resistance against superior enemies.⁷⁵⁷

In his narrative of sixteenth-century history, J.W. Pik had also referred to the Dutch people as ‘little butter man’ in contrast with the ‘iron Duke’.⁷⁵⁸ In a reprint from 1956, he includes a description of the contemporary war events and, in this narration, ‘butter’ also plays an important role. When the author writes about the Netherlands at the start of the war, he emphasizes the superiority of the enemy in aeroplanes and armoured materials.⁷⁵⁹ Next, he describes the quick invasion and the state of terror that occurred. He briefly mentions the Jews and then elaborates on the Dutch victims:

After the Jews, the Dutch who did not want to bow to the German Nazis followed. They went to concentration camps and torture chambers. Over 400,000 Dutch workers were ordered around as slaves in the German war industry. (...) However, the churning of milk produces butter. Resistance arose, symbolized in the closure of Leiden University.⁷⁶⁰

Although Pik did not invent the remark about butter – it is a Biblical expression from Proverbs 30:33; ‘for the churning of milk produces butter’ – it is striking that he uses precisely this metaphor, followed by a reference to the University of Leiden.

Unlike in the sixteenth century, the Netherlands were quickly conquered during World War II. Earlier in his textbook narrative, Pik had already explained why: ‘our little country’ had twice battled with a major player, first with Spain and then with France. Both these fights were won, and it is logical that over time such a

755 Ibid., 97.

756 De Boer and Presser, *Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland. Tweede deel* (1947), 79.

757 Ibid., 128.

758 Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandse Geschiedenis. Eerste deel* (1937), 110. For more information, see 2.5 ‘The Iron Duke against little butter men’.

759 J.W. Pik, *Beknopt Leerboek der Vaderlandse Geschiedenis* (Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1956), 272. Herzien en bewerkt door C. Riekwel en M. Th. Uit Den Boogaard.

760 Ibid., 273. ‘Na de Joden volgden de Nederlanders, die niet buigen wilden voor de Duitse Nazi’s. Zij gingen naar concentratiekamp en folterkamer. Meer dan 400.000 Nederlandse arbeiders werden als slaven in de Duitse oorlogsindustrie te werk gesteld. (...) Maar de drukking van de melk brengt boter voort. Er ontstond verzet, gesymboliseerd in de sluiting van de Leidse Universiteit.’

role was beyond ‘our’ power.⁷⁶¹ Moreover, the author remarks that the eighteenth century was characterized by ‘dullness’ as a result of too great efforts.⁷⁶²

Whereas World War II generated feelings of superiority in Great Britain – the British had staying power, the fight lasted long and had a heroic outcome – it generated, in the longer term, the opposite feeling in the Netherlands. The Dutch were easily conquered by the Nazis and the occupation of five years suggested that the Dutch were not able to liberate themselves. Moreover, decolonization processes made the Netherlands a ‘small’ country instead of an imperial power and drawing attention to its greatness in the past would make the Netherlands look even smaller in the present.⁷⁶³ Authors of post-1945 series therefore do not key the Dutch Revolt to World War II on the basis of the David-Goliath allegory. Instead, they explicitly show when the power of the nation started to decline. Novem explain, for example, that the Republic lost its role as principal actor after 1713.⁷⁶⁴ Furthermore, authors of series that were first published after World War II framed and keyed the Dutch Revolt more and more to ‘tolerance’ in attempts to overcome pillarization. The David-Goliath concept, characterized by power disparity and divine intervention, lost its present-day relevance.

3.6 Conclusion

Pre-1945 textbook authors had narrated the English defeat of the Spanish Armada as a historical event that brought about a power shift and made England mistress of the seas. The keying process is therefore dominated by links between Spain, Holland and France, and historical events in which England triumphed and celebrated her sea power. After World War II, authors framed 1588 as a dangerous situation in which invasion was imminent, and the triptych of Philip II, Napoleon and Hitler began to dominate the history textbooks: ‘masters of Europe’ who aimed to invade England. Moreover, some English series that were published just after World War II displayed ‘metaphorical maps’, such as a time chart with an imaginative zig-zag plotline – representing the rise and decline of

761 Pik, *Overzicht der Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis. Tweede deel* (1931), 56. ‘Onze “gouden eeuw” was thans ten einde. Twee keer had ons kleine land onder de leiding der Oranjevorsten den strijd aangeboden met een groote mogendheid – eerst met Spanje, daarna met Frankrijk – en beide keeren had het die mogendheid weten te weerstaan. Dat zoo’n rol op den duur onze krachten te boven ging, spreekt vanzelf.’

762 Ibid., 51. ‘Bovendien vergde de strijd die volgde, te veel van onze krachten; de lautheid die ons land in de 18^{de} eeuw kenmerkt, is gedeeltelijk het gevolg van de al te groote inspanning, waartoe Willem III de Republiek geprikkeld heeft.’

763 Blaas, *Geschiedenis en nostalgie. De historiografie: van een kleine natie met een groot verleden*.

764 Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 2* (1961), 199.

freedom – and the fictional ‘map’ with the four rivers running towards the future, described above. Affected by the changed socio-political context, some textbook authors narrated a new conception of history after 1945: the record of man’s struggle to obtain the Four Freedoms. In doing so, the ‘four freedoms speech’ of President Roosevelt from 1941 serves as a trans-national and trans-historical mnemonic form for national narratives.

The Dutch history textbooks also exposed a change in the framing and keying process, but later in time. Immediately after World War II, several textbook authors reinforced the dichotomy between freedom and tyranny via adaptations to their narrative of sixteenth-century history in reprints. The Dutch revolt is also often keyed to WWII on the basis of the dichotomy between freedom and tyranny as well as between democracy and absolutism. The shift began in the mid-fifties, when a group of cooperative textbook authors with various backgrounds set about overcoming pillarization in history education. The Dutch Revolt was a sensitive issue between Protestants and Catholics but the group of nine cooperative authors succeeded in publishing a textbook series that could be used by various ‘pillars’. They highlighted Erasmus’ tolerance in sixteenth-century history as an inspirational source for present-day issues. Other textbook authors also took up this frame, narrating history as a process of growth towards tolerance. Turning points were also generated on the basis of this plot, with progress and finalism clearly perceptible. The sixties series *Mensen en Machten* even widened the scope of ‘tolerance’, narrating the rise of the nation-state in the sixteenth century as an important cause of European dis-unity and focusing on the recovery of European unity. They were positive about Europe and narrated national history through a European lens, inspired by the rise of transnational agencies.

In the light of recent developments, therefore, such as Dutch processes of decolonization and the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, the position of the nation was re-situated. Dutch textbook authors explicitly narrated that ‘our country’ had fought major battles in the past, such as against Spain, and that over time such a role was beyond ‘our power’. Due to this new context and the frame of tolerance highlighted in the narration of the Dutch Revolt, the David-Goliath allegory lost its significance in both the narrative of sixteenth-century history as well as in contemporary history.

In contrast with the Netherlands, the David-Goliath allegory received extra attention in English history textbooks after World War II. The war stimulated champion feelings and authors employed heroic keys about how the nation had ‘stood alone’ against several masters of Europe. The story of David and Goliath was thus no longer a shared narrative structure after 1940–1945.

This chapter has shown that textbook authors perpetuate individual story elements while changing the underlying structures of national narratives. Whereas

changes in the historical discipline affected to some extent how individual elements of national narratives were perpetuated in textbooks, the war experiences of World War II and transformations in the socio-political context were far more influential, leading to a *re-interpretation* of national narratives. The new frames and keys for narrating sixteenth-century history were in accordance with both the changed understanding of the present and with the educational and pedagogical aim to prevent school history from losing its credibility. The new conception of history had a moral and performative function in the present.

Rather than *instrumental* perpetuation, therefore – such as direct curricular orders and interventions from the state – *cultural* persistence and change played a more significant role in English and Dutch history textbooks, as this analysis has shown. Affected by developments in the socio-political context, a particular version of the past remained the same as long as it had relevance in the present and changed when this was no longer the case.

In addition to Wertsch's analysis, which directs attention to a 'basic' narrative template within a cultural tradition, this chapter has highlighted the plurality of narrative templates within a cultural tradition and their dynamics of dominance over time. Existing narrative templates can fade and new underlying patterns can emerge in the light of drastic changes within a society or the world at large. Moreover, while Wertsch writes about the use of narrative templates in an 'unwitting matter', this chapter has shown that some textbook authors explicitly mention in their introduction that they observe a pattern in history, and they generate underlying patterns in their narration of the national past to convey this insight. They recompose different times and spaces into a new configuration and create a chain of signification, derived from a combination of cross-references between histories, in order to give meaning to the past, present, and future.

The next chapter discusses frames and keys of national narratives in a time when the subject of older versions began to vanish. Some Dutch authors already acknowledged the new position of their nation after World War II, adopting a European lens in their narratives of national history. In the next research period, circa 1965–1988, Britain also witnessed a decline in power: instead of a national supremacy with imperial power, it became the 'sick man of Europe'.

4 'A deliberate attack on our heritage and great past', 1965–1988

In 1969, several Dutch teachers were inspired by the student protest movements and began to unite as the 'critical teachers', known in Dutch as 'de Kritiese Leraren'. They were interested in societal change and the role of education therein. Whereas several students had occupied their university and demonstrated against the establishment, a number of teachers also called for a 'critical high school'.⁷⁶⁵ A year later, the three 'critical teachers' Claartje Hülsenbeck, Jan Louman and Anton Oskamp published a remarkable schoolbook: *het rode boekje voor scholieren* [*the little red book for school students*], which was indeed written without capitals and in reference to Mao's little red book. It was originally published by two Danish teachers and a psychologist, who aimed to educate high-school students about democracy, school, and social issues, such as sex and drugs.⁷⁶⁶ The book protested against the authoritarian school system and robotic discipline: 'School cuts you down to size, so that, without making a fuss, you can be made to fit the pigeonhole they have ordained for you later in life.'⁷⁶⁷ It also protested against the neglect of important societal topics in education:

It is often said that school prepares you for society. This sounds as if this school is not itself part and parcel of society. It is an attempt to keep society out of school: you are told more about the Dutch Revolt than about the Vietnamese struggle for freedom. And if this struggle does get a mention, it is as if Vietnam has nothing to do with school. As if school is an island off the coast of society. (...) It is high time for us to change the notions underpinning our society. And because school and society are one, we should also conduct the struggle for change in our schools.⁷⁶⁸

765 In Dutch: KrU – Kritiese Universiteit and KriMi – Kritiese Middelbare school.

766 Dan Andersen, Søren Hansen and Jesper Jensen, *Den lille rode bog for skoleelever* (København: Reitzel, Hans, 1969).

767 Claartje Hülsenbeck, Jan Louman and Anton Oskamp, *het rode boekje voor scholieren* (Utrecht: A.W. Bruna en Zoon, 1970), 13. 'Je wordt op school op maat gesneden om later geruisloos in het hokje te worden gestopt dan men voor je heeft uitgezocht.'

768 *Ibid.*, 7–8. 'Vaak hoor je zeggen dat de school je voorbereidt op de maatschappij. Dit klinkt alsof die school zelf niet bij de maatschappij hoort. Men probeert op die manier de maatschappij buiten de school te houden: Je hoort er meer over de Tachtigjarige Oorlog dan

Children's natural curiosity and eagerness to learn were in danger, smothered by dreary, authoritarian teaching methods and conformist exams. 'They say that the exam is meant to test your knowledge. In truth, though, it is a test of your adjustment and your blind obedience to what other people say.'⁷⁶⁹ The book aimed to change school life by supporting students' autonomy.

The little red book, with its reasonable price, was a bestseller in the Netherlands: 140,000 copies circulated in 1971. It was also a source of agitation: in the same year, the book was subject to legal scrutiny in the United Kingdom, fell under the Obscene Publications Act, and was only permitted in a second, censored edition in which some of the passages criticised in court had been redacted or cut out altogether. The book was also criticised in other countries, such as in Switzerland and Australia: politicians feared anarchy in schools and an erosion of moral standards. Several Dutch teachers protested as well and called themselves the 'nuchtere leraren' (no-nonsense teachers). They wrote the *little green book* as a down-to-earth protest against its red counterpart.⁷⁷⁰

The influence of the 'critical teachers' on the Dutch education debate in the seventies is undeniable: their call for (more) important societal topics in the classroom clearly impacted the debate around the 'social sciences' and history education. Moreover, several teachers argued that the 'social sciences' needed to focus on political conflicts and societal change. Others – including historians – warned of political activism and advocated for multiperspectivity, to which political scientist Willem Langeveld (University of Amsterdam) gave the recalcitrant response: 'Why not include the pros and cons of concentration camps, the persecution of authors in the Soviet Union or antisemitism in Poland?'⁷⁷¹ He rejected the idea of objectivity as a conservative and morally wrong ideal. These discussions show that most Dutch teachers agreed that history education needed to be 'relevant', but differed in their ideas about how this aim could be achieved.

The same struggle was apparent in the United Kingdom. History is 'dangerously dull, and, what is more, of little apparent relevance', wrote Mary Price in her

bijvoorbeeld over de Vietnamese Vrijheidsstrijd. En als er over gepraat wordt, gebeurt het alsof Vietnam niets met de school te maken heeft. Men doet alsof de school een eilandje buiten de samenleving is. (...) Het is hard nodig dat de opvattingen waarop onze maatschappij gebouwd is veranderen. Omdat school en maatschappij één zijn, moeten we de strijd voor deze veranderingen ook binnen de school brengen.'

769 Ibid., 53. 'Men zegt dat het examen bedoeld is als een test van je kennis. Maar in werkelijkheid werkt het als een test van je aanpassing en je blinde gehoorzaamheid aan wat anderen zeggen.'

770 S. Bakker, H. Eisma and E.W. de Jong, *het groene boekje. nuchter protest tegen het rode boekje voor scholieren* (Apeldoorn: Semper Agendo N.V., 1970).

771 Willem Langeveld, "'Schone" en "vieze" politiek op scholen', *De Tijd*, May 23, 1973, 11. 'Waarom niet ook het voor en tegen van concentratiekampen, vervolging van auteurs in de Sovjet Unie of het anti-semitisme in Polen?'

landmark article 'History in Danger' in 1968.⁷⁷² She argued that school history had completely lost its bearings. One year later, John Fines argued that students did not regard school history as having any real credibility,⁷⁷³ referring to *The Schools Council Enquiry I* (1968) which revealed that only 29 per cent of 15-year-old students regarded history as a useful subject of study. According to Fines, this problem was caused by how history was taught: school history seemed to celebrate the ability to memorise as its most important characteristic.

Alongside this issue, the content of school history was at stake. By the 1970s, Britain was no longer the metropolis of a global empire but instead commonly characterised as the 'sick man of Europe',⁷⁷⁴ underperforming and failing in comparison with its European neighbours. A stagnating economy, soaring prices, and growing industrial unrest dominated the years 1974–1979, which were described as the worst since World War II.⁷⁷⁵ Britain had to reposition itself, with an impact on the classroom: what national narrative, if any, do history textbooks display when the subject of older versions – Britain as a supremacy in times of global greatness – had vanished? One response to the 'decline' was to turn away from the imperial past towards a European future. The day after the House of Commons voted to join the Common Market in 1971, *The Times* published a leading article announcing that 'Schools have to educate for a European future'.⁷⁷⁶ It campaigned for European and world history instead of 'narrowly British history'.

This chapter analyses changes and continuities in the frames and keys of national narratives in English and Dutch history textbooks in the period between circa 1965 and 1988. Section 4.1 shows how a new type of school – the comprehensive school – required more 'relevant' subjects and a different form of school history than the 'traditional' grammar school. It also discusses the rise of 'new history' as well as its opponents such as Margaret Thatcher. She deeply regretted that the older British narrative of progress and imperial greatness had left the classroom and sought to restore it. Subsequently, section 4.2 presents an in-depth analysis of three English history textbook series that were first published in this period. The following two sections address Dutch history education, with section 4.3 demonstrating the influence of Anglo-Saxon didactic developments on Dutch history textbooks as well as the impact of German 'Gesellschaftsgeschichte'. It discusses the objectives of school history and how 'new' best-selling authors put these ideas into practice. Section 4.4 analyses adaptations to previously published

772 Mary Price, 'History in danger', *History* 53, no. 179 (1968): 342–347, 344.

773 John Fines, ed., *Blond's Teachers' Handbook* (London: Blond Educational, 1969).

774 Gino Raymond, 'The 1970s and the Thatcherite revolution', *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique*, vol XXI-2 (2016): 1–13, 4.

775 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 140–141.

776 *Ibid.*, 140; 'Citizens of Europe', *The Times*, October 29, 1971, 15.

series, and also three Dutch textbook series first published between 1965 and 1988. Do these authors question the traditional 'frame' of the Dutch Revolt and how do they 'key' this sixteenth-century topic to other themes or periods? Moreover, how did the reduction in the number of hours allocated to history as a school subject change the organization of textbook narratives, and what were its implications for the perpetuation of national messaging?

4.1 New history and Thatcher's response

In 1963 the Newsom Report was published, on students aged eleven and above. The overwhelming majority of these students left secondary school with no qualification and this report discussed which subjects should be taught to them and how.⁷⁷⁷ Regarding history, the report discussed the importance of entering 'imaginatively into other men's minds' and the ability 'to know bad company and to avoid it': 'Evil man also have power (...). Were those who followed Hitler necessarily worse men than those who rallied to Churchill? Why did they do so? Might we not have done the same?'⁷⁷⁸ The Report declared that young people ought to face these 'sobering questions', recommending the teaching of contemporary themes to more senior students, since these could help them understand their own world: 'In British history, perhaps the most important thing to do with pupils before they finally leave school will be an assessment of Britain's true position in the world today, an assessment which must be based on knowledge of the past as well as the present'.⁷⁷⁹

Contemporary themes also played an important role in the pamphlet *Towards World History*, published by the Department of Education in 1967. Although the pamphlet acknowledged the importance of teaching 'our own history', it aimed to extend students' vision 'out into the world as a whole and away from too close a preoccupation with British politics'.⁷⁸⁰ World history was presented as an answer to the crises of school history, highlighting the relevance of history teachers' work by showing relations between past and present affairs and thus encouraging a better understanding of the contemporary world.

There was a markedly large influx of students entering secondary education in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and this expansion provoked a discussion about the tripartite system of grammar, technical and secondary modern schools. On

777 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 151; see also *The Newsom Report* (1963): <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/newsom/newsom1963.html#01>.

778 *Ibid.*, 151–152.

779 *Ibid.*, 152.

780 *Ibid.*, 18–20. DES, *Towards World History (Education Pamphlet No. 52)* (London: HMSO, 1967), 3–5, 10, 16–17.

the right, grammar schools were seen to have offered beautiful opportunities to bright children from socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds, and there were calls to maintain this school type.⁷⁸¹ Others (especially on the left) argued that the tripartite system had failed and ascertained the need for a school with space for all abilities and social backgrounds: the comprehensive school. The higher numbers of students in primary, secondary, and higher education also led to an increase in teacher training. Ideas about the comprehensive school and attention to teacher training, along with educational theory, further impacted the history classroom.

Mary Price pointed out that history as a school subject was in danger now that comprehensive schools needed fewer academic and more 'relevant' subjects, such as 'social studies', and argued for a 'real forum for the exchange of experiment and thought in the teaching of history'.⁷⁸² A year later, in 1969, the Schools Council published *Humanities for the Young School Leaver* and urged teachers 'to find more successful methods of making history in its own right meaningful and attractive' in order to avoid the subject disappearing entirely from the curriculum.⁷⁸³ This call was not only answered by teachers but by 'academic historians' as well. An example is the book *New movements in the study and teaching of history*, published in 1971 with chapters by famous historians such as William McNeill, Arnold Toynbee, and Peter Mathias.⁷⁸⁴ The introduction explains:

In previous generations there has always been a 'received' body of historical knowledge to be passed on to the next generation. This is no longer true. (...) History teachers are, or should be, involved in a peculiarly acute process of self-examination. Their subject covers the whole past experience of man. They have therefore to decide which parts of that experience are relevant and interesting to their pupils.⁷⁸⁵

In the same year, the Historical Association published the pamphlet *Educational Objectives for the Study of History*, in which the content of school history was neglected. Instead, the authors Jeanette Coltham and John Fines tried to identify specific attitudes and skills that were involved in 'doing' school history, such as the use of imagination as a tool for a better understanding of historical actors.⁷⁸⁶ John Fines also explored the use of drama and role-playing in the history lesson, claiming that these practices would enlarge students' understanding of the am-

781 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 141, 142–148.

782 Ibid., 159.

783 Schools Council, *Humanities for the Young School Leaver: An Approach Through History* (London: Evans Methuen Educational, 1969), 10.

784 Martin Ballard, ed., *New movements in the study and teaching of history* (London: Temple Smith, 1971).

785 Ibid., 4.

786 Jeanette B. Coltham and John Fines, *Educational Objectives for the Study of History. A suggested framework* (London: The Historical Association, 1971).

biguities and complexities of history.⁷⁸⁷ Child-centred learning became popular, leading to several pedagogic experiments stimulated by the cult of youth, liberation, and self-expression.

The Schools Council appreciated the new ideas about 'doing history' in the (comprehensive) classroom and in 1972 they launched a project with the aim to create a new kind of history syllabus.⁷⁸⁸ In the new context of comprehensive schools, history had to be accessible to children with different abilities and it needed to justify its place in the curriculum.⁷⁸⁹ The leader of The Schools Council History 13–16 Project (SCHP 1972–76) was David Sylvester from the education department of Leeds University, also a teacher at a local comprehensive school. Moreover, he had already co-authored the book *History for the Average Child* in 1968.⁷⁹⁰ Years of work, together with voluntary pilot schools, resulted in a new course that was wide in temporal and geographic scope and diverse in its methodology. The project addressed the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the American West (topics designed to examine popular stereotypes), and promoted 'innovative' didactical methods, such as the 'detective approach', which was accompanied by questions about the significance and limitations of 'evidence' and about change and continuity.⁷⁹¹ The concept was that 'real history' could be taught outside universities as well since 'any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development'.⁷⁹²

Moreover, SCHP was to support students in their search for a personal identity: 'If adolescents need to widen their experience in order to find themselves, history offers them the opportunity to experience vicariously an immense range of real human life and endeavour'.⁷⁹³ Games, simulation, and drama were employed to support an active learning environment and it is clearly demonstrated that the SCHP aimed for 'attitudes and abilities rather than the memorisation of facts'.⁷⁹⁴ Students themselves were to play an active role in this approach that became known as 'new history'. By asking research questions, digging for sources and interpreting these pieces of 'evidence', students would understand that history involved debate, perspectives, and discussion. In this

787 John Fines and Raymond Verrier, *The Drama of History: An Experiment in Co-operative Teaching* (London: New University Education, 1974).

788 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 160.

789 SCHP, *A New Look at History* (Edinburgh: Homes McDougall, 1976), 2.

790 P.H.J.H. Godsdon and D.W. Sylvester, *History for the Average Child. Suggestions on Teaching History to Pupils of Average and Below Average Ability* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968).

791 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 161.

792 J.S. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 13.

793 SCHP, *A New Look at History*, 13.

794 *Ibid.*, 47–48.

way, the SCHP challenged the 'traditional' way of history teaching and 'offered an alternative way of framing a syllabus'.⁷⁹⁵

These different ideas on school history and teaching methods also led to new developments in the textbook market. The content and format changed: social history gained space at the cost of political history, and most textbooks were vividly illustrated. In secondary schools, the textbook series *History Alive* by Peter Moss became very popular, also by his use of diagrams and cartoons.⁷⁹⁶ In general, thanks to the advent of the photocopier, teachers and students became less dependent on textbooks. Several teachers began to create their own 'home-made' workbooks, with photocopied pages of texts in combination with their own added questions and tasks.⁷⁹⁷ Moreover, the seventies witnessed an increase of history trips and educational broadcasting.⁷⁹⁸

While some celebrated this approach in which students were handed the bricks with which to build their own history, critics castigated the focus on skills and personal empathy. They accused the project of sacrificing dates, names, content, and coherence.⁷⁹⁹ In the period 1969–1977, the *Critical Quarterly* published a series of articles on British education under the header *Black Papers*, in contrast with the governmental *White Papers*. They attacked the 'excesses' of progressive and child-centred education, insisting that children 'are not naturally good': instead, too much freedom 'breeds selfishness, vandalism and personal unhappiness'.⁸⁰⁰

These concerns about the informal teaching methods and the current teaching standards (or the lack of them) were shared by Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan, who discussed education in his speech at Ruskin College, Oxford in 1976. Officials and the education establishment were 'deeply shocked' by this impertinence: education was not the business of a Prime Minister. The latter, however, ignored the warning that politicians were expected to 'politely keep off the grass'.⁸⁰¹ His speech launched a great debate that put education on the national agenda and thus 'prepared the ground for the counter-revolution in education that Margaret Thatcher was determined to carry out'.⁸⁰²

795 *Ibid.*, 20.

796 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 163.

797 *Ibid.*

798 *Ibid.*, 164.

799 *Ibid.*, 162 and 161.

800 C.B. Cox and Rhodes Boyson, eds., *Black Paper 1975: The Fight for Education* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1975), 1.

801 James Callaghan, 'A rational debate based on the facts', speech at Ruskin College Oxford (October 18, 1976).

802 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 180.

In 1979, Margaret Thatcher of the Conservative Party was elected as the first female head of government, with the objective to 'make Britain great again'.⁸⁰³ She regarded history as an important school subject and strongly disliked the 'attack on our heritage and great past'. In Thatcher's view, 'new history' was undermining national pride:

We are witnessing a deliberate attack on our values, a deliberate attack on those who wish to promote merit and excellence, a deliberate attack on our heritage and great past. And there are those who gnaw away at our national self-respect, rewriting British history as centuries of unrelieved gloom, oppression and failure. As days of hopelessness – not Days of Hope. And others, under the shelter of our education system, are ruthlessly attacking the minds of the young. (...) Blatant tactics of intimidation, designed to undermine the fundamental beliefs and values of every student. Tactics pursued by people who are the first to insist on their own civil rights while seeking to deny them to the rest of us. We must not be bullied and brainwashed out of our beliefs. No wonder so many of our people – some of the best and brightest – are depressed and talk of emigrating. (...) What are our chances of success? It depends what kind of people we are. Well, what kind of people are we? We are the people that in the past made Great Britain the Workshop of the World.⁸⁰⁴

She called for 'restoration' in the teaching of history and for the teaching of knowledge: a cultural identity could be transferred, she insisted, by teaching the 'facts' of national history.⁸⁰⁵ In 1983, Thatcher was asked about her 'vision' for Britain and she replied that 'people who never look backward to their ancestors will not look forward to posterity. We are interested in keeping the best of the past, because we believe in *continuity*. (...) Second, we are *conserving* the best of the past'.⁸⁰⁶

Thatcher and the 'New Right' shared a yearning for the past and sought to restore Britain and its alleged earlier greatness. Members of the New Right regularly referred to the above-quoted part of Thatcher's speech of 1975 in discussions about the impairment of national identity. Thatcherism 'gave voice and a sense of unity' to the New Right.⁸⁰⁷ The New Right ideology brought together the contradicting values of neo-liberals and neo-conservatives: in order to 'preserve a free society and a free economy, the authority of the state had to be enforced'.⁸⁰⁸ This paradox is also discernible in Thatcher's ideas about a national

803 Ibid., 181.

804 Margaret Thatcher, 'Speech to Conservative Party Conference', October 10, 1975 at Blackpool Winter Gardens.

805 Peter Yeandle, "'Heroes into Zeroes'? The Politics of (Not) Teaching England's Imperial Past', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, 5 (2014): 882–911, 888.

806 Harvey Kaye, *The Powers of the Past. Reflections on the Crisis and Promise of History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 95.

807 Yeandle, 'The Politics of (Not) Teaching England's Imperial Past', 888.

808 Ibid., 889.

curriculum, an idea that she initially opposed, insisting that the state should not extend its influence, but over time she became convinced of the 'bad' school conditions and decided that 'the state had to intervene'.⁸⁰⁹

In 1981, Sir Keith Joseph became Thatcher's Secretary of State for Education and Science (as the successor of Mark Carlisle). His agenda displayed several similarities with that of the former Prime Minister Callaghan (1976), both calling for more information about schools' achievements, higher academic standards, a core curriculum, and a shift in the power balance from teachers and educationalists towards parents.⁸¹⁰ An important difference to Callaghan's approach was Joseph's confrontational style, which soon lost him the trust of teachers and he was unable to regain it.⁸¹¹ In 1983, the Department of Education published a White Paper entitled *Teaching Quality* which stated that schools should play a crucial role in teacher training. All trained teachers were required to have 'recent and relevant' experience of successful teaching. In 1985, another White Paper was published: *Better Schools*, with plans regarding 'national agreement about the purposes and the content of the curriculum' that aimed for a 'counter-revolution' in schooling.⁸¹² A year later, Joseph retired from the Cabinet and was succeeded by Kenneth Baker, a skilful politician who was determined to implement the proposals as outlined in *Better Schools*. He carried the Education Reform Act of 1988, which is widely regarded as the most important piece of legislation regarding education since the Education Act of 1944.

The Education Reform Act introduced the National Curriculum (NC) as well as the 'key stages' in schools. A number of educational objectives were to be achieved at each stage and all schools were required to teach the same subject content between the age-groups of seven and sixteen. School league tables were introduced, published in newspapers, in which schools were ranked on basis of their exam performances. Parents could easily access these rankings and take them into consideration when choosing a school for their children (parentocracy). Furthermore, the organisation OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills) was founded with the objective of raising standards. OFSTED carried out school inspections and had the authority to close schools consistently reviewed as 'bad'.

Kenneth Baker believed that students needed to be taught 'an idea of the continuum of history' and he regarded school history as a 'foundation' subject which could be tested along with other subjects at the ages of seven, eleven,

809 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 185.

810 Ibid., 184.

811 Ibid.

812 Department of Education and Science, *Better Schools* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1985). See the summary: <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/wp1985/summary.html>. Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 185.

fourteen and sixteen.⁸¹³ Early in 1989 he convened a History Working Group, a group of 'experts' with the task to produce a history curriculum. Thatcher vetoed some names since they were too closely connected to the 'progressive' ideas of 'new history'.⁸¹⁴ Eventually, the group included two teachers, two teacher-trainers, two academics and two members with an interest in history. Thatcher read their interim report in 1989 and was 'appalled'. She insisted on more British history and more emphasis on chronology.⁸¹⁵ Although the group agreed in principle, they declined to specify the historical knowledge on which students would be tested at the end of each key stage, arguing that historical knowledge was not cumulative and could not be related as such to one specific key stage. Instead, students could deserve a certain mark 'for the demonstration of skills'.⁸¹⁶ The group thus established that content and skills were both necessary and mutually dependent.

This was not enough for Thatcher, who favoured 'traditional history' over 'new history' and was aiming for 'patriotic enthusiasm'.⁸¹⁷ She demanded additional public consultations and hoped that the people would share her own preferences. The History Working Group received more than 1,000 reactions to their interim report. Academic historians were involved in the public debate and the Historical Association organized conferences for teachers in order to discuss the report.⁸¹⁸ In April 1990 the final report was published: students had to learn how to 'do' history and become familiar with a broad range of content. Soon, the history curriculum proved to be overloaded and in December the prescribed content was scaled down, justified by the idea that 'understanding' was more important than 'knowledge'.

The period from 1965 until the Education Reform Act in 1988 thus witnessed much discussion and contrasting ideas around the history curriculum. The next section will examine how textbook authors themselves dealt with these shifts and how these developments affected the perpetuation of national narratives in history textbooks.

813 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 193.

814 *Ibid.*, 194.

815 *Ibid.*, 194. Also: Margaret Thatcher, *The Downing Street Years* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), 596.

816 *Ibid.*, 194.

817 *Ibid.*, 195, 197.

818 *Ibid.*, 195.

4.2 Historical accidents and misfortune

Since the history textbooks already discussed were either reprinted in identical form or not reprinted at all, this section will proceed with analysing three English textbook series that were first published in this chapter's research period. The series *British History for Secondary Schools* was first published in 1966 by William John Carson Gill and Hugh Arthur Colgate, both headmasters of a secondary school. Although this textbook series uses the 'traditional' narrative approach with a focus on national history, the recent discussions affected the content. An example is the historiographical influence of 'history from below': the authors include several chapters on 'the people' alongside their chapters on political history. Gill and Colgate try to make history interesting and relevant by seeking the connection with the 'ordinary' as well as with the 'present world'. In the introduction to *Book III: 1485–1714* (1969), Gill explains:

In this book we are entering upon perhaps the best known and the most colourful period of our history. We have all heard of Shakespeare, the Armada, the Great Fire, of Queen Elizabeth and King Henry VIII, of Sir Francis Drake and Prince Rupert. You will find all these people and many more in this book. In addition, however, you will find a continual stress on the fact that a study of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is also a study of the beginnings of the England we know today. In many ways it is much closer to us in the twentieth century than it was to England in the fourteenth century.⁸¹⁹

This nearness of sixteenth-century England to the twentieth century also becomes visible in the keying process: Gill and Colgate employ the same triptych of Philip II, Napoleon, and Hitler as employed by Bell, Williams and Williams (see 3.4), and speak of a 'pattern':

One of the fascinating things about studying history is that the more we read of it, the more we come across little pieces of information, which fit into the vast jig-saw of the past. As the pattern of the jig-saw emerges, it helps us to understand how things have come to be as they are.⁸²⁰

Next to the similarities with the post-1945 textbook authors discussed earlier, Gill and Colgate's series also displays some differences. Sometimes they use the triptych of Philip II, Napoleon, and Hitler in combination with another 'key': the person of Genghis Khan (1162–1227), considered by many as a genocidal ruler. In their narration of the post-war and Cold War years in *Book V: 1815 to the Present Day* (1971), the authors explain:

819 W.J.C. Gill and H.A. Colgate, *British History for Secondary Schools. Book III: 1485–1714* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), introduction.

820 W.J.C. Gill and H.A. Colgate, *British History for Secondary Schools. Book IV: 1688–1815* (London: Edward Arnold, 1969), 345.

It is a pleasant and comfortable belief among most people that, at the end of a war which has been fought to remove a threat to the accepted order of civilisation, it is possible to resume life as before only without the earlier terrors and dangers. Those of us who lived through the 1930s and can remember how Hitler and his orations seemed ever present must have at times thought that if the danger of German aggression could be removed, the world could cope happily and peacefully with everything else. Equally, I suppose, Napoleon exercised a similar baneful influence on our early nineteenth century ancestors; Philip of Spain in the sixteenth century and Genghis Khan in medieval times. It only needs however, for us to examine the situation after the removal of these threats to see that, with the consequent upheaval of the necessary war, one problem may be removed but ten often take its place. This is always true. It was true in 1945.⁸²¹

The authors wonder whether the United Nations Organisation will prove to be more effective than the League of Nations and how a new war can be avoided in the future.⁸²² Moreover, the Nazis and Fascists are described as 'evil' and as 'reincarnations of Attila the Hun or Ghengis Khan'. The moralising and aggressive tone continues, concluding: 'They were bloodthirsty destroyers who must be destroyed. There could be no mercy.'⁸²³

Hitler is not only keyed to medieval times and sixteenth-century history; the textbook authors also connect him to a person from modern history: Napoleon Bonaparte. *Book IV: 1688–1815* (1969) contains a chapter entitled 'Boney will get you', echoing English parents threatening their recalcitrant children during the Napoleonic wars. The textbook authors begin this chapter about eighteenth and nineteenth-century history with a flash-forward to twentieth-century history. By keying the Napoleonic wars to World War II, the textbook authors emphasize the danger of invasion and the significance of 'British' sea power that prevented intrusion:

You will have heard of the Battle of Britain in 1940, when the Germans had conquered Western Europe and Hitler waited to cross the English Channel. The twenty-odd miles between Boulogne and Dover – you can see across on a clear day – have made our history. The Germans could not cross in 1940 because they did not control those narrow straits. One hundred and forty seven years earlier, the famous French general Napoleon Bonaparte stood on those same hills behind Boulogne, watching the same cliffs of Dover. (...) 'Let us be masters of the straits for six hours, and we will be masters of the world', he said. They waited and waited for the coast to be clear, but every day the sails of British warships could be seen on the horizon.⁸²⁴

821 W.J.C. Gill and H.A. Colgate, *British History for Secondary Schools. Book V: 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971), 231.

822 *Ibid.*, 230.

823 *Ibid.*, 224.

824 Gill and Colgate, *British History for Secondary Schools. Book IV*, 312.

Gill and Colgate generate keys themselves but also mention keys employed by other authors. While narrating World War II in detail, they remark that it would be historically wrong and ‘grossly ungrateful to ignore Churchill’s speeches’ and they praise his ability ‘to select the right parallel’.⁸²⁵ Although they do not quote Churchill’s speeches, it is clear why they praise Churchill’s choice of historical analogies: he employed the triptych mentioned above.⁸²⁶

Next to similarities in the keying process, Gill and Colgate’s framing device also displays resemblance with the post-1945 history textbook series discussed earlier. Although they do not accentuate the four freedoms in their textbook narrative, they place much emphasis on the plot ‘danger of invasion’. *Book III: 1485–1714* (1969) includes a chapter entitled ‘The Dangerous Years’. The introduction explains that ‘Drake grew up in a period when England was in a position of acute danger’.⁸²⁷ Drake’s hero-status is portrayed as ‘the man of the people who did everything the ordinary man wanted to do’.⁸²⁸ The authors thus describe a hero while remaining loyal to their principle to focus on the ‘ordinary man’. Throughout their narrative, the authors argue that ‘the time of danger culminated in the Armada campaign of 1588 when Philip of Spain tried, once and for all, to resolve his difficulties in Northern Europe’.⁸²⁹

In their continuation of the story, the authors emphasize the danger of invasion to a hyperbole. They narrate about 1587 and Drake’s actions in Cadiz, where he destroyed Spanish supplies and parts of the Spanish fleet. Drake’s actions caused much damage and the plans for invasion were delayed. Nevertheless, Philip continued his preparations for ‘the great attack’:

More ships were built; (...). As 1587 drew to a close Europe was beset by rumours of great and calamitous events. There was almost a feeling that the end of the world was at hand. Astrologers had calculated that 1588 was to be a year fateful for all mankind. ‘If in this year complete catastrophe does not befall the world, and if the land and the ocean

825 Gill and Colgate, *British History for Secondary Schools. Book V*, 224.

826 Churchill, ‘Every man to his post’, broadcast on September 11, 1940 (CHAR 9/176A/40). ‘Therefore, we must regard the next week or so as a very important period in our history. It ranks with the days when the Spanish Armada was approaching the Channel, and Drake was finishing his game of bowls; or when Nelson stood between us and Napoleon’s Grand Army at Boulogne’. www.battleofbritain1940.net/document-48.html (accessed March 19, 2018). See also: Churchill, ‘Forward, till the whole task is done’ on May 13, 1945 at BBC London. ‘We have had to hold out from time to time all alone, or to be the mainspring of coalitions, against a continental tyrant or dictator, and we have had to hold out for quite a long time: against the Spanish Armada, against the might of Louis XIV, when we led Europe for nearly twenty-five years under William III and Marlborough, and 150 years ago, when Nelson, Pitt and Wellington broke Napoleon, not without assistance from the heroic Russians of 1811.’

827 Gill and Colgate, *British History for Secondary Schools. Book III*, 95–96.

828 *Ibid.*

829 *Ibid.*, 105.

does not dissolve in ruin, yet the world will still endure a great upheaval. Empires will crumble and on all sides there will be a great lamentation.⁸³⁰

After this 'quote', in which the danger has reached enormous proportions, Gill and Colgate describe the battle between the English and Spanish ships and how the Spanish ships ran before the wind into the North Sea, consequently struggling in the storm. The authors show how the 'tide turned', so to speak, and the danger decreased. For the Spanish, it became a 'battle for survival' and the fear of invasion passed.⁸³¹ In the final sentence of the chapter, they stress once again the crucial and critical character of the battle and the danger that had threatened England: 'This was one of the decisive battles of the western world. It largely ended the dangerous years.'⁸³²

The chapter concludes with suggestions for 'further reading' and the novel mentioned earlier, *The Defeat of the Armada* by Garrett Mattingly, is included on this list.⁸³³ 'Danger of invasion' is an important theme in this novel. As we saw in Chapter 1, Mattingly begins his book with an analogy between 1588 and 1940 and explains that the idea of writing about the Spanish Armada came to him in June 1940, when the 'threatening events' on the surrounding seas of Great Britain were world news once again.

Whereas the series *British History for Secondary Schools* (1966) emphasized the importance of 1588 and presented the upcoming events as 'fateful for all mankind', *History Alive* (1967) glosses over the battle as barely significant:

Many people believe that the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the first quarter of the seventeenth are the greatest years in all of English history. Yet there were no great wars which won Britain a great empire, as there were in the eighteenth century, nor were there any world-shattering inventions like those of the steam engine and textile machinery in the nineteenth, which made England the richest and most powerful nation on earth. The fame of these years rests on the sudden and immense outbursts in the world of the arts – writing and music, and to a lesser degree, architecture and art. Why this happened is one of those accidents in history: a number of ingredients came together and it needed only a spark to make the great artistic explosion which we call the English renaissance.⁸³⁴

In place of an extensive account of the sea battle, Peter Moss, the author of *History Alive*, dedicates – in his section on 'The great days of Elizabeth' – a chapter to fashion and clothing in 1588 and discusses daily life and Tudor architecture in other chapters. With the exception of the general remark 'As so

830 Ibid., 106.

831 Ibid., 111.

832 Ibid.

833 Ibid., 112.

834 Peter Moss, *History Alive 1: 1485–1714* (Leicester: Blond Educational, 1969), 5.

often in Britain's history, it was the navy that saved the day⁸³⁵ the author does not key the events of 1588 to other histories in his textbook series. He neither frames the sixteenth-century sea battle in a clear-cut way nor does he mention a 'pattern'. Instead, echoing his allusion to 'accidents in history' in the quote above, he also emphasizes that luck was an important factor in the English victory of 1588.

Although he mentions the methods and tactics of well-known English seamen, Moss argues that Spain was well prepared for its 'invasion of England' and states: 'King Philip really should have succeeded with his great Armada: he had everything on his side – except luck.'⁸³⁶ He portrays the Spanish as unlucky in several ways, describing the storm, for instance as an accident and bad luck, replacing the traditional 'God blew and they were scattered' narrative. Whereas other textbook authors highlight the heroic deeds of Drake when he confronted the Spanish in 1587, Moss shows the consequences of the attack:

In his haste to get the fleet away Philip had to buy everything that was available, and the Spanish merchants, more interested in their own profit than the glory of God in the capture of England, saw a chance of getting rid of old stock which had been on their hands for years. So it was that many of the ships were equipped with rotten ropes, weak timbers and barrels of food which were rotten before the Armada even sailed. When in the early months of 1588 the grand fleet was ready, the next piece of bad luck struck Philip.⁸³⁷

To make matters worse, Moss continues, the admiral in charge died and an elderly nobleman, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was forced to take command. Although the Duke begged to recuse himself of this task – 'for he knew nothing about the sea, less about fighting and was ill whenever he went out of harbour' – the king insisted.⁸³⁸ Rather than reproducing the heroic legend of a Drake quietly finishing his game of bowls upon hearing about the upcoming Armada, *History Alive* even describes the arrival of the news as Spanish misfortune:

When ready for sea again, the Armada had the misfortune to run across a fast sailing boat heading for England, so that news that the great fleet was on its way reached England long before the first sail was spotted from the coast of Cornwall. The beacons were lit on every hilltop, and the message warning the nation to get ready flashed from one side of the country to the other.⁸³⁹

Moss also highlights the differences in technique and tactics, explaining that the Spanish galleons had to carry as much cargo as possible and as a result, were broad, tall, slow, and 'rather clumsy vessels',⁸⁴⁰ while the English ships were built narrower

835 Peter Moss, *History Alive 2: 1688–1789* (Leicester: Blond Educational, 1970), 30.

836 Moss, *History Alive 1*, 65.

837 *Ibid.*, 66.

838 *Ibid.*

839 *Ibid.*

840 *Ibid.*, 42.

and lower in the water and thus faster and more manoeuvrable. Furthermore, the Spanish method of fighting at sea was to come alongside the enemy and, after they had tied the two vessels together, to attack with muskets, swords, and pikes as if they were on land.⁸⁴¹ The English ships however, sought to avoid direct combat and would fire their cannon while sailing at a certain distance. 'Their extra speed and manoeuvrability allowed them to sail round the slow galleons and attack first one side and then the other', explains Moss with the help of the image below.⁸⁴²

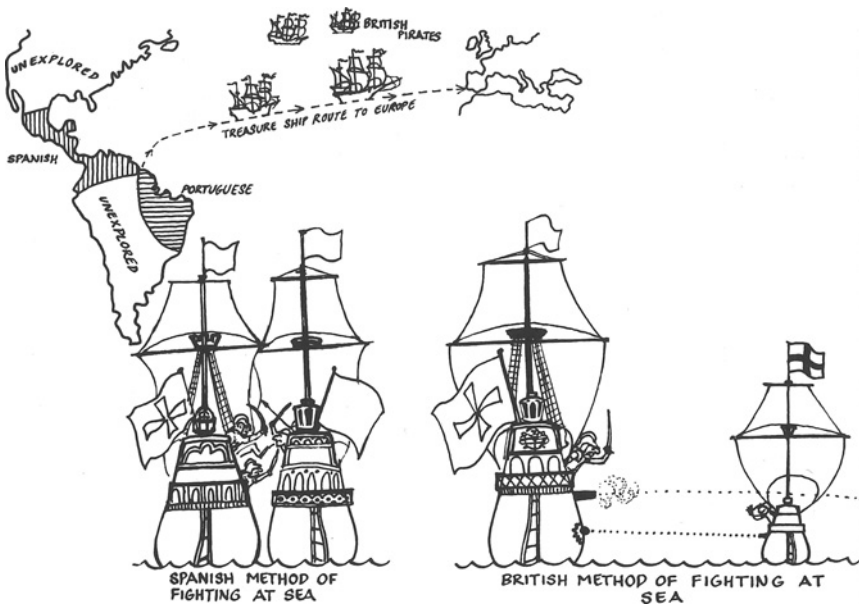


Figure 17: Moss, *History Alive I*, 1969, 42

Instead of explaining history as the will of God, the power of the nation, or certain 'patterns', Moss discusses broader contexts (such as technique and local trade), (un)expected consequences of actions (causality) and 'bad luck' or 'accidents in history'. Moss' textbook series uses cartoons and diagrams to make his ideas on causality explicit. These images have contributed to the popularity of the series, being simple to retain and containing a number of 'key ideas'.⁸⁴³

841 Ibid.

842 Ibid., 43.

843 Richard Harris and Ian Luff, *Addressing Special Educational Needs and Disability in the Curriculum: History* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 32. 'I don't remember much from my school days in the history lesson, but I do remember the cartoons in the History Alive series (...) and all my colleagues from a similar era likewise remember them. Why? Because they provided simple images to retain, yet contained a number of key ideas.'

ELIZABETH AND SPAIN

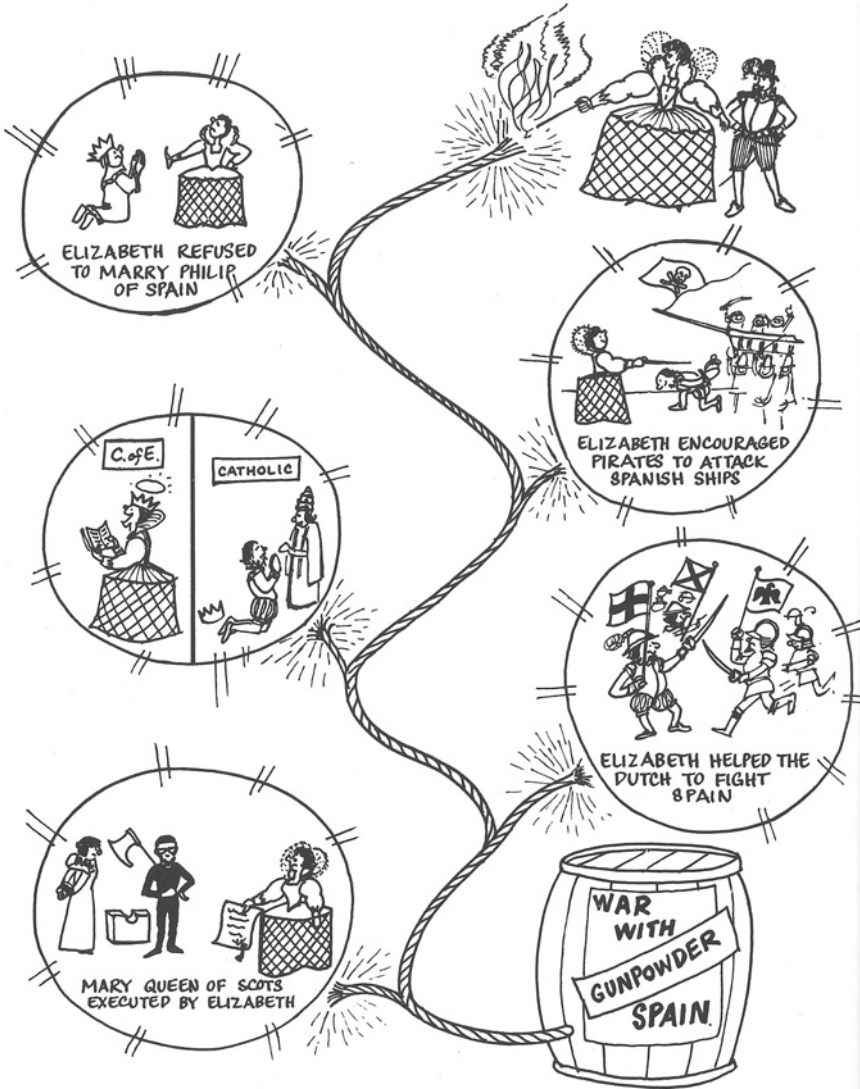


Figure 18: Moss, *History Alive I*, 1969, 64

Another key theme in Moss' work is 'progress', already present in his first volume, *Introductory Book* (1970). Moss comments in the first chapter of this volume:

In less than 10,000 years, a mere fragment of man's life on earth, he has gone from a savage with nothing but stone, bone and wooden tools, to a creature who has travelled to the moon. When you consider it took man 300,000 years to find out how to make fire, and then only 60 years to progress from the first manned aeroplane to the first satellite, you will see how the pace of progress is speeding up, faster and faster, like a man riding down a steep hill on a brakeless bicycle. Let us hope the end result will not be the same!⁸⁴⁴

The second volume, *Book I: 1485–1714* (1969), begins with an image on the subject of progress (see next page). The signpost to the left guides the viewer 'to the Middle Ages' and that to the right directs the viewer 'to the modern world'. The five people in the middle are all looking to the right. The next page presents Chapter One, entitled *Into Modern Times*. Although ancient history is interesting, the author comments, it has had 'little effect on the way we live today';⁸⁴⁵ the focus is thus placed on modern history in the upcoming volumes with a view to showing how these historical events and persons have affected the present.

In 1983, John F. Aylett published his textbook series *In Search of History*, in which he includes a large number of sources. Inspired by the didactic developments of 'new history', the series aims to encourage students to think and argue about history by themselves. While being confronted with problems concerning evidence as well as cause and consequence, students find themselves in the role of a 'history detective' with the task of evaluating and interpreting different sources and developing their own arguments. The first volume begins with a chapter in which Aylett explains the differences between primary and secondary sources. He also emphasizes that 'history is a story':

It is a story of people who lived before us and of the things they did and made. It is a story which began in Britain about 300,000 years ago. At that time, Britain was not an island. It was still joined to the mainland of Europe. It is very hard for us to think of people living all that time ago. Even adults find it difficult to imagine such a long time ago. Perhaps the diagram below will help. Each dot stands for 1000 years. The last dot stands for the years 1000 to 2000. It is the time when we are living. It also covers a huge range of other events: the First and Second World Wars, Guy Fawkes and even the Battle of Hastings would all come inside that one dot. The dot beside it covers the time from Jesus Christ's birth up to 1000.⁸⁴⁶

It is interesting to see that this textbook series includes a graphic timeline as well, albeit a very different one in comparison with the English history textbook series

844 Peter Moss, *History Alive. Introductory Book: to 1485* (Leicester: Blond Educational, 1970), 6.

845 Moss, *History Alive 1*, 5.

846 John F. Aylett, *In Search of History. Early Times-1066* (London: Edward Arnold, 1985), 6.

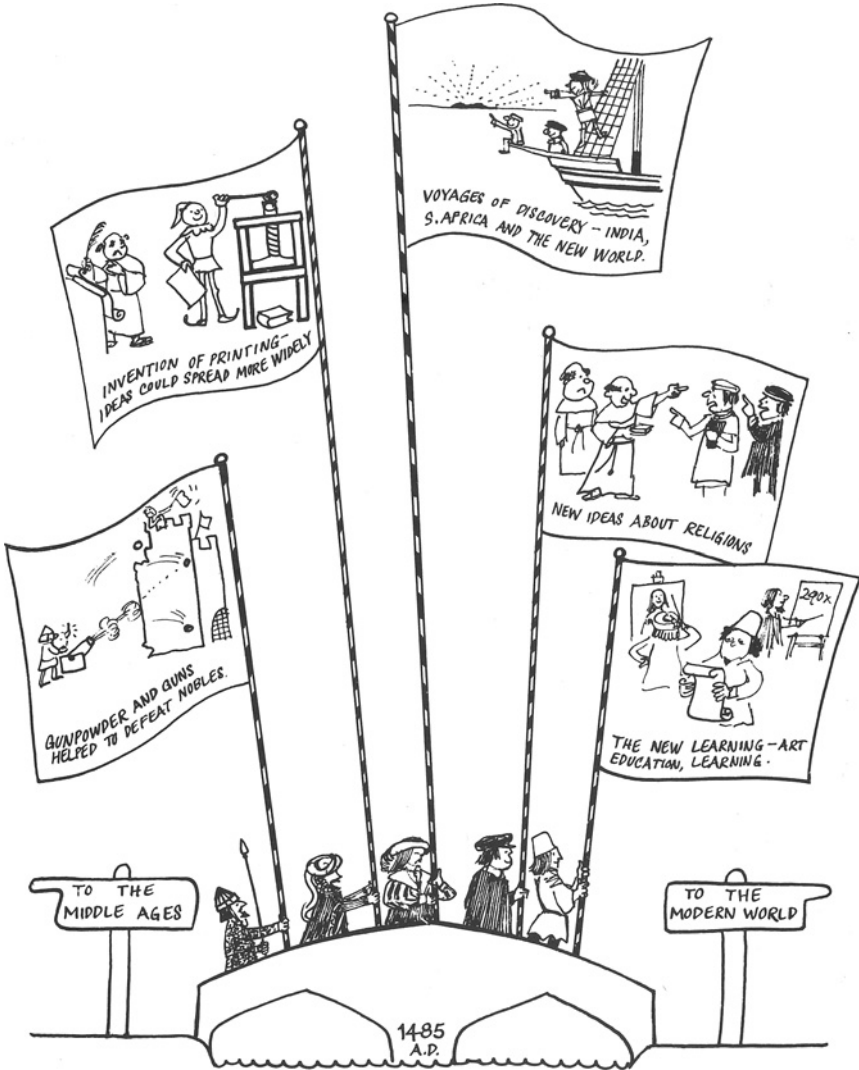


Figure 19: Moss, *History Alive I*, 1969, 4

discussed earlier. While many of these series focused on progress – some even presented a ‘mental map’ towards an imaginative future – this author merely emphasizes the continuation of time and the selection of historical events and persons that are included in his series. This is also stressed in the assignments: students are encouraged to make their own graphic timeline.⁸⁴⁷

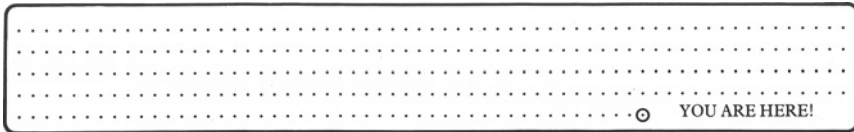


Figure 20: Aylett, *In Search of History I*, 1985, 6

This series encourages students to investigate famous stories and legends. The first volume, for example, includes the chapter ‘King Arthur: is it history or just a story?’ and a chapter about the tale of Beowulf.⁸⁴⁸ This is also the case in Volume Two, which provides a chapter about the Spanish Armada: students are asked to read different sources about the failure of the Armada and to evaluate the reasons for it. Aylett also discusses these issues in the main text, with the sections headed ‘This was Philip’s plan’, followed by ‘This was what went wrong’. The first source is an image of the medal with the engraving ‘God blew and they were scattered’ (see page 203). The second quotes the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who pointed to the enemy’s better artillery and the English tactics of fighting from a certain distance. The third source (from 1954) argues that the Spanish Armada failed due to the lack of a Spanish naval base near England and the last quotes Philip’s famous quip: ‘I sent you out to war with men, not with the wind and waves’. After the students have read and evaluated these sources with a mark, they have to clarify why they gave a certain explanation a high or low mark.⁸⁴⁹ In this way, the famous ‘God blew and they were scattered’ narrative is not entirely absent but included in a list of primary and secondary sources that discuss the reasons why the Spanish Armada failed in its mission. Students have to assess this ‘legend’ by themselves.

Aylett does not key other historical events or persons to 1588, nor does he frame this sixteenth-century sea battle in a clear-cut way. The textbook series *In Search of History* is an example of ‘new history’: students are encouraged to ‘do history’ themselves, ‘weigh’ the ‘evidence’ and develop an argument. Imagination is also important. Students are to pretend that they were the English commander in 1588, for example, and are asked what they would have done when they heard

847 *Ibid.*, 7.

848 *Ibid.*, 58–61 and 62–63.

849 John F. Aylett, *In Search of History. 1485–1714* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), 41.

about the advancing Armada: '1. set sail at once and hunt the Armada; 2. wait until the Armada arrives; 3. sail up the Channel towards the Netherlands.'⁸⁵⁰ Moreover, Aylett explores new forms of child-centred, active learning: 'To taste some typical Stuart cooking, first work out what this recipe says. Then, ask your parents or cookery teacher to make it!'⁸⁵¹ Another example is the 'date race' at the end of each textbook. 'All you need to do is find some dice and learn a few dates.'⁸⁵² It looks like a board game: students who answer a question correctly get another go and those who answer wrongly have to miss a turn.



Figure 21: Aylett, *In Search of History II*, 1984, 41

Aylett concludes his narrative about the Spanish Armada not with a grand ending such as in textbooks discussed earlier, in which the shift in power was highlighted ('England became mistress of the seas' or 'the whole of Protestant Europe rejoiced'). Instead, he concludes with a short and simple remark: 'It was a sad end for such a great fleet'.⁸⁵³ Apparently, he does not interpret 1588 as a great heroic victory, nor does he key the sea battle to other histories or to the David-Goliath allegory. His narrative of World War II explains why: while he does refer to the famous phrase of 'standing alone', instead of celebrating this idea and keying

850 *Ibid.*, 39.

851 *Ibid.*, 93.

852 *Ibid.*, 97.

853 *Ibid.*, 40.








TUDORS AND STUARTS DATE RACE		HOW TO PLAY	
1485			COLUMBUS FINDS A 'NEW WORLD'. WHAT YEAR IS IT?
1509~ HENRY VIII BECOMES KING. GO FORWARD ONE SPACE		YOUR MONASTERY IS CLOSED DOWN. MISS A TURN.	
CAUGHT BEGGING ~ PUT IN STOCKS. GO BACK 1 SPACE	YOU ARE BEATEN AT SCHOOL. THROW A SIX TO RECOVER	1587~ A QUEEN DIES. WHO WAS SHE?	
	THE ARMADA SETS SAIL. WHAT YEAR IS IT?	QUEEN ELIZABETH REWARDS YOU WITH A TITLE. GO FORWARD 2 SPACES	YOU MEET WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. WHO IS HE?
1603~ A NEW KING. WHO IS HE?		YOU SUPPORT PARLIAMENT IN THE CIVIL WAR. GO FORWARD 3 SPACES	
CHARLES I EXECUTED. WHAT YEAR IS IT?	CAUGHT PLAYING FOOTBALL ON SUNDAY. GO BACK TWO SPACES	1620~ THE MAYFLOWER SETS SAIL	YOU ARE SUSPECTED OF BEING INVOLVED IN THE GUNPOWDER PLOT. MISS A TURN
1660~ CHARLES II RETURNS. GO FORWARD TWO SPACES			PLAGUE STRIKES LONDON. WHAT YEAR IS IT?
PIRATES ATTACK YOUR SHIP. GO BACK 1 SPACE		YOU ARE PLEASED WITH YOUR NEW WIG. GO FORWARD TWO SPACES	1666~ THE FIRE OF LONDON. MISS A TURN
	1688~ REVOLUTION. YOU FLEE TO FRANCE. MISS A TURN	1702~ WILLIAM III DIES. WHO BECOMES QUEEN?	YOU MEET THOMAS SAVERY. WHAT HAS HE INVENTED?
1714 TO THE GEORGIANS		L-Z	

Figure 22: Aylett, *In Search of History II*, 1984, 97

histories on the basis of Britain's power, Aylett uses this phrase to explain Britain's decline:

British people played a major part in winning two World Wars, but each one left Britain weaker. Today, Britain is not such a great power. She can no longer compete on a military level with the major super-powers, Russia and America. Perhaps the most striking change has been in how Britain defends herself. In 1901, Britain felt so secure that she had no allies. But she has long given up 'going it alone'. Since the Second World War, Britain has relied more and more on America: American troops, armed with American weapons, are now based in Britain to help protect British people.⁸⁵⁴

On the last page, Aylett quotes the Earl of Stockton, better known as Harold Macmillan. The Earl was on television in January 1985, when The House of Lords' debates were televised for the first time, and Aylett uses his words to call for action and to express hope for the future:

We must not be the slowest ship in the convoy. We must be the leader or at least [try] to regain the leadership we have had for so long. The decision would be for the next generation to make if the country was not to sink slowly like a great ship.⁸⁵⁵

He appeals to his readers as the next generation and argues that their understanding of British history will help them in their search for change and a better Britain.⁸⁵⁶ Moreover, in order to avoid a tragic end, the author underlines that 'despite not doing as well as other countries, surveys have shown that most British are very satisfied with their country and their way of life'.⁸⁵⁷ Aylett refers to a poll from 1974 in which 85 per cent said they were satisfied with their lives. He also remarks that this was 'the highest proportion of any European country' and explains this result by the absence of any recent revolution or dictator and the fact that Britain is still a democracy.

Although the textbook series *British History for Secondary School* (1966) and *History Alive* (1967) still emphasize the power disparity in their narrative of 1588, they no longer use the phrase 'standing alone', nor do they key histories on the basis of the David-Goliath allegory.⁸⁵⁸ Moreover, instead of divine intervention, *History Alive* mentions 'bad luck' as an explanation for sixteenth-century events. By the end of the 1960s, the David-Goliath allegory had thus lost its relevance in English history textbooks. Heroic memories of World War II were pushed aside to make room for the collapse of British imperial power, economic crises, and Britain's failure to stop the white settler revolt in Southern Rhodesia in 1965.

854 J.F. Aylett, *In Search of History: The Twentieth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 1986), 90.

855 *Ibid.*, 92.

856 *Ibid.*

857 *Ibid.*

858 Gill and Colgate, *British History for Secondary Schools. Book III*, 108; Moss, *History Alive 1*, 63.

Moreover, Britain's relative decline as a world power is particularly clearly illustrated by the Cold War reality. Although Britain aimed to maintain its position alongside the United States and tested its first atomic bomb in 1952, it soon became clear that the British would not catch up in the nuclear race.

The socio-political context had thus changed, and if history educators could no longer talk about the heroic national past, what could they teach? In two of the textbook series examined, the 'traditional' English national narrative was no longer perpetuated. *History Alive* does contain a narrative about the Spanish Armada, but the author does not explain history by the will of God, patterns or the power of the nation. Whereas this series still narrates progress, this is no longer the case in the series *In Search of History*. Although the latter contains 'traditional' elements of the national narrative, students are encouraged to examine these by reading sources and examining the evidence themselves. Inspired by developments in history scholarship and especially in history didactics, the series no longer narrates a clear-cut narrative but encourages students to 'do history'.

The next section discusses educational reorientation in the Netherlands and demonstrates that the question 'what is history?' has been answered in various ways.

4.3 What is history? Educational reorientations in the Netherlands

The Secondary Education Act or Mammoth Act (*Mammoet Wet*) – which was accepted in 1962/1963 but came into effect in 1968 – constituted a fundamental reorganization of the secondary education system and put an end to the old division of school types in the Netherlands. The law on secondary education passed by Thorbecke in 1863 had led to the establishment of the HBS (*Hogere Burgerschool*) and MMS (*Middelbare Meisjesschool*), and introduced history as an autonomous subject. In 1876, the subject was officially introduced in the grammar schools (*Gymnasium*) and in 1920 in the MULO schools, aimed at further extended primary education (*Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs*).⁸⁵⁹ In all these schools, students also had to take a history examination. The Mammoth Act changed this, and the MULO, MMS and HBS were replaced by the new MAVO, HAVO and VWO, with the aim to make it easier for students to move from one type of education to another. In the old system deciding on a certain school type was often a final choice, while this new structure allowed for greater vertical and horizontal movement.

⁸⁵⁹ Toebees, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 213.

Ideas of equality dominated the education discourse and more students entered secondary education, especially from lower income groups and ‘less educated families’.⁸⁶⁰ History education remained compulsory for students between 12 and 15 years – albeit with a reduction in the number of hours – but it became elective in the upper years. As a result, a chronological treatment of history from Year 1 until the final examinations was no longer possible and the Mammoth Act led to the introduction of the semi-concentric method. Moreover, civics (*maatschappijleer*) was introduced as a new school subject and it ‘would generate a long lasting competition with history’.⁸⁶¹ The crises of history education – the number of hours had decreased and it had become an optional subject in upper secondary education – ‘stimulated reflection on core didactical questions’, such as why, what and how do we teach?⁸⁶² The traditional *Bildungsideal* was regarded as too conservative and overly aimed at students in pre-university education.

In 1965, a Dutch commission was founded with the aim to discuss and rethink the objectives of school history (*Doelstellingencommissie*) in the light of the implementation of the Mammoth Act. The Commission consisted of thirteen persons, seven of whom had a PhD.⁸⁶³ After several meetings, the Commission delivered the *Report on Objectives* in June 1967, announcing that conveying ‘the past’ was an undesirable and impossible task. History teachers needed to select certain historical content and they needed to be aware that their ideas on history affected how they would do so. Students were thus no longer required to memorize certain historical knowledge but instead to obtain and process it by themselves. Moreover, school history had to equip the pupil with the necessary skills in order to do so.⁸⁶⁴

This report seemed to mark a turning point in the discussion around history education since it explicitly stimulated the development of *skills*.⁸⁶⁵ Although the list contained, for example, the skill to ‘critically evaluate a certain text’, many of the required abilities were not particularly novel, such as the ability ‘to listen very well’, ‘to organize the presented knowledge in order to appropriate the information’ and ‘to present an argument in word and writing’.⁸⁶⁶ Nevertheless, this

860 Carla van Boxtel and Maria Grever, ‘Between disenchantment and high expectations. History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008’, in *Facing – Mapping – Bridging Diversity. Foundation of a European Discourse on History Education. Part 2*, eds. Elisabeth Erdmann and Wolfgang Hasberg (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 83–116, 88.

861 Ibid.

862 Ibid., 106.

863 Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 315.

864 Ibid., 316; Klein, Grever and Van Boxtel, ‘“Zie, Denk, Voel, Vraag, Spreek, Hoor en Verwonder”: Afstand en Nabijheid bij Geschiedenisonderwijs en Erfgoededucatie in Nederland’, 384–385.

865 Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 317.

866 Ibid.

report opened up the debate around history education in the Netherlands by emphasizing the constructed nature of historical knowledge. The 'past' could not simply be transmitted but merely present-day knowledge, views, and skills concerned with or related to it.⁸⁶⁷ Moreover, this report emphasized the value of historical knowledge in the context of the present:

Observing the similarities and differences between phenomena from the past and comparable phenomena from the present – something that will always occur either consciously or unconsciously – contributes to avoiding 'short-sightedness' in respect to the present. The present is relativized, seen in its momentariness, even as the past, subject to processes of change, with structures that are only valid for this period of time.⁸⁶⁸

A more structuralist and comparative approach to historical studies is mentioned with regard to the didactics of Dutch history.⁸⁶⁹

The report was not received well by everyone. Some argued that the skills mentioned were not specific to history, except one: 'being able to think within the framework of time'.⁸⁷⁰ Others disliked the whole idea of 'skills' and P. Hooenboom argued, for example, in his critical reflection in *Weekblad*:

Let's not be so pretentious about our 'methodologies' and, even more so, let's not pretend that we are teaching pupils to understand things that we do not understand ourselves.⁸⁷¹

In general, however, the report was well received. As teachers liked the ideas but complained that the report did not offer concrete practical suggestions, in 1968 the Dutch History Teachers Association (VGN) founded two commissions with the task to operationalize the formulated objectives of school history, such as the ability 'to relativize one's own position and that of one's own time' and 'to be able to see one's own time as a phase in a development, as a stage in a process, rooted in the past'.⁸⁷²

In the same year, the *Ledo* project (learning by doing) was established by the Institute of Education in Groningen. This project aimed for an integrated curriculum and developed education packages that integrated human and social

867 Ibid., 319. See also: Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 226.

868 Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 226; VGN, 'Rapport van de Doelstellingencommissie, ingesteld door het bestuur der VGN', *Kleio* 8, no. 6 (1967): 161–189, 173.

869 Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 226.

870 Ibid.

871 P. Hooenboom, 'Het slechte geweten van de historicus', *Weekblad* 61, no. 5 (1967–1968): 121–128, 121. 'Laten we toch niet zo gewichtig doen over onze "methoden" – en vooral niet pretenderen begrip bij te brengen voor dingen, die we zelf niet begrijpen'.

872 VGN, *Brugklas-rapport. Rapport van de brugklascommissie van de VGN en de drie pedagogische centra* (1971), 23. The report spoke of a 'zelfrelativerende houding'. See also: Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 227.

sciences.⁸⁷³ Although some schools experimented with an integrated curriculum, most teachers and historians criticised the project. An example was Ivo Schöffers, professor of National History at Leiden University, who was asked to join the *Ledo* team and to contribute to the theme 'war and peace' with writings on several subtopics, such as the Cuba crisis, World War I, the Dutch Revolt, and Angola. However, he reacted with an open letter in *Kleio* in which he argued that ideas about time, space, and distance had disappeared with four of these 'incomparable' subtopics. He wrote that teachers should not be surprised if their students thought 'that Cuba is a province of Angola, that William of Orange signed the Treaty of Versailles and that Castro is now fighting in Pakistan.'⁸⁷⁴

This letter was the project's death sentence: more people openly argued against the program. An example is Leo Dalhuisen, historian and expert in history didactics at Leiden University, who also wrote in *Kleio*.⁸⁷⁵ In 1972, the Dutch History Teachers Association also published a reaction in the journal, in which they clearly rejected the project. *Ledo* was clearly out of favour from 1972 onwards, and it would quietly leave the stage in 1976.⁸⁷⁶ Although the project did not ultimately have much effect on history education – history remained a distinctive school subject – it is illustrative of the fierce discussions and opinions around the aims and methods of history education.

Debates around a central written examination of history (CSE) also fuelled these discussions. At the time of the Mammoth Act, school history was not part of the planned centrally organized examination, but in 1966 rumours suggested that the Minister intended to implement it nevertheless. Discussions ran high, as can be read in *Kleio* (1967). Some argued that history could not be centrally tested since it was an interpretative subject in which personal and religious views played a crucial role. Moreover, they argued that this development would mean a loss of freedom for the teacher and the school.⁸⁷⁷ Others were more positive, pointing to the fact that written essays had always played an important role in the history classroom alongside oral tests. They also pointed out that there was more agreement about important and relevant topics than differences.⁸⁷⁸

In 1970, P. van der Meulen wrote an article in *Kleio* in which he encouraged teachers and historians to consider what kind of work, think processes and value

873 Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between disenchantment and high expectations. History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008', 91.

874 Ivo Schöffers, 'Het Ledo-projekt', *Kleio* 13, no. 1 (1972): 1–6. '...Cuba een provincie is van Angola, Willem van Oranje de Vrede van Versailles tekende en Castro nu in Pakistan aan het vechten is'.

875 L. Dalhuisen, 'zonder titel', *Kleio* 13, no. 4 (1972): 289–298; Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 366.

876 Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 367.

877 Toebes, *History: A Distinct(ive) Subject?*, 329.

878 *Ibid.*

judgements typified 'history'.⁸⁷⁹ In earlier discussions, the objectives of school history had often been discussed in relation to historical knowledge (chronological, thematic, and exemplary) but Van der Meulen was interested in teaching students historical thinking, inspired by developments in Germany, England, and the United States as he showed in his articles.⁸⁸⁰

In this process of rethinking the objectives of school history, developmental psychology played an important role. Heinrich Roth (1955) and Waltraut Küppers (1961) had argued that the content of school history had to be adapted to the child's development and, in line with this, Küppers had recommended the biographical method in the first years of history education since the young favoured 'historical heroes'.⁸⁸¹ This recommendation led to huge discussions: it was associated with 'traditional history', which some teachers were actively working to overcome. Fundamental critique came from the German educationalist Joachim Rohlfes, who, in his book *Umriss einer Didaktik der Geschichte* (1957), criticized the idea that the content of school history had to be adapted to a certain age-group. Instead, he argued, school history needed to seek a connection with the students' own reality and their existing competences.⁸⁸²

Rohlfes was inspired by Benjamin Bloom, a psychologist from the United States, who focused on the learning *process* and argued for a 'taxonomy' of educational objectives in the 1950s. Bloom proposed a 'pyramid' of educational objectives that followed on from each other logically, from concrete to more complex and abstract. Bloom's taxonomy was an important source of inspiration to Jerome Bruner (1960), who introduced the idea of a *spiral curriculum*: an educational approach in which key concepts and complex ideas are introduced to students at a young age in simplified form, and repeated and re-visited on a more complex level later on. School subjects could thus be taught at various levels of gradually increasing difficulty.

In the Netherlands, the ideas of Bloom and Bruner were put into practice by Leo Dalhuisen. Together with Jan van der Dussen, lecturer at Nijmegen University, Dalhuisen published a leaflet entitled *What is history? [Wat is geschiedenis?]* in 1971.⁸⁸³ They developed a scheme with concepts that were characteristic of the discipline of history, such as fact and opinion, cause and consequence,

879 P. van der Meulen, 'Wat toetsen wij?', *Kleio* 11, no. 6 (1970): 211–219.

880 Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 336.

881 Heinrich Roth, *Kind und Geschichte: Psychologische Voraussetzungen des Geschichtsunterrichts in der Volksschule* (Munich: Kösel Verlag 1955); Waltraut Küppers, *Zur Psychologie des Geschichtsunterrichts: eine Untersuchung über Geschichtswissen und Geschichtsverständnis bei Schülern* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1961).

882 Joachim Rohlfes, *Umriss einer Didaktik der Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), 19.

883 L.G. Dalhuisen and J.W. van der Dussen, *Wat is geschiedenis?* (Den Haag: Van Goor, 1971).

change and continuity. This scheme could function as a 'spiral curriculum': every year, these structural concepts ('structuurbegrippen') could be dealt with in a more complex way. Dalhuisen also processed the ideas of his American inspirers in the first Dutch handbook about history teaching methodology (1976).⁸⁸⁴ Moreover, he incorporated the ideas of another American as well: Edwin Fenton, who had written about the new social studies in secondary schools (1966) and the inductive teaching and learning method. According to Fenton, students had to become familiar with the mode of inquiry as it was used by historians and social scientists.⁸⁸⁵ Fenton's *inquiry method* would stand model for Dalhuisen's own textbook series, which aimed to encourage active student involvement.

In 1978, Dalhuisen published his textbook series *Sprekend Verleden* (The speaking past), together with P.D.M. Latour. The series sought to enlarge the societal relevance of history as a school subject by promoting historical research in education. The first chapter of the first book questions the relevance of history as a school subject and students are to answer this question themselves after reading several opinions from historians such as Leopold von Ranke, Jacob Burckhardt, Thomas Carlyle, Karl Marx, and Henry Ford.⁸⁸⁶ The authors explain in the preface that this series does not aim to tell *the* story of the past but rather *a* story. They emphasize that a historical narrative is a construction and that students must learn how to critically evaluate different opinions themselves when conducting their own research.⁸⁸⁷ The authors also argue:

The methodology that is used to investigate historical problems is the same methodology that can be used by individuals to tackle their own problems and those of societies. (...) The aim of teaching history is not to produce walking encyclopaedias but to teach pupils what they can do with their knowledge. How pupils learn, therefore, is at least as important as what they learn.⁸⁸⁸

884 L.G. Dalhuisen, P.A.M. Geurts and J.G. Toebes, eds., *Geschiedenis op school in theorie en praktijk* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1976).

885 Edwin Fenton, *Teaching the new social studies in secondary schools. An inductive approach* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966).

886 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 1* (Haarlem: Uitgeverij J.H. Gottmer, 1978), 7.

887 *Ibid.*, 5. 'Het schoolvak geschiedenis moet niet "het" verhaal van "de" geschiedenis presenteren, maar de leerlingen doordringen van het constructiekarakter van de geschiedenis. De leerlingen moeten op essentiële momenten meedenken en onderzoeken en leren hierbij kritisch en methodisch te werk te gaan'.

888 *Ibid.* 'De methode die gebruikt wordt bij het onderzoeken van historische problemen, is dezelfde methode waarmee individuen hun eigen problemen en die van samenlevingen te lijf kunnen gaan. (...) Het geschiedenisonderwijs is er niet om wandelende encyclopedietjes te maken; leerlingen moeten iets met hun kennis kunnen doen. Daarom is het minstens zo belangrijk hoe leerlingen leren, als wat ze leren.'

The series was a result of a close cooperation between teachers, historians, philosophers of history, and didactics experts. Moreover, a team of authors worked on the texts and for the reader it is not obvious which part was written by whom.

One of the authors who worked on this series was Joop G. Toebes, a history teacher in secondary school and an educator in history didactics at the University of Nijmegen (since 1975). Toebes wrote the first dissertation on history teaching (1981) in the Netherlands, a study that 'addressed the question of what is intrinsic to history and what binds it to other human and social sciences'.⁸⁸⁹ He argued that history education needed to seek a deeper connection with contemporary societal developments, academic history and didactics. Whereas Dalhuisen found his main inspiration in Anglo-Saxon developments, Toebes was interested in the German *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, which saw the role of history in serving contemporary society. Instead of a focus on the inquiry method (Dalhuisen), Toebes advocated social critique, as was the case in Germany, where the national trauma of World War II raised grave questions about the content of school history.

'Wozu noch Geschichte?' (Why history nowadays?) was the theme of a German historians' conference in 1970. Here, Jürgen Kocka argued that history and a liberal, democratic society were mutually dependent. He presented seven functions of history, such as a critical appraisal of traditions and myths, understanding the present by studying historical developments and origins, and insight into multi-causality and contingency in history.⁸⁹⁰ The German textbook series *Fragen an die Geschichte* (Questions of history, 1974) put these principles into practice: 'questions were used to provide a criterion for the selection of subject matter in such a way that history could play its essential role in a liberal society'.⁸⁹¹ In this series, the author Heinz Dieter Schmid presented pairs of teaching objectives, organized into 'traditional' and 'innovative' aims of history education, in order to show how his educational principles exceeded those of previous series. The main objective of school history was, he argued, no longer the transmission of 'cultural heritage' but to bring up problems that are relevant to people in the present.⁸⁹²

Almost ten years later, Toebes launched a Dutch textbook series that was based on Schmid's innovative series: *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (Questions of history, 1983). He also published an introduction to the series, in which he explained his objectives: instead of a historical overview, Toebes selected themes with a direct reference to current affairs, such as 'the problem of peace and war in a highly

889 Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between disenchantment and high expectations. History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008', 106.

890 Arie Wilschut, *Images of Time. The Role of an Historical Consciousness of Time in Learning History* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age, 2012), 12.

891 *Ibid.*, 13.

892 *Ibid.*

technologized world' or 'changes in marriage, family and sexuality'.⁸⁹³ Instead of memorizing political events and persons, school history should, Toebes claimed, bolster an understanding of processes and structures. Toebes included several new sub-disciplines, such as social history and history of mentality. Moreover, his series covered different types of societies, such as agrarian and industrial societies, in line with the 'history of society' approach at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. Political history and the 'great man' view had to make way for a new multidisciplinary and comparative approach.⁸⁹⁴

Toebes also aimed to broaden students' understanding of both past and present by means of historical analogies, claiming that this approach contributed to a 'clarification of existence' (*bestaansverheldering*).⁸⁹⁵ In contrast with the social sciences, this approach was still focused on the past and thus offered an 'excellent counterbalance to an exclusive focus on contemporary situations or on wishful thinking with regard to the future'.⁸⁹⁶ In the introduction to his textbook series, Toebes also mentioned the 'historical method' and its benefits for students, such as empathy, the ability to synthesize, and to read sources with a critical eye.

There was thus a shift in the types of history that textbooks addressed as well as in the desired outcomes. After some pilots, the centrally organized written examination for history became compulsory in 1981. It consisted of two subject matters from after 1917, one of which changed every two years. History before 1917 was tested in three or four school examinations, which were composed by history teachers themselves. Several history teachers and educators protested against the strong emphasis on contemporary topics in the centrally organized examination and, in 1984, the Secretary of State for Education founded a working group of experts with the task to revise the content (*HEG – Werkgroep herziening Eindexamen Geschiedenis en staatsinrichting*). After several internal struggles, the working group finally produced recommendations in 1987. Although by the early 1990s contemporary history had lost its privileged status and topics for the Central Written Examination could also be taken from earlier periods, contemporary history remained important in the classroom.⁸⁹⁷

893 Joop Toebes, *Een kleine didactiek geschiedenis onderbouw. Achtergronden van 'Vragen aan de geschiedenis'* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1983), 14–15.

894 Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between disenchantment and high expectations. History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008', 90.

895 Kocka had already mentioned the role of historical analogies in 1977. Jürgen Kocka, 'Gesellschaftliche Funktionen der Geschichtswissenschaft', in *Wozu noch Geschichte?*, ed. W. Oelmüller (Munich: Fink, 1977), 11–33, 24–30.

896 Toebes, *Een kleine didactiek geschiedenis onderbouw*, 9.

897 Van Boxtel and Grever, 'Between disenchantment and high expectations. History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008', 90.

An in-depth analysis of the history textbook series by Dalhuisen and Toebes follows in the next section, once adaptations to earlier established textbook series have been discussed below.

4.4 History as a social science and how the Dutch became 'Spaniards'

In later reprints, the series by the textbook author collective Novem, *Wereld in Wording* (The world in the making), placed more emphasis on the Dutch Revolt than was requested by many readers and users. Instead of presenting one view, Novem show the complexities of historiography, quoting various views and opinions on William of Orange and his accomplishments,⁸⁹⁸ implicitly revealing the constructive character of history writing. In their own narration, the nine authors accentuate that the prince persisted in his call for tolerance even after he had become a Calvinist.⁸⁹⁹ In the main text it becomes clear that the authors themselves are also arguing for more tolerance and acceptance of other people's views.

Novem narrate history as a zig-zag line towards tolerance (progress) and this is also visible in specific narrations, such as that about World War II. The series explains why Leiden University objected to the discrimination against its Jewish professors: it was an offence against the tolerance that had become established through the centuries.⁹⁰⁰ In 1973, the authors identify the quest for tolerance as the 'motor' of history:

It would be interesting to examine how our society has managed to shift to a higher gear. It is not only the acceleration that is important here, but also its type and its direction. Millions of nameless people, usually without being aware of it, have had their share in shifting society's engine into higher gear. But the responsibility for this gear change lies mainly with a small number of people distributed across a number of sectors in the playing field of change: science, religion, art, the economy, politics. In our century, we see two periods in which things moved up several gears: the years around 1900, so the

898 Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 2. Van 1500 tot 1900. Havo/VWO* (Den Haag: G.B. Van Goor Zonen's Uitgeversmaatschappij BV, 1975), introduction; Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 1. Brugklasboek tot 1500* (Den Haag: Van Goor Zonen, 1978), 9–10.

899 Novem, *Wereld in Wording 2* (1975), 221.

900 Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 3. Nieuwste Geschiedenis* (Den Haag/Brussel: Van Goor Zonen, 1968), 292. See also Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 2 Van 1715 tot heden* (Den Haag: Van Goor Zonen, 1971), 204. The authors quote K. Norel and J.D. Terlaak Poot, *De tyrannie verdrijven* (Wageningen: Gebr. Zomer & Keuning, 1947). 'De Leidse universiteit heeft een vlammend protest laten horen tegen de discriminatie van hoogleraren op grond van geloof en ras, indruisend tegen de oudste en edelste tradities van deze universiteit en vloekend tegen het levenswerk van haar stichter, prins Willem van Oranje.'

beginning of the century, and the years immediately following World War II, mid-century. We will discuss several figures from both these periods (...). In their brief biographies, you can perhaps feel something of the pulse of time.⁹⁰¹

Novem characterise their own time in terms of change and high 'speed', encouraging students to examine the 'acceleration' of society.⁹⁰² The authors present several biographies characterizing the twentieth century,⁹⁰³ arranged in a certain order, and asks the students to rethink their textbook composition: according to which viewpoint have they arranged the biographies?⁹⁰⁴ They are explicit about their textbook structure and encourage students to detect this meta-perspective.

Novem explicitly discuss tyranny and democracy, quoting Woodrow Wilson (1917), who proclaimed that 'we' are defenders of human rights, peace, and safety.⁹⁰⁵ Later in the book, the authors address the biographies of Martin Luther King and Gandhi in relation to tolerance. They also refer to Herbert Marcuse and his idea of 'repressive tolerance', which is described as a strategy of the establishment to smother and neutralise protest.⁹⁰⁶ A few pages later, the students are asked to compare the *Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen* of 1789 with the *United States Declaration of Independence* of 1776,⁹⁰⁷ and, in this context, the authors discuss the issue of 'participation' and 'having a voice' (*inspraak*), and they ask students whether more participation must go hand in hand with more tolerance towards other people's opinions.⁹⁰⁸ They themselves argue for more tolerance: 'for if you will only acknowledge your own views but

901 Novem, *Wereld in Wording. Deel 3. De Twintigste Eeuw* (Den Haag: G.B. Van Goor Zonen's Uitgevers-maatschappij BV, 1973), 9. 'Het moet interessant zijn om na te gaan, hoe onze maatschappij in deze hogere versnelling is terechtgekomen. Daarbij gaat het niet alléén om een tempoverhoging. Ook de aard en de richting van de versnelling zijn belangrijk. Aan het overschakelen van de maatschappijmotor op hogere versnellingen hebben miljoenen naamlozen het hunne bijgedragen, meest onbewust. Maar de verantwoordelijkheid voor het overschakelen ligt toch vooral bij een klein aantal persoonlijkheden, verdeeld over een aantal sectoren in het grote veld van de veranderingen: de wetenschap, de godsdienst, de kunst, de economie, de politiek. Wij zien in onze eeuw twee perioden waarin sterk geschakeld werd: de tijd rond 1900 – het begin van de eeuw dus – en de tijd direct na de Tweede Wereldoorlog, halverwege de eeuw. Uit beide perioden wordt een aantal figuren besproken (...). In hun korte biografieën kun je misschien iets van de polsslagen van de tijd voelen.'

902 Ibid., 7.

903 Ibid.

904 Ibid., 28. 'De biografieën worden je aangeboden in een bepaalde volgorde. Probeer uit te vinden naar welk gezichtspunt deze volgorde aangebracht is.'

905 Ibid., 39 and 52–56.

906 Ibid., 105.

907 Ibid., 116.

908 Ibid., 174–175.

not those of other people, it is only you who has a say. This, however, fails to solve the problem of “public participation”.⁹⁰⁹

In the 1970s, the textbook series *Mensen en Machten* (People and power) also began to place more emphasis on tolerance, underlining the ideas of growth and progress. The series links sixteenth-century events to the present by mentioning ‘the bloody mutual persecution of Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland’. The authors argue that such news creates ‘resentment’ nowadays.⁹¹⁰ Moreover, they explain that the current idea of equality came into being slowly and that the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were crucial for tolerance and freedom of religion in the Netherlands: people started to revolt against Philip II, who is portrayed as ‘the prototype of intolerance’.⁹¹¹ They also mention that the Netherlands became unique in that people gained freedom of consciousness and that the country became a refuge for persecuted foreigners, such as Jews.⁹¹² It is no accident that Jews are specifically mentioned, thus generating a key towards the then still recent experience of World War II:

In some parts of his empire, dissatisfaction with the king’s policy led to major uprisings. This is what happened in the Netherlands, amongst other countries (see lesson 9 on this particular subject). As the Netherlands were known to be guardians of tolerance, many Spanish and Portuguese Jews in particular moved there and found shelter in Amsterdam and other towns, where they and their descendants were free to practise their religion up until 1940. On the authority of Hitler, this came to a brutal end around that time.⁹¹³

909 Ibid., 175. ‘Het eist ook verdraagzaamheid ten opzichte van de opvattingen van anderen. Want wanneer je alleen je eigen opvatting wilt laten gelden en niet die van anderen, is er alleen inspraak van jezelf. Maar daarmee is het probleem van de “inspraak” niet opgelost.’

910 Adang, A. and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 2vh. Thematische leergang geschiedenis voor het voortgezet onderwijs* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Educatief Amsterdam, 1973), 112. Chapter seven is entitled: ‘Verdraagzaamheid of onverdraagzaamheid. De godsdienstoorlogen in de zestiende eeuw’. ‘Voor ons is het heel normaal dat in een land mensen wonen met uiteenlopende godsdienstige overtuigingen. Ook is het vanzelfsprekend dat mensen met dezelfde capaciteiten, ondanks een verschillende godsdienst, in de maatschappij gelijke kansen krijgen. De bloedige wederzijdse vervolging van katholieken en protestanten, zoals die nu nog in Noor-Ierland voorkomt, werk alleen maar onze weerzin op.’

911 Ibid., 118 and 112.

912 Ibid., 115.

913 Ibid., 118. ‘In sommige delen van zijn rijk leidde de ontevredenheid over het beleid van de koning tot grote opstanden. Onder meer gebeurde dit in de Nederlanden [zie hiervoor speciaal les 9]. Omdat bekend was dat men in de Nederlanden verdraagzaamheid verdedigde, trokken vooral veel Spaanse en Portugese joden daarheen. Zij vonden daar onderdak in Amsterdam en andere steden. Tot 1940 konden zij en hun nakomelingen in die steden hun geloof vrij belijden. Op brute wijze is daaraan omstreeks die tijd op last Hitler een einde gemaakt.’

Internal fights, such as between remonstrates and contra-remonstrates, are neglected. Moreover, the strong dichotomy between the Netherlands as 'guardian of tolerance' and Philip II as the 'prototype of intolerance' is reinforced by the questions that students have to answer. Examples are: 'Why did the Netherlands become a refuge for persecuted people?' and 'Why is Philip II a prototype of an intolerant king?'⁹¹⁴ Furthermore, the authors refer to sixteenth-century Protestant literature in which 'our' oppression by Philip II is compared to the Egyptian Pharaoh's oppression. 'Just like the Jews hoped to reach the Promised Land led by Moses, the Dutch hoped to reach the land of freedom led by Prince William of Orange.'⁹¹⁵

The year 1648 is narrated as the endpoint of religious warfare: bloody persecutions gave way to a 'certain way of tolerance'.⁹¹⁶ The authors also highlight the importance of the year 1648 in the assignments and ask the students why the Peace of Westphalia can be seen as a turning point in history.⁹¹⁷ This turning point is reflected in the textbook composition: several editions of the textbook end or start with the year 1648. The narrative of 1648 as the end of the religious wars and the beginning of 'tolerance' is further stressed by illustrations such as the logo of the United Nations Organization.⁹¹⁸

In 1973, the authors explain in their introduction to the second volume that they have chosen certain themes to sketch the 'cultural patterns' of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹¹⁹ Moreover, they point out that they have projected these past centuries against the background of 'our own time' in order to show that history is meaningful and that the effects of certain events continue to echo today. Moreover, 'keys' between past and present correspond to the

914 Ibid., 119.

915 Ibid., 147. 'In de protestante literatuur van de zestiende eeuw vergeleek men de Nederlanders graag met het Joodse volk dat even hard door de Egyptische farao's werd verdrukt als wij door Filips II. Zoals de Joden naar het beloofde land werden gebracht door Mozes, hoopten de Nederlanders het land der vrijheid te bereiken onder leiding van Willem van Oranje.'

916 Ibid., 127.

917 Ibid., 128.

918 A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten. Deel 3* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff Amsterdam, 1971), 196. This logo adorns the front page of some volumes of the series as well. See for example: A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 3. Semi-concentrische leergang geschiedenis in drie delen voor het katholiek voortgezet onderwijs* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff Amsterdam, 1966).

919 Adang and Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 2* (1973), introduction, XII. 'Gepoogd aan de hand van enkele themata op een voor de leerlingen verstaanbare wijze het cultuurpatroon te schetsen van de zestiende, de zeventiende en de achttiende eeuw. Om te bereiken dat het geschiedenisvak door de leerlingen als zinvol ervaren wordt en om aan te tonen dat bepaalde gebeurtenissen lang kunnen doorwerken, projecteerden wij bovenvermelde periode bovendien tegen de achtergrond van onze tijd.'

authors' didactic aims to connect history education with 'civics'.⁹²⁰ Adang and Vercauteren argue that history education can give insight into the structures and growth of our modern society,⁹²¹ describing as an example the Dutch revolt, in which they explain how 'tolerance' slowly spread through subsequent history. In later reprints, they elaborate on these ideas of structure and growth, and explain that people do not follow the same path of development. 'Some people were quicker in reaching a high level of civilization and prosperity. This explains why some people need development aid and why we live in a part of the world in which things are going well'.⁹²² The authors claim that their history lessons depict the difficult path that humankind had to walk in order to reach the current level of progress and tolerance.⁹²³

In 1978, the innovative series *Sprekend Verleden* (The speaking past) with its emphasis on the inquiry method and critical historical thinking was published, constituting a significant break with former publications. When the authors discuss the causes of the Dutch Revolt they quote four famous Dutch historians, each with a different explanation, thus highlighting the constructed nature of historical narratives: Groen van Prinsterer (God inspired the Protestant resistance against the Catholics), Fruin (a fight for national freedom), Romein (economic causes) and Enno van Gelder (a combination of political and religious reasons with civil war). At the end of the chapter, students are asked which approach is adopted by the textbook authors.⁹²⁴ The textbook narrative in fact mentions a combination of reasons and thus highlights the multi-causal approach and renders transparent their attempt to sketch a nuanced portrait.

The authors explain in the introduction that they have derived much information from the social sciences and that their series focuses particularly on how people lived together.⁹²⁵ When they discuss the Dutch Revolt, they begin by questioning why religion was so problematic at the time, suggesting that people with different religions live together in peace nowadays. Although they mention

920 A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 1. Semi-concentrische leergang geschiedenis in vijf delen voor het voortgezet onderwijs. Deel 1* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff Amsterdam, 1967), introduction. 'Civics' has been taught at Dutch schools since 1968.

921 Ibid., introduction.

922 A. Adang and F.E.M. Vercauteren, *Mensen en Machten 1* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Educatief Amsterdam, 1973), 4. 'Het is begrijpelijk dat de volkeren van de wereld niet allemaal dezelfde ontwikkeling doormaakten. Sommigen kwamen sneller dan anderen op een hoger beschavings- en welvaartspeil. Zo is het te verklaren dat de mensen in enkele delen van de wereld nog in diepe armoede leven en ontwikkelingshulp nodig hebben. Wij leven daarentegen in een deel van de wereld dat het erg goed heeft.'

923 Ibid.

924 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2a* (Haarlem: Gottmer Educatief, 1980), 80. For the answer: L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend verleden deel 2a. Handleiding voor de leraar 2a* (Haarlem: Uitgeverij J.H. Gottmer, 1981), 94–95.

925 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 1* (1978), 5.

contemporary struggles in foreign countries, showing that religious wars rage on in the present, the authors emphasize that (religious) intolerance was worse in the past. 'But in sixteenth-century Europe, people were even more intolerant'⁹²⁶ and unable to move beyond 'black-and-white thinking'. The authors clearly see progress in history, underlined in their description of Prince William of Orange and his ideal of tolerance as an 'exception to his time'. In the questions, students are invited to think about this remark by themselves: 'Do you agree with the idea that Prince William of Orange was ahead of his time? Explain your answer.'⁹²⁷

Although they clearly frame their narrative of the Dutch Revolt in terms of (in)tolerance at the beginning of the chapter, they question the widespread idea of 'Dutch tolerance' later on.⁹²⁸

We Dutch like to think of ourselves as a freedom-loving and tolerant people. This tolerance is not only a present-day thing. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Republic was often a safe haven for foreigners, such as the French Protestants, who were persecuted for their faith in their own country. But how much freedom did the Republic actually allow its own inhabitants?⁹²⁹

Although the authors acknowledge that there was more freedom in the Republic than in most other countries of the time, they also question these forms of freedom and tolerance. They discuss two case studies – freedom of religion for Catholics and freedom of the press – and ask students to *examine* to what extent people had freedom and thanks to whom.

In a 1985 reprint, 'Dutch tolerance' is downplayed in comparison with the Islamic world: according to the authors, people in the Islamic world were more tolerant than most people in Western Europe from the Middle Ages until the seventeenth century:

In the Middle Ages and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dissenters in the Islamic world actually had more freedom than those in most Western European states. When Europe was ravaged by religious wars in the sixteenth century, for instance, many Jews who had been expelled from Spain found refuge in the Turkish Empire. With the

926 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2a* (Haarlem: Uitgeverij J.H. Gottmer, 1978), 62. L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2a* (Haarlem: Gottmer Educatief, 1982), 73.

927 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2. Wegwijzer voor de leerling* (Haarlem: Gottmer Educatief, 1981), 88.

928 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2a* (1978), 80.

929 Ibid; Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2a* (1982), 99. 'Wij Nederlanders beroemen ons er nogal eens op een vrijheidslievend en verdraagzaam volkje te zijn. Die tolerantie is niet alleen van vandaag. In de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw was de Republiek vaak een toevluchtsoord voor buitenlanders, zoals bijvoorbeeld voor de Franse protestanten die om hun geloof in eigen land vervolgd werden. Maar hoeveel vrijheid stond de Republiek zijn eigen bewoners toe?'

Koran stipulating that those who changed religion should be killed, however, tolerance was not extended to apostate Muslims.⁹³⁰

Although *Sprekend Verleden* critically discusses the idea of 'Dutch tolerance', the narrative also perpetuates this concept by discussing and narrating sixteenth-century events and the Republic in relation to this theme. This frame of (in)tolerance is not only visible in the main text but also in the questions. The authors ask, for example: 'Do you think that William of Orange would have agreed with the Iconoclasm?'⁹³¹

In a reprint of 1982, the authors explain that traditions can come into being in the light of experience. They give three examples, two of which are taken from sixteenth-century Dutch history. After mentioning the tradition of celebrating the Siege of Leiden on 3 October, they remark that certain opinions and ideas – such as religious tolerance – can also be part of a people's tradition.⁹³² On the one hand, the authors emphasize the diverse interpretations of the Dutch Revolt and nuance the traditional idea of 'Dutch tolerance'. At the same time, they search for a coherent viewpoint from which to write about this history and choose the 'traditional frame' in which to do so.

The same paradox is discernible in the 'inquiry' sections of this textbook series. When students are encouraged to think about the commemoration of national heroes, they are asked to examine why people commemorate historical persons and whether this is justified. Michiel de Ruyter, a famous Dutch admiral (1607–1676), functions as a case study. The textbook presents several sources about De Ruyter,⁹³³ thus dedicating more space and attention to this man than previous publications.⁹³⁴ However, the text does not uncritically embrace the celebratory tradition but rather questions the hero-status of this man by re-thinking his activities in the past and the act of commemoration in the present.

The authors explain that they had the present in mind while writing this textbook series: historical knowledge is necessary to understand the present. This approach is also visible in the authors' keying process. In Volume Three, the

930 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 3c* (Haarlem: Gottmer Educatief, 1985), 173. 'In de middeleeuwen en de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw hadden andersdenkenden in de islamitische wereld echter een grotere vrijheid dan in de meest West-Europese staten. Toen Europa in de zestiende eeuw bijvoorbeeld werd geteisterd door godsdienstoorlogen, vonden veel Joden die uit Spanje waren verjaagd, een toevlucht binnen het Turkse rijk. De verdraagzaamheid betrof echter niet afvalligen van de islam. Volgens de koran moesten degenen die van godsdienst veranderden, worden gedood.'

931 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2* (1981), 88.

932 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2b* (Haarlem: Gottmer Educatief, 1982), 51.

933 Dalhuisen, *Sprekend verleden deel 2a* (1978), 82–83. Dalhuisen, *Sprekend verleden deel 2a* (1980), 103–105.

934 Albicher, *Heimwee naar het heden*, 522.

authors discuss the emergence of national movements in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East and they quote Roeslan Abdulgani, known for his leadership during the Indonesian National Revolution in the late 1940s. In 1976, Abdulgani was interviewed by the VPRO (the Liberal Protestant Radio Broadcasting Corporation in the Netherlands) and parts of this interview are quoted in *Sprekend Verleden*. He explains that he and his classmates were taught about the Dutch fight for freedom against the Spanish tyrant and learned songs about the duty of every boy to dedicate himself to independence and love of the fatherland. According to Abdulgani, these stories about the Dutch revolt in the sixteenth century inspired the boys to dedicate themselves to the independence of Indonesia.⁹³⁵

The notion of 'freedom' thus still plays an important role in the keying process, now used to explain the loss of a former Dutch colony. In comparison with Dutch history textbooks that were published just after World War II, this series shows a change in the keying process which can be illustrated by the choice of focalization. Whereas previous authors quoted Queen Wilhelmina and used the freedom frame to show that the Dutch fought several fights for freedom throughout history, these authors quote Abdulgani to show how a former Dutch colony became inspired to begin its own fight for freedom. The colonized began, inspired by their own nationalism, to see the Dutch people as 'Spaniards'.⁹³⁶

A year after the first edition of the innovative series by Dalhuisen, the textbook series *Kijk op de Tijd* (A look at the past) was published in 1979. A team of 'more traditional' authors worked on the series, consisting of E.W. Heidt, C.P.W.F.

935 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld. Deel 3 – boek II* (Den Haag: Nijgh & Van Ditmar Educatief, 1987), 272–273. 'Het besef dat wij eigen baas in eigen huis wilden zijn. Aan de ene kant hadden we geleerd over de Nederlandse vrijheidsstrijd, vooral de tachtigjarige oorlog tegen de Spanjaarden, die moesten we uit het hoofd kennen, van 1568 tot 1648, en dan moesten we ook het Wilhelmus leren, den vaderland getrouwe tot in den dood, de tirannie verdrijven die ons hart doorwondt. Zoals u zult begrijpen, voelden wij dat ook als een aansporing tot verzet tegen de Nederlanders. In dit verband herinner ik me ook nog de liederen uit de zangbundel "Kun je nog zingen, zing dan mee", waaruit wij moesten leren, dat het de plicht is voor iedere jongen om aan de onafhankelijkheid van zijn geliefde vaderland zijn beste krachten te wijden. Waarom zouden wij dan niet onze beste krachten wijden aan de onafhankelijkheid van Indonesië? Dat mocht niet van de Nederlandse regeerders. Zo is eigenlijk ons nationalisme en patriottisme aangewakkerd.'

936 L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden. Een geschiedenis van de wereld. Deel 3 – basis* (Den Haag: Nijgh & Van Ditmar Educatief, 1986), 146. 'De opkomst van nationalistische bewegingen in Azië, Afrika en het Midden-Oosten. Een klein deel van de inheemse bevolking kreeg Westers onderwijs. (...) Door hun contact met de Europeanen en hun verleden leerden zij begrippen kennen als democratie, vrijheid, gelijkheid, nationalisme. Indonesiërs leerden bijvoorbeeld over de Nederlandse vrijheidsstrijd tegen de Spanjaarden. Zij gingen de Nederlanders als Spanjaarden zien. Waarom zouden de begrippen die de Europeanen eerden, alleen voor de Europeanen gelden?'

Herzberg, A.J. Kaarsemaker, H. Ulrich (chair), A.L. Verhoog, and G. Vermeulen. In *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* the textbooks were advertised as a series with a focus on social relations and systems. Although the advertisement mentions the change in relation to more traditional history textbooks (from developments over time to a society-oriented approach), it also insists that this is nothing more than a shift in emphasis.⁹³⁷ While Dalhuisen encouraged students to examine sources and historical phenomena (thus developing skills), this series is more traditional in its form and consequently the textbook narrative itself has more importance (in terms of content).

Kijk op de Tijd begins by explaining the importance of history, that problems of the past are still relevant in the present, and they mention several examples, such as the fight against famine and the question of how to avoid war.⁹³⁸ In the main text, they argue that the relevance of the past can also be found in certain ideas and ideals, such as 'peace, freedom, justice, tolerance and bravery'.⁹³⁹ It is interesting that these first pages immediately stress the notions of freedom and tolerance as important signifiers in the textbook discourse.

These notions are also important in the main text about the Dutch Revolt. According to the authors, it was striking that the Netherlands saw the dawn of religious tolerance, a unique phenomenon in the Europe of the time.⁹⁴⁰ They also connect this notion with the present and remark that in some countries 'tolerance has barely grown since 1600'.⁹⁴¹ Moreover, they describe freedom and tolerance as important Dutch elements that led to the Golden Age.⁹⁴² In contrast

937 Advertisement 'Een nieuwe geschiedenismethode voor de onderbouw van het algemeen voortgezet onderwijs', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 92 (1979): 149. 'Bij de stofkeuze is grote aandacht besteed aan maatschappelijke relaties en verhoudingen; in vergelijking met het meer traditionele schoolboek betekent dat een flinke accentverschuiving – maar ook niet meer dan dat – van ontwikkelingen door de tijd heen naar een meer maatschappijgerichte aanpak.'

938 H. Ulrich et al., *Kijk op de Tijd. Leerlingenboek 1* (Den Bosch: Malmberg, 1979), introduction.

939 Ibid., 14. 'Idealen en denkbeelden van vroeger spelen nu nog steeds een grote rol. Zoals ideeën over vrede, vrijheid, rechtvaardigheid, verdraagzaamheid, moed. Dus op allerlei manieren blijven dingen uit het verleden bewaard. En ze spelen een rol in je leven. Of je dat nu prettig vindt of niet, je kunt er niet omheen. Je hebt nu eenmaal te maken met de verhalen en de dingen van vroeger.'

940 H. Ulrich et al., *Kijk op de Tijd. Leerlingenboek 2* (Den Bosch: Malmberg, 1984), 34.

941 Ibid., 34. 'In Engeland is het de zgn. anglicaanse kerk. In de noordelijke Nederlanden is de calvinistische kerk de enige officiële kerk. Opmerkelijk is wel dat in die Nederlanden andere kerken oogluikend werden toegelaten. Mits die maar heel onopvallend te werk gaan. Een begin van godsdienstige verdraagzaamheid. Maar zover is men in grote delen van Europa dan nog lang niet. En nu? Nu zijn in tal van streken of landen de oude scheidslijnen tussen katholieken en niet-katholieken nog steeds zichtbaar. Er zijn zelfs landen waar de verdraagzaamheid sinds 1600 nog maar nauwelijks is gegroeid.'

942 Ibid., 58.

with textbook authors discussed earlier, who narrated freedom and/or tolerance as predetermined targets of the war, these authors emphasize that probably no one knew the exact purpose of the Revolt at the beginning:

The revolt that broke out in the Low Countries had a series of causes and it was won – with a bit of luck, perhaps – in the north. When the revolt started, it is likely that none of the insurgents knew what exactly it meant to achieve. There may have been very few people indeed who believed that that they might succeed in beating the powerful king Phillip II. Some thirty years after the outbreak of the revolt, however, this had been accomplished after all (...).⁹⁴³

The authors state that the war was won around 1600, when the north had fended off the Spaniards. Just like the English author Peter Moss in *History Alive* (1967), these authors emphasize that 'luck' had played an important role during the Dutch revolt. This is also highlighted in other parts of the narrative.

The chapter about the Dutch revolt is focused on the question as to why it happened and why the revolt was a success. After describing several factors that contributed to the revolt against Philip II, they summarize their explanation as follows:

Now you might say: all things considered, there was discontent, opposition against the king and opposition against the burning of heretics at the stake, and so a revolt was inevitable. And you would be right. There was one more ingredient, however, that played a role: coincidence. We will see what kind of role it played.⁹⁴⁴

In the next section, the authors narrate the Iconoclasm in 1566, also known as the 'year of famine' in historiography. Although they give several reasons for the uprising – such as plundering, the Calvinistic rejection of divine images, the rising cost of bread, unemployment – they emphasize that the exact reasons are still unclear. They remark, however, that it is certain that Catholics too participated in the Iconoclasm.⁹⁴⁵ Peace, they conclude, could easily have been restored, but Philip II was furious and made a radical decision:

So was he, the most powerful defender of the Catholic faith, to allow churches to be violated thus in part of his own empire? Never! He just had to put a stop to his government's feeble administration. And so, in 1567, Phillip II sent one of his best

943 Ibid., 48. 'De opstand in de Nederlanden is door een reeks van oorzaken uitgebroken en – misschien met het nodige geluk – gewonnen in het noorden. Toen de opstand begon, wist waarschijnlijk niemand van de opstandelingen wat nu precies het doel was. En er waren misschien erg weinig mensen die geloofden dat ze zouden kunnen winnen van die machtige koning Filips II. Maar zo'n dertig jaar na het begin van de opstand was het toch gelukt (...).'

944 Ibid., 42. 'Nu kun je zeggen: als je alles bij elkaar optelt, dan wás er ontevredenheid, verzet tegen de koning, verzet tegen de verbranding van ketters en dan is het logisch dat er een opstand kwam. Daarin heb je gelijk. Er zou echter nóg wat moeten gebeuren, ook het toeval heeft een rol gespeeld. We zullen zien welke rol.'

945 Ibid., 43.

generals to the Low Countries: the Duke of Alva (...). Here we have an instance of what we called coincidence. The iconoclastic outbreak took place, and Phillip II responded by sending in Alva and soldiers. What would have happened to the Low Countries had the iconoclastic outbreak not occurred and had Alva not come?⁹⁴⁶

The authors highlight the contingency of history and show how a complex interplay of factors led to the Dutch Revolt rather than predetermined patterns or objectives.

In the teacher's guide, the authors encourage teachers to organize a pro and con discussion as to whether the Iconoclasm was an acceptable form of protest. Students, they suggest, can draw comparisons with destruction as a result of contemporary demonstrations (they mention wrecked cinemas in Iran and broken cars and windows in America). Students should ask, for instance, what people really aimed to destroy when wrecking images and valuables.⁹⁴⁷ Instead of giving a historical overview of the Dutch revolt, these authors have selected certain years for their textbook narrative. Whereas most history textbooks begin with William of Orange's victory at Heiligerlee in 1568, these authors argue that no 'real' revolt had taken place yet in 1568. People were scared of Alva, the prince was beaten during another battle, and he could no longer afford his own army.⁹⁴⁸ Alongside the Iconoclasm in 1566, therefore, these authors direct much attention to 1572.

The section is entitled 'The turning point' and explains: 'In 1572, new hope arose for all those who were opposed to the Spaniards. And their numbers had grown quite considerably by then'.⁹⁴⁹ They explain that Alva's tax plans and the cruelty of his judges and soldiers met with strong resistance and resulted in armed opposition in the form of the 'Sea Beggars'. The authors explain that this was a mixed group of people and, although their support was essential to the

946 Ibid., 43 and 45. 'Moest hij, de machtigste verdediger van het katholieke geloof, toestaan dat in een deel van zijn eigen rijk kerken zó geschonden werden? Dat nooit! Het moest afgelopen zijn met het slappe bestuur van zijn landvoogdes. Filips II stuurde in 1567 één van zijn beste generaals, de hertog van Alva, naar de Nederlanden (...). Wij hebben hier te maken met wat we eerder het toeval noemden. De beeldenstorm brak plotseling uit en Filips II reageerde hierop door het sturen van Alva en soldaten. Wat zou er met de Nederlanden gebeurd zijn wanneer er geen beeldenstorm was geweest en er ook geen Alva was gekomen?'

947 H. Ulrich et al., *Kijk op de Tijd. Docentenhandleiding 2* (Den Bosch: Malmberg, 1980), 17. 'Pro- en contradiscussie tussen kleine groepjes leerlingen. Klas moet stemmen vóór en ná de discussie over de vraag: was de beeldenstorm een acceptabele uiting van protest? (De twee groepjes zouden tevoren wat argumenten dienen te verzamelen, o.a. in boeken en naslagwerken.) Wellicht vergelijkingen met vernielingen tijdens hedendaagse demonstraties (bioscopen in Iran, Amerikaanse auto's, ruiten van bepaalde gebouwen). Van belang is met name: wat wilde men met de beelden en kostbaarheden als het ware treffen?'

948 Ulrich et al., *Kijk op de Tijd 2* (1984), 45.

949 Ibid. 'In 1572 kwam er nieuwe hoop voor allen die tegen de Spanjaarden waren. En dat waren er langzamerhand veel.'

Prince, he also had difficulties with them in that they were 'too anti-Catholic' for the Prince, who propagated tolerance and freedom of religion, even after he had converted to Calvinism. The authors emphasize again that it was *by chance* that the Sea Beggars conquered the Dutch city of Brielle as well as others. These events constituted a turning point, they argue, because

[t]heir successes gave the impetus for a popular revolt. Several towns now joined the insurgents and closed their gates to the Spanish troops. William of Orange was chosen to lead the opposition against the governor. Alva then found himself in trouble. Though the Spanish army did succeed in recapturing some towns, such as Haarlem, Alkmaar managed to resist the attacks and Leiden also managed to hold out. The revolt would prove to be a success in the long term.⁹⁵⁰

The authors clearly narrate 1572 as a *national* turning point and the start of a national revolt against Philip II. The turning point is a narrative construction that marks a beginning and an end, a decisive moment in which the plot will turn, dramatizes the transition from one period to another, and therefore 'lends itself to visualizations'.⁹⁵¹ The paratext and visuals support the sudden change in the narrative structure. The left page shows three images, two of which portray the Spanish cruelty. The first shows the 'Blood Council', instituted in 1567 by Alva to punish the Iconoclasts. The second image depicts how Spanish soldiers dealt with the rebels in the Dutch city of Haarlem: citizens were hanged, captured, and drowned. The 'liberation' of Brielle is visualized in the third image, synchronized with the section of text about 1572. The authors present a new beginning with the end to Spanish cruelty: the taking of Brielle by the Sea Beggars.

The Sea Beggars are presented as heroes and 1572 as a heroic year. Although the authors explain that the prince was 'not always happy' with the Sea Beggars, they refrain from going into detail and do not narrate the 'Martyrs of Gorcum' for example.⁹⁵² They emphasize that the prince favoured tolerance and freedom of religion, and that the support of the Sea Beggars was essential to him.⁹⁵³ The authors do not narrate the Dutch Revolt in full detail with all its complexity and it is understandable that they left out several persons and events. However, the consequence of this abbreviation and mode of organisation is narrative

950 Ibid., 46. 'Hun successen werden het sein voor een volksoptand. Diverse steden sloten zich nu bij de opstandelingen aan en sloten hun poorten voor de Spaanse troepen. Willem van Oranje werd door een aantal Hollandse steden tot aanvoerder gekozen tegen de landvoogd. Alva kreeg het toen moeilijk. Wel slaagde het Spaanse leger erin om enige steden te heroveren (o.a. Haarlem), maar Alkmaar sloeg de aanvallen af. Ook Leiden wist stand te houden. De opstand zou op den duur een succes worden.'

951 Ansgar Nünning and Kai Marcel Sicks, eds., *Turning Points: Concepts and Narratives of Change in Literature and Other Media* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 9.

952 Ulrich et al., *Kijk op de Tijd 2* (1984), 45.

953 Ibid.

smoothing: internal struggles and religious disputes are flattened and neglected, whereas the rise of a *national* revolt is highlighted. The 'traditional' national narrative from a Protestant perspective is thus perpetuated and reinforced by the selection and order of the images.

'Why did the Dutch people revolt, and why is this sixteenth-century event still important to us?'⁹⁵⁴ With this question Toebes begins his narrative of the Dutch Revolt in his series *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (Questions of History, 1983). The teachers' book explains his struggle with this topic:

The subject has been completely worn out, it seems, and is highly complex besides that. The main question is: what purpose would it serve for today's students? It is a subject that is so remote to them. The old motive for teaching it – to promote religiousness and/or patriotism – is, many will feel, now obsolete.⁹⁵⁵

Although he is aiming to avoid 'outdated' motives, the author believes that this sixteenth-century history is still important for students since it can explain religious difference, 'our' national anthem, and how two nation-states were founded in these times – the Netherlands and Belgium.⁹⁵⁶ More important, however, is the understanding of the complexity of the Dutch Revolt: this insight can contribute to a comprehension of present-day conflicts, such as in Northern Ireland or Lebanon:

The relevance of this topic lies not only in the students' ability to name and explain the roots of our Dutch society. By paying attention to multiformity and multicausality, as indicated above, it is hoped that students will also be encouraged to take a more balanced view of current conflicts, such as those in Ireland or Lebanon. They should be particularly encouraged to become more aware of how economic, social, political, religious, and mentality-related elements are intertwined in these kinds of revolts. It is also important for them to understand how individuals and groups may be obsessed with interests and ideals that they attempt to realize, with greater or lesser degrees of success, at the expense of other people. The Dutch example may then show them how a small group of insurgent fanatics managed to establish its ideas, which, as a matter of fact, would not be the last time in history!⁹⁵⁷

954 Joop Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1 – mavo havo vwo* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1994), 143.

955 Joop Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2. Docentenboek* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1991), 8. 'Het onderwerp is, zo lijkt het, tot op het bot afgekloven en daarbij nog buitengewoon ingewikkeld ook. De belangrijke vraag is: wat moeten leerlingen van vandaag er mee? Het onderwerp ligt immers ver van hun bed. Het vroegere motief voor de behandeling ervan: bevordering van godsdienstzin en/of vaderlandsliefde is, zo zal menigeen wel vinden, eigenlijk niet meer mogelijk.'

956 Ibid., 8.

957 Ibid., 9. 'De relevantie van dit onderwerp zit hem niet alleen in het kunnen aangeven en verklaren van de wortels van onze Nederlandse samenleving. Door de boven geschetste aandacht voor pluriformiteit en multi-causaliteit worden leerling er hopelijk ook toe gebracht actuele conflicten als in Ierland en Libanon op een genuanceerde manier te bekijken.'

Historical analogies give insights that are relevant for present-day issues, according to Toebes, such as an analysis of the beginning of war. History can give insight into specific circumstances and contingencies.⁹⁵⁸ Moreover, Toebes shows the horror of war and pays special attention to the theme 'the price of freedom'. A source fragment describes what Wouter Jacobsz saw when he travelled from Amsterdam to Haarlem in 1573, when Haarlem had just been conquered by the Spaniards. People were burnt and dead bodies were found on the road. Next to this description, the author includes the poem 'Die Spaengiaert wil ons hencken' (The Spaniards want to hang us),⁹⁵⁹ which illustrates how the farmers were caught in a predicament: if they chose the side of the Sea Beggars they would be hanged by the Spaniards, and if they decided the other way they would be killed by the Sea Beggars. He also mentions the miserable fates of both soldiers and ordinary people.

The next page displays a part of Pieter Brueghel's painting 'The triumph of death', and Toebes asks students to explain this title. This page also portrays a picture of the well-known 'napalm girl' Phan Thị Kim Phúc, who was severely burned by a napalm attack.⁹⁶⁰ The author remarks that war is always horrible but that differences between wars in the sixteenth century and in modern times have to be taken into account: 'now we speak of "total wars" in which civilians become increasingly involved.'⁹⁶¹ He also mentions nuclear war and what would happen if this were to become reality. In the workbook, students are asked to compare a modern war with a sixteenth-century conflict.⁹⁶² In the teachers' guide, Toebes explains the aim of these comparisons: 'to counteract the idea of heroism that surrounds war and revolts' and to gain 'insight into the consequences of war for ordinary people'.⁹⁶³ The recontextualization of images is thus important in the framing and keying process in history textbooks: images of specific events can be placed within a different context and, in this way, they can articulate a specific discourse. This form of framing is influenced by Toebes' ideas on history didactics, developments in historiography (moving beyond political history to

Vooral voor de verstrengeling van economische, sociale, politieke, religieuze en mentale elementen in dit soort opstanden zouden ze oog moeten krijgen. Belangrijk is daarbij ook dat zij zien in hoeverre individuen en groepen bezeten zijn van belangen en idealen die zij – met meer of minder succes – trachten door te voeren ten koste van anderen. Via het Nederlandse voorbeeld kunnen zij nagaan hoe een kleine fanatieke groep opstandelingen haar denkbeelden weet door te zetten, niet voor het laatst in de geschiedenis trouwens!

958 Joop Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1. Docentenboek* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1984), 10.

959 Joop Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1985), 32.

960 *Ibid.*, 33.

961 *Ibid.*

962 Joop Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2. Werkboek* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1991), 26.

963 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2. Docentenboek* (1991), 20.

include social history and ‘ordinary’ people), and by the socio-political context (the Vietnam War ended in 1975 and the picture of the ‘napalm girl’ won every major photographic award in 1973).



Figure 23: Pieter Bruegel the Elder, ‘The Triumph of Death’, 1562 (Museo del Prado, Madrid)

Next to reflections on ‘war’ in different centuries, the series also includes a reflection on ‘revolution’: the authors wonder when a societal change can be described as a revolution. They explain that some people describe the Dutch Revolt as a ‘revolution’ while others use the term only for events subsequent to the French Revolution.⁹⁶⁴ Their own narrative about the Dutch Revolt contains a flash-forward to the French Revolution. When the authors narrate the Act of Abjuration in 1581, they explain that it was for the first time in Dutch history that the people had ceased to recognize their king. They continue to remark, in

964 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2* (1985), 110. ‘Het woord revolutie betekent omwenteling. Niet zo maar een omwenteling van een wiel of zoiets, maar een omwenteling van de samenleving, waardoor er grote veranderingen optreden. Je begrijpt dat zo’n omwenteling niet vanzelf komt, maar dat er mensen voor nodig zijn om zo’n grote verandering tot stand te brengen. Elke revolutie is een zaak van mensen. Niet iedere verandering is een revolutie. Het komt vaak voor dat mensen zich verzetten of zelfs in opstand komen. Sommige mensen noemen bijvoorbeeld de Nederlandse opstand tegen Filips II een revolutie, anderen vinden dat je pas vanaf de Franse revolutie het woord revolutie kunt gebruiken. Deze paragraaf gaat over de vraag: wanneer kun je nu zeggen dat een verandering van de maatschappij ook een revolutie is?’

reference to the French Revolution, that 'later it would occur again'. After mentioning this similarity with events in another country, the authors emphasize once again that 'the Dutch were the first people that dared to do this' and that their actions being noted across Europe.⁹⁶⁵ In turn, the narrative of the French Revolution refers back to the chapter about the Dutch Revolt, and the authors encourage students to ascertain the differences between a rebellion, revolution, mutiny and a riot. They quote King Louis XVI, who replied after hearing about the people's uprising and the Storming of the Bastille in 1789: 'This is not a rebellion, this is a revolution.'⁹⁶⁶

Besides the interconnection with France, the authors also key the Dutch Revolt to another country: Indonesia. Just like *Sprekend Verleden* (1978), *Vragen aan de geschiedenis* (1983) argues that the Dutch contributed to the nationalism that arose in the former 'Dutch East Indies'. Toebes explains that many nationalistic leaders were trained in Dutch schools and universities where they were introduced to Dutch history and ideas about freedom and equality. 'They teach Indonesian youngsters about the heroic struggle of the Dutch against Spanish rule, thus teaching them about the sacred right of every people to govern themselves. There is no better way to foster a spirit of rebellion in the Indonesian youth.'⁹⁶⁷

The series approaches history in a thematic and exemplary way, clearly connecting it to the social sciences. Toebes bemoans the gap between history education and 'history science', and calls for a bridge between the two. He argues that new developments in the field necessitate new developments in history teaching, and he explains how sociology has influenced his ideas on history.⁹⁶⁸ History education is not an enumeration of dates, he continues, nor a collection of curiosities, but a course with social value.⁹⁶⁹ History needs to contribute to an

965 Ibid., 24. See also: Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1* (1994), 159. 'Ze erkennen Filips II niet meer als koning. Zoiets was nog nooit vertoond: onderdanen die hun vorst ontslag aanzegden. Later zou dat nog veel meer gebeuren, bijvoorbeeld in Frankrijk, waar hoofdstuk 4 over gaat. Maar de Nederlanders waren de eersten die zoiets waagden. Dit baarde in Europa veel opzien: hoe durfden ze!'

966 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2* (1985), 123.

967 Joop Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1995), 183. 'Ook op een andere manier hadden de Nederlanders het nationalisme mogelijk gemaakt. Veel nationalistische leiders waren naar Nederlandse scholen en universiteiten geweest. Daar hadden zij kennis gemaakt met allerlei ideeën over recht, vrijheid en gelijkheid: "Men leert de Indonesische jeugd over de heldhaftige strijd van de Nederlanders tegen de Spaanse overheersing. Men leert hun op die manier over het heilig recht van ieder volk om zichzelf te regeren. Er is geen beter middel om een opstandige geest bij de Indonesische jeugd te kweken.'"

968 Joop Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1. Docentenboek* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1984), 17.

969 Ibid., 14.

understanding of 'our' lives in the present world. Alongside an analysis of war (cause and consequence), therefore, the narrative of the Dutch Revolt also deals with other general themes, such as 'tolerance', 'revolution', and 'Calvinism'.⁹⁷⁰

Furthermore, (in)tolerance plays an important role in the answer to the primary question: 'Why did the Dutch people revolt and why is this sixteenth-century event still important to us?'⁹⁷¹ When the authors discuss the end of the Revolt and the rise of the Republic, they remark:

With virtually half the population still Catholic in 1650, however, Catholics did have to be put up with. Then there were other Protestant denominations, such as the Lutherans, the Baptists, and the Remonstrants. Many Jews lived in Amsterdam. The Netherlands had become a 'country of minorities'. This gave rise to the awareness that we have to show respect for other-minded groups, an attitude that was unheard of in other countries in those days.⁹⁷²

Furthermore, the series mentions intolerance as one of the causes of the Dutch Revolt.⁹⁷³ The author elaborates this issue in the workbook and asks the students, for example: 'We think Philip II is intolerant with regard to religion. What do we mean with this remark?'⁹⁷⁴ Students also have to explain Philip's intolerance. The author continues to explain that Prince William of Orange was a Catholic for some time as well, just like Philip II, but: 'To what extent were their opinions different and who had a "modern opinion" for the time?'⁹⁷⁵

In the reprint of the workbook (1994), the authors elaborate on this idea of a *modern* opinion, adding an extra question about Philip's intolerance: 'Why do we think differently about these issues nowadays?'⁹⁷⁶ The authors continue with the remark that some Dutch people are still intolerant towards others in present times, asking students for examples of intolerant people.⁹⁷⁷ In the teachers' book (1991), the authors also suggest connecting Philip's intolerance with the present-day examples of Islamic fundamentalism and the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The authors also argue that it is more useful to think about (in)tolerance in the

970 Ibid., 9.

971 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1* (1994), 143.

972 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2* (1985), 61. 'Katholieken moesten wel geduld worden; in 1650 was bijna de helft van de bevolking nog katholiek. Verder waren er nog andere protestantse kerken, zoals die van de luthersen, de doopsgezinden en de remonstranten. En in Amsterdam woonden veel joden. Nederland was een "land van minderheden" geworden. Zo ontstond het besef, dat we met elkaar rekening moeten houden. In de meeste landen van die tijd was zo'n houding onbekend.'

973 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1* (1994), 160.

974 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2. Werkboek* (1991), 7.

975 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1 - mavo, havo, vwo. Werkboek* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1994), 86.

976 Ibid., 81.

977 Ibid., 82.

students' own environments in order to understand that 'tolerance' is not self-evident: 'What about the acceptance of our cultural minorities as well as their practices and beliefs?'⁹⁷⁸

Although the authors regularly remark that they regard Philip II as 'intolerant', he does not function here as a simple prototype of intolerance. Rather, the authors discuss the limits of 'Dutch tolerance' in relation to the 'freedom' of Jews in Amsterdam:

Jews were not persecuted for their religion and way of life. We have become very proud of this tolerance over time. We almost saw ourselves as the most tolerant people in the world. However, the behaviour of people in Amsterdam during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show that this tolerance was lacking in quite some cases.⁹⁷⁹

The workbook also supplements the questions about Philip's intolerance with questions about sixteenth-century Calvinists: 'What do you think? Were the Calvinists as intolerant towards the Catholics as the Spaniards were towards the Calvinists?'⁹⁸⁰

In relation to Calvinism, the authors also draw a link to the present, describing how Calvinists gained much influence in the Republic and considering their influence on present-day society. Moreover, they compare current 'Calvinists' with their precursors from the sixteenth century:

How strong is the influence of Calvinism in the Netherlands today? Section 6 already showed that austerity became an important characteristic of the Dutch. We do not like to parade expensive homes, stylish clothes, or gaudy decorations. 'Just act normal, that is crazy enough' has become a common expression here. Hard work became another characteristic in which the Dutch take pride. Some historiographers maintain that the Netherlands became such a prosperous country thanks to Calvinism. Foreigners find us very thrifty and serious. People tend to go out for a drink less often than in countries such as Belgium, France, and Italy. Strictness in present-day Calvinists has lost most of

978 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2. Docentenboek* (1991), 13. 'Filips II kan ook stof opleveren voor het geven van meer details over zijn opvattingen en idealen. Misschien dat men in het kader van "verdraagzaamheid" – "onverdraagzaamheid" Noord-Ierland en het islamitisch fundamentalisme kan noemen. Nuttiger is echter de leerlingen de vraag te stellen hoe het met de acceptatie van de praktijken en overtuigingen van onze culturele minderheden is gesteld. Zo kunnen leerlingen er begrip voor krijgen dat "verdraagzaamheid" niet iets vanzelfsprekends is.'

979 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2* (1985), 63. 'Vergeleken met andere landen waren we in de 17^e eeuw een verdraagzaam volk. De joden werden hier niet om hun geloof of manier van leven vervolgd. Op die verdraagzaamheid zijn we in de loop van de tijd erg trots geworden. We gingen onszelf zien als bijna het meest verdraagzame dat er op de aardbol bestond. Toch kunnen we aan het gedrag van veel Amsterdammers uit de 17^e eeuw en vooral uit de 18^e eeuw zien dat er aan die verdraagzaamheid nogal wat mankeerde. Kijk maar eens naar de bepalingen op bladzijde 62.'

980 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 2. Werkboek* (1991), 17.

its edge when compared with their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century predecessors, but some are still averse to certain 'worldly' pleasures.⁹⁸¹

Although the authors have an eye for discontinuity, this part mainly emphasizes the continuity with the past by using the word 'we'. Also in other parts of the main text, the authors emphasize characteristics of 'the Dutch people' that were apparent in the past as well as in the present. For example, at the beginning of the narrative of the Dutch Revolt, the authors explain that Philip II had to take into account that several small states had their own laws and customs. When he tried to change this, it appeared that 'the Dutch people were very partial to their own rights, just as nowadays'.⁹⁸² In this part, the boundaries between the past and present seem to disappear, and the authors speak about 'us' and the 'Dutch people' as an overarching, meta-temporal phenomenon.

While some historical analogies highlight distance and discontinuity ('modern, 'total' wars in comparison with sixteenth-century wars), other keys strongly stimulate the idea of proximity and continuity of the past. As a result, N.J. Maarsen worried about the traditional ideal of school history, arguing that Toebes' approach paid too little attention to '*Verstehen*' (understanding)⁹⁸³ and wondering whether Toebes understood the consequences of his attempt to cut the string of tradition, especially in relation to the chance of success of innovative history education.⁹⁸⁴ Toebes' series nevertheless became a huge success and was reprinted until 1996.

981 Toebes et al., *Vragen aan de geschiedenis 1* (1994), 165. 'En hoe groot is die invloed van het calvinisme in Nederland nu? In paragraaf 6 bleek al dat soberheid een belangrijk kenmerk van Nederlanders werd. We vallen niet graag op dure huizen, sjeike kleding, protserige versieringen. "Doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al gek genoeg!" is een veel gehoorde uitdrukking hier. Ook hard werken werd een eigenschap waar Nederlanders vaak trots op zijn. Sommige geschiedschrijvers beweren dat Nederland door het calvinisme zo'n welvarend land is geworden. Volgens buitenlanders zijn we ook erg zuinig en ernstig. Cafébezoek is in Nederland nog steeds stukken lager dan bijvoorbeeld in landen als België, Frankrijk en Italië. Tegenwoordige calvinisten zijn lang niet allemaal zo streng meer als hun voorgangers uit de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw. Wel moeten sommigen nog steeds niets hebben van bepaalde "wereldse" vermaken.'

982 Ibid., 147. 'De staatjes hadden echter allemaal hun eigen wetten en gewoonten waarmee Filips rekening moest houden. En Nederlanders bleken toen al, net zoals nu, erg op hun rechten gesteld te zijn. Ze voelden er niets voor om onderdanen van één groot land te worden, waarin de koning alles voor het zeggen had.'

983 N. J. Maarsen, 'Geschiedenisonderwijs', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 96 (1983): 88–89, 89.

984 Ibid., 89.

4.5 Conclusion

Both countries had lost (imperial) power in this research period, and it seems that narratives about a heroic national past seemed outdated and inappropriate in a reality of decolonization and economic difficulties. Whereas the David-Goliath allegory had already lost its relevance in the Dutch context after World War II, this chapter has shown that it also lost its relevance in English history textbooks. Sixteenth-century national narratives were adapted to the new present-day reality and displayed a shift in interpretation. What national narrative, if any, did textbooks display when the traditional presentation – based on an epic nation as protagonist – could no longer be perpetuated?

The English textbook series from 1966 examined here perpetuates the triptych of Philip II, Napoleon, and Hitler, sometimes in combination with a key to Genghis Khan, and highlights the importance and significance of 1588. Another English textbook series, however, from 1967, depicts the sixteenth-century sea battle as only marginally important. Instead, the author has an eye for fashion, architecture, and daily life in 1588: cultural history and history ‘from below’ gained space at the cost of political and military history. Moreover, instead of explaining history by ‘patterns’, the power of the nation or the will of God, this author clarifies events by discussing broader (technical) contexts, (un)expected consequences of actions, and ‘bad luck’ or ‘historical accidents’. The influence of the historical disciplinary context is thus clearly visible, and frames and keys discussed earlier are no longer perpetuated in this series.

Another shift is the increasing trend towards narrating history within a transnational framework. Contemporary history, world history, and European history gain more space in textbooks, in line with shifts in academic historiography. Stimulated by decolonization processes, ideas of universal human rights, and increasing European cooperation, textbooks begin to convey an adapted narrative identity beyond the national and towards global citizenship. Dutch textbooks in particular display a ‘Europeanization of the national narrative’. In this European frame, the narration of the Dutch Revolt was still significant, showing the growth of tolerance and ‘democratization’ and the Low Countries as a ‘safe haven’ in Europe. Moreover, some Dutch authors perpetuate the more ‘traditional’ national narrative, albeit with a new look. Their own nation and people are still portrayed as leading and heroic since they have, for example, in the authors’ view, always been more tolerant than others.

Next to the historical disciplinary and the socio-political contexts, the educational and pedagogic contexts also played an important role: this chapter’s research period witnesses the upcoming influence of history didactics in textbooks. Instead of searching for a change in *content*, history teachers sought to identify specific (historical) *attitudes and skills*. In both countries, the emphasis

shifted from a chronological, historical overview towards a more thematic approach based on historical skills. Students themselves needed to play an active role and they had to 'do' history (inquiry method) instead of 'learning' history (memorizing method). In this way the traditional framework of school history and accompanying textbooks was challenged: instead of presenting a national narrative, students were invited to examine historical sources like 'detectives', guided by questions about evidence, significance and interpretation.

Whereas several post-1945 English textbook series show 'mental maps' towards an imaginative future based on progress, 'new history' authors include graphic timelines that simply display the continuation of time and the small selection of history that is included in their series. Instead of transmitting a national narrative to the next generation, based on a specific configuration of time and space, these textbooks highlight the constructed nature of historical narratives. While formerly perpetuated heroes, stories, and legends are not totally absent in these books, it is the students themselves who are encouraged to question and to examine them. Although 'new history' plays an important role in both countries, English history textbooks contain more playful elements, from cartoons and recipes to 'date races'.

Next to the inquiry method, Dutch history textbooks also display a move towards 'social critique', inspired by developments in the historical disciplinary context. In line with German *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, some textbooks connect school history to the social sciences. These authors argue that history had to contribute to an understanding of 'our' lives in the present world. Since history is to serve contemporary society, these textbooks approach history in a thematic and exemplary way via themes with a current scope. This form of school history aimed to bolster an understanding of processes and structures.

In these textbooks, the complex history of the Dutch Revolt is attributed much relevance with parallels drawn to complex present-day conflicts. Keys between past and present wars play an important role: images and texts from several historical events (the Dutch Revolt, the Vietnam War, the two World Wars, and a possible future nuclear war) are re-contextualized and keyed on the basis of a new plot: 'the price of freedom'. The authors emphasize continuity by giving insight into the 'consequences of war for ordinary people'. They also counteract the idea of war heroism. Another important theme is (in)tolerance, with authors remarking, for example, that the Netherlands had become a 'country of minorities' during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that the respect shown to other-minded groups was unique to the Netherlands at the time. This moral value is also visible in the keys presented: Philip's intolerance is keyed to present-day examples of intolerance, such as Islamic fundamentalism or the Troubles in Northern Ireland. The authors also mention cultural minorities and (in)tolerance in the students' direct environment.

The framing and keying process shows that the notion of ‘Dutch tolerance’ is stretched to denote the beginning of the Netherlands as a multi-ethnic society. Just after World War II, ‘tolerance’ was mostly defined as a reaction to the Holocaust and primarily signified the absence of persecution of minorities and people with other opinions or ideas. The contemporary discussions about (in)tolerance in this chapter’s research period focus on the integration of ethnic and cultural minorities and include themes such as repression, discrimination, and prejudices against these groups. These ‘stretched’ concepts of tolerance in the present are also discussed in relation to the past and several Dutch textbook authors question and criticise the assumed and long-propagated myth of ‘Dutch tolerance’. (In)tolerance thus remains an important signifier in the framing process.

Another important signifier perpetuated in Dutch history textbooks is that of ‘freedom’, albeit in another way than in the textbook series discussed earlier. This change can be illustrated by the keys generated and the choice of focus. Whereas previous authors referred to the re-use of the Sea Beggars’ songs in World War II or quoted Queen Wilhelmina to show that the Dutch had fought several fights for freedom throughout history, authors from this research period quote Abdulgani to show how a former Dutch colony became inspired to start its own fight for freedom and how they started to regard the Dutch colonizers as ‘Spaniards’. English textbooks do not display these kinds of keys in their narratives of the former British Empire or the Commonwealth.

This chapter’s analysis thus uncovers the power of the narratological context: although the educational and pedagogical contexts as well as the historical disciplinary context has a great impact on Dutch history textbooks, ‘freedom’ and ‘(in)tolerance’ are perpetuated as important signifiers in the narration and interpretation of the Dutch Revolt in all history textbooks examined, with the specific content adapted to present-day society.

In this chapter’s research period, the national governments of both nations began to intervene with history education. Especially in England, Margaret Thatcher became convinced that the state had to counteract the undermining power of ‘new history’: she spoke about the loss of national pride and refereed to the developments as an ‘attack on our heritage and great past’. The Education Reform Act of 1988 established the idea of a National Curriculum: Did this lead to the perpetuation of former heroic national narratives and a revival of ‘well-known’ frames and keys? The next chapter examines the period between 1988 and 2010 and shows that, in the Netherlands, the much-valued educational freedom faded more and more into the background with the call for a core curriculum.

5 Narrative iconoclasm and the revival of national narratives, 1988–2010

Two years after the publication of the first National Curriculum for History in England in 1991, Terry Deary published a history series for young people that has been reviewed as a ‘welcome antidote to the national curriculum’.⁹⁸⁵ The series is entitled *Horrible Histories* and the first volume *The Terrible Tudors* (1993) has been succeeded by many others, such as *Rotten Romans* (1994) and *The Measly Middle Ages* (1998). The popular series has been translated into other languages, becoming a global publishing phenomenon with over 25 million sales,⁹⁸⁶ a television series, board game, video game, stage show, and an inspiration for exhibitions such as the ‘Horrible Histories: Terrible Trenches Exhibition’ in the Imperial War Museum in 2010.

The series is marketed as history ‘with the nasty bits left in’ and its success can be explained by the enthusiastic, appealing form that plays on children’s fascination with ‘goriness’⁹⁸⁷: ‘There are some stories that are as chilling as the chilliest horror stories in your library.’⁹⁸⁸ Moreover, the books are richly illustrated with cartoons and quips. Violent and tumultuous histories are narrated in short sections of text, interspersed with excerpts from diaries, letters, graphs, maps, and comic strips. The books also contain recipes and multiple choice sections in order to test readers’ assumptions and to question important choices (‘What would you do?’). Deary has described his series as a ‘fact book with jokes’.⁹⁸⁹ He

985 Kunal Dutta, ‘Terry Deary: “I’m not some Koko the Clown coming over to perform for you”’, *Independent*, June 19, 2011, <https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/tv/features/terry-deary-im-not-some-koko-the-clown-coming-over-to-perform-for-you-2299712.html> (accessed December 17, 2018).

986 The Dutch series *Waanzinnig om te weten* is a translation and an adaptation of the English series *Horrible Histories*, *Horrible Science* and *Horrible Geography*.

987 Jerome de Groot, *Consuming History. Historians and heritages in contemporary popular culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 44.

988 Terry Deary and Neil Tonge, *Horrible Histories. The Terrible Tudors* (London: Scholastic, 1993), 8.

989 Sinclair McKay, ‘Horrible Histories. Sinclair McKay meets Terry Deary, the creator of the Horrible Histories’, *The Telegraph*, September 1, 2009.

does not describe himself as a historian but as a children's author, since he has no qualifications in the field of history, which he sees as 'a massive advantage in reaching my audience'.⁹⁹⁰ He juxtaposes his own enthusiastic voice with the 'lecturing voice' of historians, which he dislikes as much as the institution of the school itself, referring to the latter as 'an utter waste of young life'.

I'm not a historian, and I wouldn't want to be. I want to change the world. Attack the elite. Overturn the hierarchy. Look at my stories and you'll notice that the villains are always, always, those in power. The heroes are the little people. I hate the establishment. Always have, always will.⁹⁹¹

The author's anti-establishment ideas – he turned down invitations from Prince Charles and Prime Minister Tony Blair and sees Guy Fawkes as 'the only person to have entered Parliament with honest intentions' – are reflected in the anarchic feel of his series: *Horrible Histories* 'took an executioner's axe to the dusty, date-ridden textbook and forever changed how children interact with the past'.⁹⁹² According to Jerome de Groot, professor at the University of Manchester, the series 'illustrates a popular iconoclasm, a challenge to standard narratives, a pedagogical desire to present information in complex and dynamic ways'.⁹⁹³ The narrative iconoclasm is already visible in his introduction:

But this book is about really horrible history. It's full of the sort of facts that teachers never bother to tell you. Not just the bits about the kings and the queens and the battles and the endless lists of dates – it's also about the ordinary people who lived in Tudor times. People like you and me.⁹⁹⁴

The author asks his readers if they would like to have lived in Tudor Times and he refers to an anonymous 1980 history textbook in which the Elizabethan Age is described as an extremely exciting time to be alive. 'But this is a Horrible History book. You make up your own mind about how "exciting" it was when you have the real facts'.⁹⁹⁵ He points out that many children died, counterbalancing the romantic notion around the 'Golden Age' of Good Queen Bess.⁹⁹⁶ More concrete misappropriations about Elizabeth I are also discussed, such as the content of her speech to the troops upon the advent of the Spanish Armada:

990 Ibid.

991 Jon Henley, 'Interview with Terry Deary: The man behind the Horrible Histories', *The Guardian*, July 14, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2012/jul/14/terry-deary-y-horrible-histories> (accessed December 18, 2018).

992 Dutta, 'Terry Deary'.

993 De Groot, *Consuming History*, 47.

994 Deary and Tonge, *Horrible Histories. The Terrible Tudors*, 8.

995 Ibid., 20.

996 Ibid., 124.

A weak and feeble woman? That's not what writers of her time said. Elizabeth had a temper which everyone feared. William Davison, her unfortunate secretary, was just one who suffered: She punched and kicked him and told him to get out of her sight.⁹⁹⁷

The author's attempts to challenge traditional history class knowledge by providing 'alternative readings' are particularly striking in the 'Test your Teacher' sections: 'Teachers don't know everything. Amazing but true!'⁹⁹⁸ *Horrible Histories* aims to undermine the omniscient authority of the history textbook as well as the teacher.

Although Deary is 'proudly anti-establishment', many teachers love his books and use them in their history classes, much to the author's disgust: 'I shudder when I hear my books are used in those pits of misery and ignorance'. Deary has even expressed the wish to 'sue' teachers for using his books in lessons,⁹⁹⁹ claiming that the subversive nature of his books is undermined if they become part of the curriculum.¹⁰⁰⁰ Moreover, he explicitly states that he is not a historian: he sees historians as 'liars' who try to push their own agenda, as people who do not write objectively. Others argue that he does the same with his political, anarchist ideas, and that he opposes a style of history teaching that is now outdated since multiple perspectives and interpretations are explicitly highlighted in history classrooms of the present.¹⁰⁰¹

'Nationalism is the great political passion of our time', wrote Jean Bethke Elshtain in 1994.¹⁰⁰² This chapter examines frames and keys in the national narratives found in English and Dutch history textbooks published between 1988 and 2010, and examines whether the implementation of national core curricula and societal developments, such as 9/11, led to a revival of 'well-known' frames and keys in these narratives. It also inquires as to the extent to which history textbooks have been subject to a 'narrative iconoclasm' by integrating multiple perspectives and genres, particularly in the light of 'subversive' genres such as *Horrible Histories*. Sections 5.1 and 5.3 address the complex socio-political

997 *Ibid.*, 72.

998 Terry Deary, *Horrible Histories. Even more Terrible Tudors* (London: Scholastic, 1998), 119.

999 Alison Flood, 'Horrible Histories: too cool for school?', *The Guardian*, April 11, 2012, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2012/apr/11/horrible-histories-school-terry-deary> (accessed December 20, 2018).

1000 Jon Henley, 'Interview with Terry Deary', *The Guardian*, July 14, 2012.

1001 Vicky Carroll, 'Horrible Histories' Greg Jenner: "We don't treat kids like they're stupid"', *The Big Issue*, February 16, 2018; The school doctor, 'Oh Dear, Mr. Deary', *Schools Improvement*, February 19, 2017, <https://schoolsImprovement.net/school-doctor-oh-dear-mr-deary/> (accessed July 8, 2022).

1002 Jean Bethke Elshtain, 'Identity, Sovereignty and Self-Determination', in *Peacemaking: Moral and Policy Challenges for a New World*, eds. Gerard F. Powers, Drew Christiansen and Robert T. Hennemeyer (Washington, DC: U.S.C.C., 1994), 97–104, 97. See also: J. Elshtain, *New Wine and Old Bottles. International Politics and Ethical Discourse* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 25.

contexts of English and Dutch history education between 1988 and 2010 and show how discussions about the inclusion and exclusion of historical events and ‘heroes’ in national curricula are related to wider debates about nationhood and identity. Sections 5.2 and 5.4 provide an in-depth analysis of two English and two Dutch newly published textbook series and also examine adaptations made to established series. The conclusion elaborates on similarities and differences between English and Dutch textbooks, as well as on change and continuity in relation to the research periods discussed above.

5.1 Nationhood, citizenship, and post-imperial British identity

The time has come, I think, to redress the balance. While there is most definitely a place for active learning; for handling evidence; (...) there is also a place for story.
(Alan Farmer, 1990)¹⁰⁰³

In January 1990, Alan Farmer published an article about history storytellers in secondary schools, since they were in danger ‘of becoming something of an endangered species’.¹⁰⁰⁴ Story-telling had fallen into disrepute as a result of the ‘new’ developments in history teaching, such as child-centred and active learning. ‘Too much concern with the methodology of the historian can result in school history losing something of the fascination of the narrative approach’, according to Farmer.¹⁰⁰⁵ ‘While not wishing to put the clock too far back’, he argues for storytelling as an essential element of history education, both on philosophical and practical grounds.¹⁰⁰⁶ He reinforces his argument for narrative with the argument of contemporary educational philosopher Kieran Egan, who pointed out that listening pupils are in fact not ‘passive’; rather, stories activate children’s brains and imagination since they connect with children’s fascination for the extreme, the bizarre, and the wonderful.¹⁰⁰⁷ Farmer therefore calls for a school history that details exotic and bizarre societies, dramatic personalities, and events.¹⁰⁰⁸ According to Egan, pupils at key stages two and three are in the ‘romantic’ stage of development, and

History is best understood at this stage as a kind of mosaic of bright elements – anecdotes, facts, dramatic events (...). The history that engages them does so not because it is

1003 Alan Farmer, ‘Story-Telling in History’, *Teaching History*, no. 58 (1990): 17–23, 18.

1004 *Ibid.*, 17.

1005 *Ibid.*, 23.

1006 *Ibid.*, 17–18.

1007 *Ibid.*, 18.

1008 *Ibid.*

true and has determined our present forms of life and consciousness. Rather, it engages in so far as it entertains them and meets the requirements set out above.¹⁰⁰⁹

Egan thus emphasized the ‘necessity of the story form’, and Farmer describes storytelling as a fundamental and important weapon in ‘a history teacher’s armoury’,¹⁰¹⁰ encouraging teachers to develop the confidence and the skills to use it.¹⁰¹¹ His article also offers guidance to teachers, formulating general elements of a good history story, such as adventure, drama, and binary oppositions. Farmer explains:

Stories about Adolf Hitler often go down very well because he is usually portrayed as the greatest villain of them all. Francis Drake, Horatio Nelson and Florence Nightingale are usually seen as national ‘goodies’ and stories about them are invariably well received.¹⁰¹²

This section will show that precisely these national ‘goodies’ were fiercely debated after the implementation of the first National Curriculum (NC) in English history education. Whereas the ‘left’ almost unanimously agreed that heroes could enliven historical accounts, they strongly disagreed with the ‘right’ about the function of historical heroes in the English classroom.¹⁰¹³ Fierce debates about the in- and exclusion of ‘heroes’ in the NC give insight into the struggles over school history and the search for a contemporary, post-imperial identity.

In 1988, Education Secretary Kenneth Baker stated at the Conservative Party Conference: ‘For too long some people have written off our past and have tried to make us feel ashamed of our history.’¹⁰¹⁴ He introduced the NC as part of the 1988 Education Reform Act, with a view to restoration and with an eye on the future: ‘our pride in our past gives us the confidence to stand tall in the world of today’.¹⁰¹⁵ This state intervention, together with Baker’s imperial language – he spoke about ‘our civilising mission’ and how ‘Britain has given a great many things to the world’ – was the source of much agitation. Stephen Kemp remarked in *The Times*, for instance, that ‘to imply that Britain’s history is itself a heroic tale risks insulting those ethnic minorities whose forebears may have suffered under colonial rule.’¹⁰¹⁶

1009 Kieran Egan, *Educational Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 45.

1010 Ibid., 16. About the story-form and narrativism, see also: Haydn White, ‘The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality’, *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (1980): 5–27; Frank Ankersmit, *Narrative Logic: A Semantic Analysis of the Historian’s Language* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1983).

1011 Farmer, ‘Story-Telling in History’, 19.

1012 Ibid., 21.

1013 Peter Yeandle, “‘Heroes into Zeroes’? The Politics of (Not) Teaching England’s Imperial Past’, *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42, no. 5 (2014): 882–911, 898.

1014 Kenneth Baker, Speech to the Conservative Party Conference (1988). See also: Raphael Samuel, ‘A Case for National History’, *International Journal of Historical Teaching, Learning and Research*, no. 1 (2003): 81–88.

1015 Ibid.

1016 Stephen Kemp, ‘Land fit for heroes’, *The Times*, September 18, 1995, 19.

The agitation was not only about history education, however. It was also a discussion about nationhood and identity in relation to the inclusion and exclusion of people in a changed society and world in which imperial greatness had long evaporated.¹⁰¹⁷ Historian William Wallace pointed to the complexity of a national identity in *The Observer*:

Must Ministers still share the traditional English view that national identity is something that Germans and Italians agonise over; we British, they agree, know who we are. The problem is, we don't ... The British experience in India will not be an easy subject to present, or to avoid; nor Britain's role in the African slave trade, nor the British involvement in China, which included going to war to force an anti drug imperial government to open its doors to British opium traders. What version of Britain's history and values ought we to teach them? The historical orthodoxies we have inherited from the 1890s will not help our children understand the world of the 1990s.¹⁰¹⁸

Moreover, ignoring the complexity and grounding the search for a national identity upon a 'bogus triumphalism will alienate more than it persuades, and thus defeats its purpose', according to Hugh Kearney.¹⁰¹⁹

On 10 August 1989, the History Working Group (HWG) published its interim report and wondered whether specific factual information also needed to be included in the attainment targets. The HWG pointed out that the structure endorsed by the government – a rigid system of assessment through ten levels of attainment¹⁰²⁰ – was problematic for the inclusion of certain events, dates, and persons: a student who could not recall knowledge on a certain level could not proceed to the next, irrespective of their achievements in other attainment targets.¹⁰²¹ Defenders of factual knowledge, such as the self-constituted group of prominent academic historians, argued in the *Daily Telegraph* that the NC threatened the integrity of school history by placing too much emphasis on skills and empathy at the cost of historical knowledge:

Any characterization of history as socially constructed is (...) inadequate if this is held to imply the impossibility of making true statements about the past. The teaching of historical knowledge is central to school history and should not be crowded out by an undue emphasis on how historians 'construct' history. The testing of knowledge should play a vital part in all assessment schemes.¹⁰²²

1017 Gareth Elwyn Jones, 'The Debate over the National Curriculum for History in England and Wales, 1989–90. The Role of the Press', *Curriculum Journal* 11, no. 3 (2000): 299–322, 301.

1018 William Wallace, 'Why the history we are teaching is out of date', *The Observer*, October 22, 1989, 58.

1019 Jones, 'The Debate over the National Curriculum for History in England and Wales, 1989–90', 301.

1020 *Ibid.*, 305.

1021 *Ibid.*

1022 John Clare, 'History may be thing of past, experts fear', *Daily Telegraph*, March 19, 1990, 7. See also: Jones, 'The Debate over the National Curriculum for History in England and

Raphael Samuel argued in the *Guardian* that the strong emphasis on sources in history education was a strength since it ‘carried the penalty of eliminating the grand narrative’, but he also emphasized that the study of sources was only ‘genuinely historical to the degree to which it cultivated historical understanding.’¹⁰²³

Next to these educational arguments, the inclusion or exclusion of specific historical knowledge was also discussed in relation to ‘national identity’. An example is Keith Waterhouse’s argument in the *Daily Mail* that a ‘country that forgets its own history is dead from the neck up – and all the evidence is that as a nation we are suffering from creeping amnesia when it comes to our collective past’,¹⁰²⁴ thus in support of factual content. Media fuelled the debate about ‘factual content’ versus ‘skills’, such as in a television interview with children who did not know the dates of the two World Wars.¹⁰²⁵ Paul Johnson complained in the *Daily Mail* that students had been taught no sense of ‘the spectacular achievements of the British people which make our island story one of the great epics of humanity’.¹⁰²⁶ The children’s ignorance was interpreted as a lack of national ‘self-respect’ and ‘patriotism’.

In 1990, a debate on ‘History, the Nation and the Schools’ was held at Ruskin College, Oxford. Jonathan Clark, then a lecturer in history at Oxford, asked what kind of patriotism should be taught in schools, commenting that ‘nothing in the methods of scholarship can answer this question: it is essentially political’.¹⁰²⁷ In March 1991, the National Curriculum for History finally emerged in the form of Statutory Orders that announced inclusion of the British Empire only as an *optional* extension unit for key stage three (11–14 years), next to a series of other supplementary or extension units.¹⁰²⁸ The core study units for key stage three included ‘The Making of the United Kingdom: Crowns, Parliaments and Peoples 1500–1750’.¹⁰²⁹

Wales, 1989–90’, 310. The group was led by Norman Stone and included Lords Beloff, Blake, Thomas and Skidelsky, and Sir Geoffrey Elton.

1023 Gareth Elwyn Jones, ‘The Debate over the National Curriculum for History in England and Wales, 1989–90’, 310; Raphael Samuel, ‘History as an end in itself’, *The Guardian*, March 13, 1990, 21.

1024 Keith Waterhouse, ‘1066 and all what?’, *Daily Mail*, August 21, 1989, 8.

1025 Jones, ‘The Debate over the National Curriculum for History in England and Wales, 1989–90’, 304.

1026 Paul Johnson, ‘Pride in the past for our future’s sake’, *Daily Mail*, August 12, 1989, 6.

1027 J.D.C. Clarke, ‘National Identity, State Formation and Patriotism: The Role of History in the Public Mind’, *History Workshop Journal* 29 (1990): 95–102, 100.

1028 Department for Education and Science (DES), *History in the National Curriculum (England)* (HMSO, March 1991).

1029 *Ibid.* See also: Terry Haydn, ‘The changing form and use of textbooks in the history classroom in the 21st century: A view from the UK’, in *Analyzing Textbooks: Methodological issues. Yearbook of the International Society for History Didactics*, eds. E. Erdmann,

In the meantime, John Major had become Prime Minister and Kenneth Clarke the Secretary of State. In contrast with Thatcher, Clarke was ‘very much against the curriculum being used to impart political views’.¹⁰³⁰ He abandoned history as a compulsory subject for under-sixteens: pupils of fourteen years could choose between history and geography. This had implications for the design of the National Curriculum for school history, which had been designed to run chronologically until the age of sixteen, with a strong emphasis on modern and world history in the last two years. The content assigned to the last two years therefore had to be integrated (to a certain extent) into earlier key stages. In the first few months of implementation it became clear that the content was overloaded and the words of Anna Davin in the introduction to a special edition of the *History Workshop Journal* proved prophetic: ‘National Curriculum and national history, then, provide both challenge and opportunity. The struggle over history teaching is only beginning.’¹⁰³¹

Critics from the so-called New Right complained about the lack of British history and heroes in the National Curriculum, and the design itself was also criticized by conservatives. The latter were frustrated that their moment of cultural restoration had been lost in the compromise to outsource decision-making power to the educational establishment. Teachers were equally dissatisfied and carried out a successful boycott of all testing in the summer of 1993 (this option was first discussed by the National Association for the Teaching of English, in part because the teachers felt ‘disenfranchised’, ‘with the New Right in complete control’).¹⁰³² In an unsuccessful attempt to call off the boycott, a full review of the NC and its testing was announced. In May 1993, Sir Don Dearing, the new Chairman of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA), was appointed to review the NC. In July of the same year, he published an Interim Report and half a year later his Final Report followed. The NC proved to be too densely packed, and he proposed a ‘slimmed down’ version. Moreover, students were no longer required to study either history or geography after the age of 14.¹⁰³³

New *subject* working groups were appointed and the history committee discussed the content as well as testing issues. In anticipation of their publication, one member, Chris McGovern, published his own ‘minority’ report via the New Right

L. Cajani, A.S. Khodnev, S. Popp, N. Tutiaux-Guillon and G.D. Wrangham (Schwalbach: Wochenschau Verlag, 2011), 67–88.

1030 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 197.

1031 Anna Davin, ‘History, the Nation and the Schools: Introduction’, *History Workshop Journal* 29 (1990): 92–94, 94.

1032 David C. Johnson and Alison Millett, eds., *Implementing the Mathematics National Curriculum: Policy, Politics and Practice* (London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1996), 16.

1033 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 200.

pressure group, the Campaign for Real Education.¹⁰³⁴ McGovern was dissatisfied with the direction of the group and argued for factual historical knowledge, objected to the attention given to the testing of historical thinking skills, and regretted the ‘requirement to include social, cultural, religious and ethnic diversities’.¹⁰³⁵ He also expressed his opinions in the press: in *The Times* McGovern described a ‘struggle over what constitutes British civilisation’ and asked readers to ‘pull down the temple of “political correctness” and to save what we can’. He stated that ‘it is from political constitutional and military history that most of our identity is drawn’, and called for students to study ‘the stories of king and queens, of sailors and soldiers, of imperial expansion, of heroes and heroines’.¹⁰³⁶

The committee also published its ‘majority rapport’: the compulsory content was slimmed down and the ‘supplementary’ or ‘extension units’ were removed or integrated into the ‘core study units’.¹⁰³⁷ Although McGovern was snubbed by the committee for making ‘mischievous misrepresentations’, he received support from several media that followed and incorporated his opinions. The *Today* declared: ‘Aztecs take over from Nelson in history class’ and ‘the Battle of Agincourt will be replaced by everyday life in Benin’,¹⁰³⁸ and the *Sun* followed suit, announcing that Henry VIII, Nelson and Churchill were ‘out’ and that the ‘struggles of Namibian woman’ were ‘in’.¹⁰³⁹ The chosen language here – ‘replacement’ of national heroes by new histories – accentuated the alleged ‘loss’ of traditional, national history as well as the anti-patriotic sentiment. Moreover, the *Daily Mail* lamented that

[i]n this fashionable lunacy it would be possible for a pupil to grow up knowing next to nothing about the Gunpowder Plot, Trafalgar, Waterloo or Winston Churchill. And everything about the experiences of black peoples in the Americas or the lifestyle of the Ancient Egyptians.¹⁰⁴⁰

On the same day in 1994, the *Telegraph* argued:

We are a great civilisation, the mother of others throughout the English speaking world, and a well-spring of the highest achievements in the practice of government, law, trade, industry, and the life of the mind, the sense and the spirit. We traduce Britain’s glory if we teach a history which makes us seem just like anybody else.¹⁰⁴¹

1034 Ibid.

1035 Ibid.

1036 Christopher McGovern, ‘This history curriculum is bunk’, *The Times*, May 7, 1994, 16.

1037 Department for Education and Skills (DfES), *History in the National Curriculum: England* (HMSO, 1995).

1038 Yeandle, “‘Heroes into Zeroes’? The Politics of (Not) Teaching England’s Imperial Past”, 893.

1039 Ibid.

1040 Bill Moulard, ‘Charles, scourge of the trendies’, *Daily Mail*, May 5, 1994, 6.

1041 John Keegan, ‘History meets its waterloo when lunacy is in command’, *Telegraph*, May 5, 1994, 20.

In public debates, heroes were ‘recruited’ by ‘cultural critics’ to define nation and identity and featured in the illustrations of newspaper articles.¹⁰⁴² Next to their decorative function, their presence embodied a nostalgia.¹⁰⁴³ National identity was threatened by the new approaches to history teaching and by the exclusion of ‘traditional’ heroes from the curriculum.

In the *Sun*, Garry Bushell called upon the government not to ‘let teachers turn our heroes into zeroes’ and complained that the ‘notion of great achievers doesn’t fit the quasi-Marxist views of today’s education “experts”’.¹⁰⁴⁴ In 1995, the idea of ‘lost heroes’ was further emphasized by Nicholas Tate, the Chief Executive of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) in England, who argued in *The Times* that ‘Britain’s sense of national identity was being eroded’ by the lack of teaching about heroes.¹⁰⁴⁵ The *Sunday Times* declared on the front page that ‘respect is lost for heroes of British history’ and that their great achievements were undermined by politically correct history textbooks.¹⁰⁴⁶ Furthermore, the *Daily Mail* argued that ‘history teaching has been captured by those who have no admiration of the past of their own country and see it as little more than a tale of imperialism abroad and oppression at home’.¹⁰⁴⁷ Ultimately, the extensive attention paid by the press to history in the NC articulated a national debate beyond the context of school history.¹⁰⁴⁸

Whereas conservatives claimed that teaching about heroes would transmit ‘true English values’, the most active left-wing historian Raphael Samuel argued for heroes on another basis. Samuel stated that the removal of heroes had damaged history’s ‘popular (and classroom) appeal’.¹⁰⁴⁹ He was not against the inclusion of ‘heroes’ *per se*, but proposed questioning the ‘hero status’ of these persons by examining the historical contexts in which they were ‘made’ and retained as such,¹⁰⁵⁰ an exercise that would contribute to students’ historical understanding.

1042 Yeandle, “‘Heroes into Zeroes’? The Politics of (Not) Teaching England’s Imperial Past’, 884.
1043 Ibid.

1044 Garry Bushell, ‘Don’t let teachers turn our heroes into zeroes’, *The Sun*, September 20, 1995, 6.

1045 John O’Leary referring to Nicholas Tate, ‘Curriculum head urges schools to restore heroes’, *The Times*, September 18, 1995, 5. See also: Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Philips, “‘You’re History!’ Media Representation, Nationhood and the National Past’, in *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain*, eds. Helen Brocklehurst and Robert Philips (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 386–398, 390.

1046 ‘Respect is lost for heroes of British history’, *Sunday Times*, September 17, 1995, 1.

1047 Anthony O’Hear, ‘Yobs who prove the ugly truth about teachers’, *Daily Mail*, April 18, 1995, 8.

1048 Jones, ‘The Debate over the National Curriculum for History in England and Wales, 1989–90’, 320. See also Yeandle, “‘Heroes into Zeroes’? The Politics of (Not) Teaching England’s Imperial Past’, 884–885.

1049 Yeandle, “‘Heroes into Zeroes’? The Politics of (Not) Teaching England’s Imperial Past’, 898.

1050 Ibid.

In 1997, Labour came to power, and in 1999 the NC for history was reviewed at all key stages. Whereas local history, Britain and the wider world were allocated more space in key stages one and two, key stage three needed to give more attention to global history.¹⁰⁵¹ Moreover, Labour introduced ‘citizenship’ as a compulsory element in the NC (through all key stages).¹⁰⁵² At the end of the decade, however, Chief Executive Tate repeated his criticism and argued that national heroes were still being ‘debunked’, interpreted by the *Daily Telegraph* as a ‘betrayal of Britain’s history’.¹⁰⁵³ Newspapers quoted respected historians and journalists to give authoritarian credence to the opinions expressed. In 1999, journalist Peter Hitchens argued that a ‘nation is the sum of its memories, and when those memories are allowed to die, it is less of a nation’.¹⁰⁵⁴ Moreover, he blamed the curriculum authorities and teachers for the ‘abolition of Britain’: they had rejected the ‘English/British historical canon’.¹⁰⁵⁵

This criticism fuelled discussions about ‘Englishness’ and ‘Britishness’ and raised the question as to whether the history curriculum needed to adapt to the demographic changes as a result of postcolonial immigration. Should the curriculum acknowledge ‘their histories’, or did history education rather need to foster social cohesion and assimilation by offering newcomers ‘the traditional canon’ of British history?¹⁰⁵⁶ Already in 1998, an independent think-tank had set up, ‘The Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain’, with the task of countering racial discrimination and rendering Britain a confident multicultural society. In 2000, the report *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* was published, including a chapter entitled ‘Rethinking the National Story’. The report clearly states that there never has been a single ‘British way of life’: ‘The idea that Britishness is universally diffused across society is seriously misleading. For there have always been many, often contested, ways of being British.’¹⁰⁵⁷ Next to this historical remark, the author Bhikhu Parekh looked to the present and future:

1051 Department for Education and Skills (DfES) and Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), *History: The National Curriculum for England* (Her Majesty’s Stationery Office – HMSO, 1999).

1052 Cannadine et al., *The right kind of history*, 200.

1053 Brocklehurst and Philips, ‘“You’re History!” Media Representation, Nationhood and the National Past’, 391; John Clare, ‘The “betrayal” of Britain’s history’, *Daily Telegraph*, September 19, 1995.

1054 *Ibid.*, 395.

1055 Peter Hitchens, *The Abolition of Britain* (London: Quartet, 1999). See also: Brocklehurst and Philips, ‘“You’re History!” Media Representation, Nationhood and the National Past’, 395.

1056 Terry Haydn, ‘Longing for the past: politicians and the history curriculum in English schools, 1988–2010’, *Journal of Education, Media, Memory and Society* 4, no. 1 (2012): 7–25, 11.

1057 Bhikhu Parekh, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain* (London: Profile Books, 2000), 22.

Britain confronts a historic choice as to its future direction. Will it try to turn the clock back, digging in, defending old values and ancient hierarchies, relying on a narrow English-dominated backward-looking definition of the nation? Or will it seize the opportunity to create a more flexible, inclusive, cosmopolitan image of itself? Britain is at a turning point. But it has not yet turned the corner.¹⁰⁵⁸

In several media, the report was seen as an attack on the integrity of Britishness itself and the suggestion to ‘rethink’ the national story was interpreted by the *Telegraph* as an attempt ‘to consign our island story to history’.¹⁰⁵⁹ The *Mail* wrote about a ‘brainwashing exercise to destroy our sense of nationhood’,¹⁰⁶⁰ and the *Star* described the report as an example of ‘political correctness gone mad’, commenting that ‘it is now racist to be British’.¹⁰⁶¹ These responses, beside many others, bore witness to the confusion that permeated – and still permeates – the complex search for a post-imperial identity and people’s concerns with nationhood, identity and history.¹⁰⁶² In 2002, the BBC broadcasted the television series *100 Greatest Britons*, based on a television poll to determine who the British people themselves considered as the greatest historical or contemporary hero. The series ended with a debate and the final determination of the top ten. Winston Churchill won first place, Elizabeth I was given seventh place and Sir Francis Drake stood at place forty-nine. In the list of 100 persons, hardly any women or non-white persons were mentioned. This does not necessarily mean that they were neglected in the classroom: Roger Levy and Dean Smart published *Multicultural Britain: Teacher Resource Book* (2002), in which they characterized the aspiration of establishing a single national identity as a misplaced illusion:¹⁰⁶³

Britain has always been a multicultural community, with a continual stream of visitors and settlers, immigrants and emigrants. [...] Turning to British history, the more one examines this, the more evident it is that it compromised a rich tapestry of many themes and colours. There is not one story, but a volume of them, and not one people, but a throng.¹⁰⁶⁴

Moreover, they argued that many teachers wanted to ensure that their lessons were inclusive and that they needed resources to do this. Their resource book was meant as a starting point. Within the core study unit on Britain 1500–1750, they discuss, for example, the impact of Huguenot immigration,¹⁰⁶⁵ and the chapter

1058 *Ibid.*, 14.

1059 ‘Thinkers who want to consign our island story to history’, *Telegraph*, October 10, 2000, 6.

1060 Paul Johnson, ‘In praise of being British’, *Mail*, October 11, 2000, 12–13.

1061 Dawn Neesom, ‘This stuff gets on my Brits’, *Star*, October 12, 2000, 11.

1062 Yeandle, ‘“Heroes into Zeroes”? The Politics of (Not) Teaching England’s Imperial Past’, 901.

1063 Roger Levy and Dean Smart, *Multicultural Britain. Teacher Resource Book* (Cheltenham: Nelson Thornes, 2002), 6.

1064 *Ibid.*

1065 *Ibid.*, 21–27, 23.

about the twentieth century includes a section entitled 'A Benefit or Burden? Jewish Immigrants in the 1930s'.¹⁰⁶⁶

In 2007, the *Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review* was published, reviewing the teaching of ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity across the curriculum up to age nineteen:

Major international events, such as 11 September 2001 and the London bombings in July 2005, have contributed to the debate on community cohesion and shared values, particularly because the latter were perpetrated by British-born Muslims. In the wake of these events, community cohesion is a key focus for the Government.¹⁰⁶⁷

The report called for inclusive narratives and for recognition of the diverse nature of Britain. In the same year, the NC for history was revised. The Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) placed a spotlight on diversity and explicitly mentioned 'the desire to acknowledge and celebrate diversity' as well as the promotion of 'tolerance, inclusion and achievement' as aims and values.¹⁰⁶⁸ Since the year 2007 was to commemorate the bicentennial of the abolition of the slave trade, and due to current concerns about racial discrimination and genocide, the NC for history gave special attention to the slave trade and the Holocaust.¹⁰⁶⁹ These topics turned out to be complex and controversial: various people criticised the British 'abolitionist myth', which focused on the nation's heroic role in the abolition process and neglected aspects of culpability.¹⁰⁷⁰ In 2007–2008, the *TEACH Report* examined teachers' concerns and reservations around the teaching of emotive and controversial history.

Furthermore, in the Ofsted annual report 2007/2008, the inspection remarked that pupils of all ages 'are seldom encouraged to form overviews or draw wider implications. Consequently, they often have little sense of chronology and the possibility of establishing an overarching story and addressing broader themes

1066 Ibid., 66.

1067 Keith Ajegbo, Dina Kiwan and Seema Sharma, *Curriculum Review. Diversity & Citizenship* (Nottingham: DfES publication, 2007), 18. See also online: <http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/pdfs/2007-ajegbo-report-citizenship.pdf> (accessed December 20, 2018).

1068 Dean Smart and Penelope Harnett, 'The History Curriculum in England: Contested Narratives', in *Teaching History and Social Studies for Multicultural Europe*, eds. S. Aktekin, P. Harnett, M. Ozturk and D. Smart (Ankara: Harf Eğitim Yayıncılığı, 2009), 99–116, 112–113.

1069 Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), *History: Programme of study for key stage 3 and attainment target* (HMSO, 2007).

1070 See for example: Pieter de Bruijn, *Bridges to the past. Historical distance and multiperspectivity in English and Dutch heritage educational resources* (Rotterdam: unpublished PhD thesis, 2014), 45–50.

and issues is limited.¹⁰⁷¹ This lack of overview and chronology was addressed more widely,¹⁰⁷² and the independent think tank ‘Civitas: the Institute for the Study of Civil Society’ published *The Corruption of the Curriculum* in 2007. Frank Furedi, Professor of Sociology at the University of Kent in Canterbury, stated in the introduction that the school curriculum had become ‘estranged from the challenge of educating children’. According to him, pedagogic problems and educational issues ‘have become subordinate to the imperative of social engineering and political expediency’.¹⁰⁷³ He rejected the actions of Alan Arthur Johnson, a British Labour Party politician and education secretary at the time, and argued:

The school curriculum has become a battleground for zealous campaigners and entrepreneurs keen to promote their message. [...] For Johnson, the subject of history, like that of geography, must be subordinated to the task of transmitting the latest fashionable cause or value. Johnson is indifferent to the slave trade as part of an academic discipline with its own integrity; rather he sees slave trade studies as a vehicle for promoting his version of a multicultural Britain.¹⁰⁷⁴

Chris McGovern also wrote about history in the contemporary curriculum, strongly opposing the aims and outcomes of ‘new history’. He argued that in the name of ‘progress’ and ‘relevance’ hundreds or even thousands of years of history teaching wisdom had been left behind.¹⁰⁷⁵ The strong emphasis on skills, he stated, had created a vacuum of factual knowledge of history, and he referred to the BBC ‘Battlefield Britain’ series (2004) to emphasize his point. Prior to the launch of this mini-series, the producers conducted a survey on the landmark conflicts of British history. These figures revealed a ‘stunning ignorance’: less than half of the respondents identified Sir Francis Drake as a key figure in the English defeat of the Spanish Armada. Instead, several young people thought that Gandalf (a fictional character in Tolkien’s novels *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of the Rings*), Horatio Hornblower or Christopher Columbus had participated in the sea battle.¹⁰⁷⁶ In his chapter, McGovern also referred to other polls and surveys to show that younger generations hardly had any factual historical knowledge at

1071 Christine Gilbert, *The Annual Report of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Education, Children’s Services and Skills 2007/08* (London: Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Family, 2008), 21.

1072 See also: William Stow and Terry Haydn, ‘Issues in the teaching of chronology’, in *Issues in history teaching*, eds. James Arthur and Robert Philips (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 83–97.

1073 Frank Furedi, ‘Introduction’, in *The Corruption of the Curriculum*, ed. Robert Whelan (London: Civitas, 2007), 1–10, 1.

1074 *Ibid.*, 2.

1075 Chris McGovern, ‘The New History Boys’, in *The Corruption of the Curriculum*, ed. Robert Whelan (London: Civitas, 2007), 58–85, 58.

1076 Press Association, ‘Gandalf finds a place in British History’, *Guardian*, August 5, 2004.

all, which he regretted since ‘ignorance and extremism are happy bed fellows’.¹⁰⁷⁷ He complained about the lack of chronology, landmark events, and narrative, claiming it was time ‘to restore the unfolding narrative of the past and through it to weave some magic back into our teaching methodology’.¹⁰⁷⁸

The way forward for history is to separate it from ‘New History’ altogether, in order to allow it to be taught as an unfolding narrative. This will involve lots of story-telling and story reading, something loved by both children and adults. It would not exclude looking at evidence, where this enhances the story. A visit to the Tower of London, for example, would enhance many a tale of the past. ‘Story-telling’ should become a formal part of teacher training (...). A new generation of story-books needs to be published to highlight the excitement of the past and its landmarks for this country and for other countries. If this leads to a bias towards pride in our own national identity, so be it. What a welcome ‘failing’ in these fragmented times that would be.¹⁰⁷⁹

The plea for storytelling came not only from McGovern; it was an important issue within Civitas. Already in 2005, Civitas had republished the famous book *Our Island Story* by Marshall, originally from 1905 (see also Chapter Two). Although this book had been out of print in England for more than fifty years, Civitas reissued it for its centennial. Deputy director Robert Whelan explained that history teaching in England was in a bad state and that Civitas aimed to improve the situation by identifying ‘beautifully written’ chronological narratives from the past that were out-of-print.¹⁰⁸⁰ Moreover, they planned to give a free copy to all primary schools and began fundraising in order to achieve this endeavour. Author and journalist John Clare congratulated Civitas with this initiative in *The Telegraph* and called on his readers to donate: ‘The project deserves the whole-hearted support of all who care about our history’.¹⁰⁸¹ He also quoted people and their reasons for donating money, such as the grandfather who described it as ‘an investment in my grandchildren’s future’.¹⁰⁸²

Amanda Vickery, a reader in history at Royal Holloway, University of London, wondered what the original author – Henrietta Marshall – would think of this ‘evangelical campaign’:

1077 McGovern, ‘The New History Boys’, 62.

1078 Ibid., 82.

1079 Ibid., 80.

1080 Civitas, ‘Nationwide distribution of free history books to primary schools puts narrative history back on the curriculum’, <https://civitas.org.uk/press/nationwide-distribution-of-free-history-books-to-primary-schools-puts-narrative-history-back-on-the-curriculum/> (accessed July 7, 2022).

1081 John Clarke, ‘Any questions? This week, wonderful response to history appeal’, *The Telegraph*, June 22, 2005, 18.

1082 Ibid.

‘This is not a history lesson, but a story book,’ she insisted in 1905. Frank about her debt to legend, she said her tale did not belong with the schoolbooks, but ‘quite at the other end of the shelf’ [...]. ‘Remember,’ wrote Marshall, ‘that I was not trying to teach you, but only to tell a story.’¹⁰⁸³

According to Vickery, it is no bad thing to have history strung together in a narrative but the ‘deficiencies of the national curriculum will not be addressed by a book that gives more weight to Merlin than to Richard II’. To recommend Marshall’s book as a textbook to pupils is like ‘relying on Mel Gibson for the history of Scotland’.¹⁰⁸⁴ Moreover, she argued that contemporary British children needed an extended history of the British Isles in all its diversity. *The Economist* also questioned the reprint of the 1905 book: while ‘Britain lacks a good founding story’, it commented, Marshall’s book ‘seems like an odd candidate to plug this gap’.¹⁰⁸⁵

Civitas aimed to republish other books from the past as well. David Conway, a senior research fellow at Civitas, argued that when children grow older, ‘Marshall’s book could be augmented and replaced by more advanced narrative texts’, such as those by R.J. Unstead (discussed in Chapter Three).¹⁰⁸⁶ Critics and revisionists argued that the perpetuation of these ‘traditional’ textbooks would also perpetuate traditional views, such as the Whig interpretation of history. Conway neutralized the criticism with this quote from Butterfield’s work:

It is not necessary or useful to deny that the theme of English political history is the story of our liberty; and while men think that freedom is worth singing songs about, from New York to Cape Town, from London to Canberra, it will always be true that in one important respect [...] we are all of us exultant and unrepentant whigs. Those who [...] wish to drive out that whig interpretation [...] are opening the door for seven devils which, precisely because they are new-comers, are bound to be worse than the first.¹⁰⁸⁷

Without an overarching narrative, according to Conway, pupils would still lack chronology, coherence, and a framework, and that would be far worse than a Whig interpretation of history.

1083 Amanda Vickery, ‘A light in time’s bottomless well’, *The Guardian*, March 11, 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2006/mar/11/featuresreviews.guardianreview24> (accessed November 22, 2018).

1084 Ibid.

1085 ‘Notes on a small island. An old approach to history is new again’, *The Economist*, August 29, 2005, <https://www.economist.com/britain/2005/08/18/notes-on-a-small-island> (accessed November 22, 2018).

1086 David Conway, ‘Why history remains the best form of citizenship education’, *Civitas Review* 2 (2005): 1–10, 8. See Chapter Three for more information about Robert J. Unstead.

1087 Ibid., 8–9. See also: Butterfield, *The Englishman and His History* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1944), 3–4.

Publishing house Stacey International saw a potential gap in the textbook market and republished the textbook series *A History of Britain* by Carter and Mears (originally from 1937, see Chapter Two). After a revision and update by David Evans, former Head of History at Eton College, Stacey International published the history textbooks in 2010 as a straightforward, coherent, chronological narrative and advertised the massively popular series as a solution to the problems in history education. Although the reprinted version underwent several revisions and updates, it is important to acknowledge its role in the perpetuation of national narratives. Whereas the previous chapter stated that the David-Goliath allegory and the notion of 'standing alone' disappeared in English textbooks from the eighties and nineties onwards, the reprints of Carter and Mears' textbooks show that these frames were resurrected in 2010. The following quote about the events of 1588 in the revised edition of 2010 is exactly the same as in the original of 1968:

England was without allies, a small country, with no regular army, standing alone against the might of the greatest empire in the world, an empire on which, it was boasted, 'the sun never set'. Philip was the master of the New World, and of a considerable portion of the Old. By annexing Portugal (1580) he had absorbed the dominions of his only serious rival in America and the Indies. The famous Spanish infantry were thought to be unbeatable. And it was these very soldiers, commanded by one of the greatest generals in history – the Duke of Parma – who were waiting to invade England. No wonder Philip pushed forward his preparations to crush the insolent islanders.¹⁰⁸⁸

Next to this literal perpetuation, albeit in a different time and context, the re-use and adaptation of important signifiers in reprints of textbooks from the past can be illuminating regarding the debate about national narratives and history education. When David Cameron became Prime Minister of the UK in 2010, he declared *Our Island Story* as his favourite childhood book: 'It is written in a way that really captured my imagination and which nurtured my interest in the history of our great nation.'¹⁰⁸⁹ In the same year, Michael Gove became Secretary of State for Education and gave a speech titled 'All pupils will learn our island story' (2010). He declared that the current approach to history 'denies children the opportunity to hear our island story' and that 'this trashing of our past has to

1088 E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears, *A History of Britain. Book II 1485–1688* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 403. See also the edition of 2010, edited and updated by David Evans: E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears, *A History of Britain III 1485–1603* (London: Stacey International, 2010), 101.

1089 Andrew Hough, 'David Cameron's favourite childhood book is *Our Island Story*', *The Telegraph*, October 29, 2010, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/booknews/8094333/Revealed-David-Camersons-favourite-childhood-book-is-Our-Island-Story.html> (accessed November 23, 2018).

stop'.¹⁰⁹⁰ It was not his intention to put Marshall's book literally in the stately orders of history but the notion of 'our island story' symbolized his wish to return to 'traditional history' (partly in method and content). He aimed to put British history at the heart of the NC with the wish to build a 'modern, inclusive, patriotism', in accordance with the globalization and migration trends that had led to an increasingly multicultural and multi-ethnic Britain.¹⁰⁹¹ Gove argued in the first year of his new function that 'the next Conservative Government will ensure the curriculum teaches the proper narrative of British History – so that every Briton can take pride in this nation'.¹⁰⁹²

5.2 English textbooks and transmedia storytelling

Since the history textbooks already discussed displayed no significant changes or were no longer reprinted, this section will proceed with analysing two English series that were first published after the implementation of the NC for history. At this time, some textbook series used the titles of the core study units as titles for the different volumes. An example is the textbook series *A Sense of History* (1991) – since 'developing a sense of history is at the heart of the National Curriculum'¹⁰⁹³ – created by James Mason. The title of the third volume corresponds with the third core unit: *The Making of the United Kingdom. Crowns, Parliaments and Peoples, 1500–1750*. The teaching handbook explains that this series aims to develop students' knowledge, understanding and skills related to cross-curricular themes, such as citizenship and health education.¹⁰⁹⁴

The Spanish Armada is mentioned under the header 'Foreign threats' and the author highlights that the 'fear of foreign interference grew even worse under Elizabeth'.¹⁰⁹⁵ He explains that people were concerned that either France or Spain would aim to restore the Catholic faith by an attack. By narrating the events of 1588 explicitly under 'foreign threats' in a volume focused on the making of the

1090 Speech by Michael Gove, 'All pupils will learn our island story', October 5, 2010, <https://conservative-speeches.sayit.mysociety.org/speech/601441> (accessed July 8, 2022).

1091 Terry Haydn, 'History in Schools and the Problem of the "Nation"', *Education Sciences* 2 (2012): 276–289, 279.

1092 Michael Gove's full speech: http://news.bbc.co.uk/nol/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/07_10_09govespeech.pdf (accessed December 3, 2018).

1093 James Mason, *A Sense of History. Medieval Realms* (London: Longman, 1991).

1094 Angela Leonard and James Mason, *A Sense of History. The Making of the United Kingdom. Teaching Handbook* (London: Longman, 1993), 21. Angela Leonard and James Mason, *A Sense of History. Medieval Realms. Teaching Handbook* (London: Longman, 1992), 20.

1095 James Mason, *A Sense of History. The Making of the United Kingdom. Crowns, Parliaments and Peoples, 1500–1750* (London: Longman, 1992), 32.

UK, the author seems to perpetuate the ‘danger of invasion’ frame discussed earlier.

A closer look shows that the author discusses several sixteenth-century events and persons in relation to the main question: ‘Why did Catholics become so unpopular?’¹⁰⁹⁶ The book explains that although many people were pleased that Mary was Catholic and respected the traditional church with the Pope at its head, they ‘were horrified by the way she allowed Protestants to be treated’.¹⁰⁹⁷ Their disgust was strengthened by Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* (1563), a collection of stories about the trials and deaths of Protestants that emphasized the Catholic cruelties as well as the Protestant suffering and heroism. Moreover, some Catholics tried ‘to get rid of’ Elizabeth and ‘it became more and more difficult for the government to trust any Catholics’.¹⁰⁹⁸ Elizabeth’s excommunication by the Pope contributed to the idea that Catholics no longer had to obey their Queen.¹⁰⁹⁹ This is directly followed by a section headed ‘fear of foreign attack’, about the possibility of a French or Spanish invasion in order to restore Catholicism. This section is positioned next to a large depiction of the famous ‘Armada portrait’ of Elizabeth I, which, students learn, was not only made to celebrate the victory but that it ‘took up the idea that God was on the side of Protestant England against the Catholic enemy’.¹¹⁰⁰

The main question about the unpopularity of Catholics is also visible in the keys that are presented to the students: the textbook presents ‘The Double Deliverance’, a cartoon engraved by Samuel Ward (1621), as ‘a piece of propaganda against Catholics’.¹¹⁰¹ The textbook explains that James I planned a marriage between his son Charles and the daughter of the king of Spain, with the aim to ‘bring Catholics and Protestants together’ and to ‘give peace to Europe’.¹¹⁰² However, most English people strongly opposed this idea, and a Puritan minister called upon Samuel Ward to persuade people with a cartoon that Catholics could not be trusted. The top-centre of the image shows the name of Jehovah in Hebrew, positioned in a radiant sun. The students are asked to study the cartoon and to find the Spanish Armada, Guy Fawkes walking towards the Houses of Parliament, the barrels of gunpowder in the cellar, and the tent with the Pope, the Devil and the King of Spain ‘plotting against England’.¹¹⁰³ In line with the aim of citizenship, the author contrasts this negative propaganda against Cath-

1096 Ibid., 29.

1097 Ibid.

1098 Ibid., 31.

1099 Ibid., 32.

1100 Ibid., 33.

1101 Ibid., 35.

1102 Ibid.

1103 Ibid.

olics with the remark that many ‘English Catholics were loyal to the Crown and simply wished to worship in the traditional way’.¹¹⁰⁴ Moreover, students have to design a poster about their point of view (in relation to Catholics) in order to persuade seventeenth-century people with their ‘propaganda’.

Although the author presents this historical key and encourages students to counteract the negative propaganda, he does not employ keys himself, such as between 1588 and World War II. Instead, in the series’ fourth volume, *The Era of the Second World War*, he expresses his concerns about the heroic images of this war. In the chapter ‘The British People’s War’, he argues:

When they look back in later years, many people remembered the Second World War as an important time in Britain’s history. Even today, many survivors remember it as a time when they worked together in a common cause. They remember people facing danger with courage and good humour. They remember how they put up with hard work and discomfort and eventually won the war. Some remember the war as a good time in our country’s history. Are such memories accurate? Or are some of them myths – stories which many people believe but which are only partly true?¹¹⁰⁵

This volume thus seeks to debunk heroic myths such as that of ‘the Blitz’.¹¹⁰⁶ The textbook presents several sources about wounded citizens and the material damage after the German bombings. According to the author, the government was worried about causing panic among its citizens and stopped the press from reporting devastating news. Films and photographs of dead or injured people were banned or censored, and an image of a bombed street had to finish with a building that was still standing. Furthermore, the government spread stories and pictures of how well London was ‘taking it’.¹¹⁰⁷

Next to this difference with some of the post-1945 series examined earlier – *A Sense of History* (1991) debunks ‘myths’ that have been perpetuated before – the nineties series also shows a similarity with these textbooks: the emphasis on Roosevelt’s four freedoms. The second volume already uses this idiom several times. The author describes, for example, that in early parliaments the commons had ‘freedom of speech’ but that this freedom differed from contemporary ideas: ‘it was a freedom to talk about the things the monarch wanted advice about, not to discuss any subject the Commons chose’.¹¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the author narrates about Cromwell and the Presbyterians under the header ‘fear of religious freedom’:

1104 Ibid.

1105 Josh Brooman, *A Sense of History. The Era of the Second World War* (London: Longman, 1993), 82.

1106 Ibid., 94. ‘Although the Blitz did a great deal of damage, many of the people who survived said that it did not destroy their morale. Some said that it did the opposite, that it brought people together in a spirit of shared danger and hardship. How true was this?’

1107 Ibid., 95.

1108 Mason, *A Sense of History. The Making of the United Kingdom*, 20.

Cromwell and the army did not want the Presbyterian Church which Parliament had set up in place of the Church of England in 1646. They wanted a national Church in which all Protestants could worship how they pleased. That meant each parish or religious group would be free to run its own affairs. This was a new and very unpopular idea. Country gentlemen who were Presbyterians and those who supported the old Church of England disagreed with it.¹¹⁰⁹

In the fourth volume about World War II, the four freedoms are explicitly highlighted. The author describes the Atlantic Charter (1941) as the dawn of the UN.¹¹¹⁰ Next, he argues that their aim of giving freedom to people was based on Roosevelt's ideas as expressed in his 'four freedoms' speech. Part of this speech is included as a source fragment.¹¹¹¹ The author explains that the four freedoms were also listed in the introduction to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and includes a section as a source fragment¹¹¹² as well as Norman Rockwell's famous oil paintings about each of the four freedoms: 'They first appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1943 and became so popular that they were widely reproduced in posters like this'.¹¹¹³

The author thus explicitly highlights Roosevelt's four freedoms several times and also uses this idiom to narrate other histories. However, whereas several series emphasized progress, this series asks students to judge for themselves how 'effective' the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been since 1948. The book explains that the Declaration was only a voluntary agreement (although it was signed by all members of the UN), and includes a world map of human rights violations in the early 1990s (based on information from Amnesty International).¹¹¹⁴ The map shows forms of violence in relation to the four freedoms, such as in countries with strict censorship, countries in which only one religion is tolerated and other beliefs are suppressed, countries which do not have elections of any kind, and countries which use torture or 'other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment'.¹¹¹⁵

In 1999, Labour introduced citizenship as a compulsory element in the history curriculum. Students were to learn about 'the diversity of national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the United Kingdom and the need for mutual respect and understanding'.¹¹¹⁶ In 2001, publishing house Collins responded to

1109 Ibid., 90. See also page 91: 'Cromwell and the army believed the Rump was not interested in changes such as freedom of worship.'

1110 Brooman, *A Sense of History. The Era of the Second World War*, 120.

1111 Ibid., 121.

1112 Ibid.

1113 Ibid., 122.

1114 Ibid., 122–123.

1115 Ibid., 123.

1116 Keith Worrall, *Presenting the Past 3: Britain 1750–1900. Teacher's Resources* (London: Collins Educational, 2002), 5.

this requirement with its new series *Presenting the Past* (2001), a ‘ground-breaking series’ for 11–14 years olds that ‘makes a clear contribution to citizenship’ and ‘brings a fresh approach to traditional content’.¹¹¹⁷ Moreover, several authors of this series, such as Andrew Wrenn and Keith Worrall, are described (in the teachers’ book) as experts on the relationship between history and citizenship.¹¹¹⁸ The series consists of four volumes and in response to the debate about skills and the lack of narrative, the series tries to combine the two approaches:¹¹¹⁹

The balance of briefing, narratives and investigations will inspire and motivate pupils. Dramatic stories told in colourful detail with stimulating activities will enable pupils to develop thinking skills. Investigations, with an emphasis on how interpretations are made by historians, film-makers, novelists and museum curators, will encourage pupils to interact with primary source materials.¹¹²⁰

The first volume immediately displays an interaction with other genres. When the authors discuss the role of the knights in the Middle Ages, they state: ‘In the James Bond stories the hero has “a license to kill” his enemies. This means that the government had given him permission to murder. Did the knights in this story also have a license to kill?’¹¹²¹ Moreover, the authors include a poster of the film *Braveheart* (with Mel Gibson as William Wallace) while discussing the war between the Scots and the English in the Middle Ages. The authors explain that films often have heroes and villains: ‘goodies’ and ‘baddies’. ‘How can you tell from this picture that Wallace is the hero of the film?’¹¹²² The authors explain that the film was made in 1994, many hundreds of years after Wallace’s death. ‘Did people at the time of the war think that Wallace was a hero?’¹¹²³ Students are asked to compare a source written by an English monk with a source written by a Scottish writer.

The second volume is dedicated to Britain in the period from 1500 until 1750. The book consists of three parts, organized by content, and the first is about Elizabeth I and ‘her problems’. The authors explain that Elizabeth I became queen at the age of 23 and that she faced several difficulties, such as Scotland, Ireland, beggars and poor people, the question of marriage and an heir, King

1117 Tony McAleavy, Andrew Wrenn and Keith Worrall, *Presenting the Past 1: Britain 1066–1500* (London: Collins Educational, 2001), 114.

1118 Worrall, *Presenting the Past 3. Teacher’s Resources*, 4.

1119 *Book 1: Britain 1066–1500; Book 2: Britain 1500–1750; Book 3: Britain 1750–1900; Book 4: The Modern World*.

1120 McAleavy, Wrenn and Worrall, *Presenting the Past 1*, 114.

1121 *Ibid.*, 28.

1122 *Ibid.*, 48.

1123 *Ibid.*

Philip, money, discussions about religion, and the war with France.¹¹²⁴ Each issue is dealt with in a separate section that often starts with a guiding question, such as ‘Why was Philip II of Spain such a problem for Elizabeth?’ Philip II is described as ‘the most powerful Catholic ruler in Europe. From his palace in Madrid, he ruled an empire that stretched around the world.’¹¹²⁵ The authors continue: ‘Imagine if we could eavesdrop on his prayers in 1587. What might he be saying...?’¹¹²⁶

So, I beg for one more miracle. You know the evil lies of Elizabeth, so called Queen of England. She is a Protestant heretic and an unlawful child of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. (...) She cannot be trusted. Please bless my Armada and bring back the English to the true faith. Amen.¹¹²⁷

In the midst of the prayer, the authors elaborate on why Elizabeth was considered a Protestant heretic, mentioning her support of the Dutch people in their revolt, English pirates and treasure ships, and the killing of her cousin Mary Queen of Scots. The authors subsequently acknowledge that, while the prayer as presented in the book is fictional, the underlying facts of the prayer are correct: ‘It is probably the kind of prayer Philip would have said’.¹¹²⁸ The authors stimulate children’s imagination with this invented prayer and, at the same time, they thus transmit factual knowledge about the position and deeds of Spain as well as about Elizabethan England. McGovern protested against precisely these forms of ‘invention’ in *The Corruption of the Curriculum* (2007), arguing against the ‘current practice of selecting, doctoring and even inventing “evidence” in the name of so-called historical “skills”’.¹¹²⁹ ‘New History’, he complained, would show an increase in invented, tailor-made and fictional ‘evidence’ since these kinds of sources are considered to encourage the teaching of skills, concepts, and perspectives.¹¹³⁰

The textbook authors of *Presenting the Past* (2001) encourage students to employ their imagination in other sections as well, such as in ‘The Spanish Armada. How good was Philip’s plan?’¹¹³¹ The textbook presents small images portraying ‘the plan’ for Philip’s invasion alongside images showing ‘what actually happened’.¹¹³² Students are asked to write a letter to King Philip II, just after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in which they explain why the plan went wrong,

1124 Andrew Wrenn and Keith Worrall, *Presenting the Past 2: Britain 1500–1750* (London: Collins, 2002), 10–11.

1125 *Ibid.*, 2, 26.

1126 *Ibid.*, 26.

1127 *Ibid.*, 27.

1128 *Ibid.*

1129 McGovern, ‘The New History Boys’, 80.

1130 *Ibid.*, 80–81.

1131 Wrenn and Worrall, *Presenting the Past 2*, 28–30.

1132 *Ibid.*

‘and how he might be successful if he attacked again’.¹¹³³ Next to imagination and historical thinking, the series provokes the teaching of multiple perspectives, such as in the section ‘A Spanish view of the Armada’.¹¹³⁴ The authors explain that historical events are often described in different ways by different people from various countries. They include an excerpt from a Spanish comic book about Philip II, published at the request of the Spanish government in 1999 in order to honour the 400th anniversary of Philip’s death in 1598. The text in the cartoons has been translated into English.

The students are asked to compare this Spanish account with the ‘modern English version’ narrated in the previous section. The Spanish version begins with an image in which the ‘already damaged’ Armada is anchored off Calais: ‘It asked for help from the Duke of Parma but he could not give it’.¹¹³⁵ Furthermore, the comic highlights the courage of Medina-Sidonia: After Drake had directed several fire ships at the Armada, the cartoonist shows how the Spanish Commander

lifted anchor and set out in search of Drake. Once again, raging wind and rain struck the Armada. As a result, ships crashed into each other.¹¹³⁶

The following morning, the narrative continues, after a horrible night with several losses, Medina-Sidonia and some of his commanders gathered ships to confront Howard and Drake but ‘once more the storm returned and scattered the Spanish fleet’.¹¹³⁷ The Spanish account also mentions that Dutch ships joined the English ‘to pursue what was left of the Armada’, an aspect neglected in the English version.¹¹³⁸

Whereas the Spanish account stresses the bad weather, the English account is framed by the subheading ‘How good was Philip’s plan?’¹¹³⁹ While the English account also describes the bad weather and the famous medal saying ‘God blew and they were scattered’, the aspect of flawed planning overweighs. In the first lines, the authors explain that Philip gave the command of the Spanish Armada to Medina-Sidonia, a man who suffered from ‘sea-sickness and really didn’t want the job’,¹¹⁴⁰ that Parma’s troops ‘were not ready to go on board’, and – highlighted in bold lettering – that the Armada anchored ‘outside’ Calais since ‘no-one knew whether the harbour was deep enough for the Spanish ships’,¹¹⁴¹ and finally, that

1133 *Ibid.*, 30.

1134 *Ibid.*, 31.

1135 *Ibid.*

1136 *Ibid.*

1137 *Ibid.*, 32.

1138 *Ibid.*

1139 *Ibid.*, 28–29.

1140 *Ibid.*, 28.

1141 *Ibid.*, 29.

the Spaniards ‘were poor at firing their cannons. Some of their cannonballs were even the wrong size to fit the Spanish cannons!’¹¹⁴²

Students are then asked to suggest reasons for the differences between the two accounts¹¹⁴³ and to write a new set of captions for the Spanish cartoon depicting the English point of view.¹¹⁴⁴ Although this textbook series aims to teach multiple perspectives, it is interesting to see that students are obliged to rewrite the Spanish side of the story and that the English explanation of the events is explicitly described as ‘modern’. Although the authors apply the latest ideas on history didactics, such as multiperspectivity, their series also perpetuates former schemes. Furthermore, the authors fail to elaborate on the genre differences between their own *textbook narrative* and the fragment of a Spanish *cartoon*.

However, a few pages later, in the second part about Cromwell, they do question the relationship between genre and perspective: ‘Why do historians and film-makers tell the same story differently?’¹¹⁴⁵ They discuss the historical film *Cromwell* and explain that the producers want their film to be successful and entertaining rather than historically accurate,¹¹⁴⁶ claiming that more people will learn about historical events when they are narrated in popular films. At the same time, they question this statement,¹¹⁴⁷ elaborating on several changes that were made by the film-makers, such as the order in which the events happened, speeding up the action, cutting out details that might be considered boring, and omitting much blood and violence in order to fulfil the criteria for a family film. The textbook series thus teaches students about a meta-level, explaining processes of narrative framing and asking students to discuss the narrative construction of ‘history’.

After the three content-related parts, the authors conclude the second textbook of the series with a section entitled ‘Images of an age: What can portraits tell us about Elizabeth I?’¹¹⁴⁸ The authors explain that portraits, painted in the past, can contain hidden messages in line with the wishes of the portrayed person. The next section wonders: ‘What do portraits not tell us about Elizabeth?’¹¹⁴⁹ This page also displays a painting by Isaac Oliver (1593) that was supposed to be the new official image. However, Elizabeth hated the painting, since she looked old, with wrinkles and a wig.¹¹⁵⁰ The textbook authors emphasize that powerful people

1142 Ibid., 28 and 30.

1143 Ibid., 33.

1144 Ibid.

1145 Ibid., 58.

1146 Ibid.

1147 Ibid.

1148 Ibid., 92.

1149 Ibid., 96–97.

1150 Ibid., 96.

try to control images of themselves and that few of Elizabeth's subjects ever actually saw her. Since they also lacked modern media, they had to rely on paintings for an idea of what the queen looked like.¹¹⁵¹

Next to paintings, the authors also discuss historical films in relation to historical evidence.¹¹⁵² The first film discussed is *Elizabeth* (1998). The authors explain that this film was about the early years of her reign and that the makers aimed for 'an exciting thriller about love and power'.¹¹⁵³ The authors show certain scenes from the film, followed by a few lines entitled 'Fact'. For example, the film portrays the Pope as a villain who encouraged Catholics to murder Elizabeth. In the film, he also actually sends a priest to murder her. The authors emphasize that the facts were different: although the Pope did cut off Elizabeth from the Catholic Church and declared her no longer queen, he did not order or arrange plots against her life.¹¹⁵⁴ Another example is Elizabeth's relationship with Lord Robert Dudley.¹¹⁵⁵

The authors also discuss the film *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), set in the 1590s when Elizabeth was an 'old woman'.¹¹⁵⁶ The authors argue that both films give historical evidence about Elizabeth I but in a mixture of fact and fiction. Whereas *Elizabeth* portrays the Queen as a young and brave heroine, 'protecting her throne from wicked Catholics', *Shakespeare in Love* depicts her as 'a sharp and witty old woman with a strong sense of humour'.¹¹⁵⁷ Despite their differences, both films cast Elizabeth in a good light. Students are then asked to design a 'modern', critical, and negative film about Elizabeth. 'It must favour the Catholics of the time and Elizabeth's other enemies. It must be an exciting thriller about hatred and power.'¹¹⁵⁸ Students are to design a storyboard, draw and write scenes, and make decisions about costumes and music.

In the third volume, the authors ask a similar question: 'Can we rely on visual images as historical evidence?'¹¹⁵⁹ and discuss paintings and a television series. Volume Two examines historical representations of museums and historians. 'They are not presenting us fiction, as a film maker might do, but they do have to make a selection about what they are going to show us or tell us.'¹¹⁶⁰ In an assignment, students are asked to make plans for a travelling exhibition entitled:

1151 Ibid.

1152 Ibid., 98–101.

1153 Ibid., 98.

1154 Ibid., 99.

1155 Ibid., 98.

1156 Ibid., 100.

1157 Ibid.

1158 Ibid.

1159 Paul Grey, Rosemarie Little and Keith Worrall, *Presenting the Past 3: Britain 1750–1900* (London: Collins Educational, 2002), 70–71.

1160 Wrenn and Worrall, *Presenting the Past 2*, 102.

'Macaulay's Country 1500–1750'. The authors briefly explain who he was and what he thought, quoting: 'I believe in the greatness of England [...] We British have always loved freedom.'¹¹⁶¹ The authors include a picture gallery of twenty paintings and the students are to decide which ten paintings will be included in the exhibition, based on Macaulay's ideas and opinions about the past and present. Moreover, students are required to design a second and third exhibition, this time from the point of view of British-Polish historian Norman Davies as well as from their own.¹¹⁶² These exercises addressing the constructed character of history (framing and selection) are concluded with a question about the 'truth' of these representations: 'Which collection of pictures do you think tells the truest story about the country from 1500–1750? Explain your answer.'¹¹⁶³

This textbook series thus also includes many other genres. An important difference here to the period first discussed, 1920–1945, is the function of these genres. Chapter Two showed how the focalization of textbook narratives was partly situated in well-known poems, such as *Drake's Drum*, which reinforced the national narrative with their clear-cut plot and sticking power. The series *Presenting the Past* (2001) includes parts of a comic book and references to films and museums in order to question the relationship between source and story. The series demonstrates the constructed character of a historical narrative by discussing the framing and selection process. Students thus exercise historical skills and discuss aspects of 'evidence' and 'interpretation'.

Both series were published after the implementation of the National Curriculum for history and aimed for a balance between narrative and (historical) skills. These textbooks raise awareness of the meta-level, showing processes of narrative framing and inviting students to discuss the narrative construction of history with the help of various genres and media. In this context of applying new developments in history didactics to textbooks (such as multiple perspectives), certain elements of the more traditional national narrative were also perpetuated.

Nevertheless, the framing of sixteenth-century history had changed. The series *A Sense of History* narrated sixteenth-century history in relation to the main question: why did Catholics become so unpopular? The authors of both textbook series examined sought to 'reverse' the unpopularity of the Catholics in the past by means of assignments in which students are invited, for example, to develop a poster with their own point of view (about Catholics) in order to persuade the people from the past of their own 'propaganda'. In both series, 'citizenship' had become an important theme, in line with the contemporary discussions about an inclusive 'Britishness' (and 'Englishness').

1161 Ibid.

1162 Ibid., 109.

1163 Ibid.

In the light of these aspects, it is also understandable why both series, especially the last one, paid so much attention to Elizabeth I – also in relation to popular films, such as *Elizabeth* (1998) – while the ‘sea-dogs’ celebrated in earlier works, such as Hawkins and Drake, were hardly mentioned. The latter had become contested persons, especially in relation to the search for a post-imperial identity. Instead of heroes, they were seen as pirates, thieves, and slave traders, as seamen who were involved in the ‘discovery’, conquest, and maintenance of colonies. Moreover, their heroic role in the defeat of the Armada faded increasingly to make way for other explanations for the victory. In her explanation of why former sea heroes have fallen out of fashion in schools since the 1970s, historian and lecturer at the University of Leicester Sheila Watson also points out that Britain has not faced the threat of invasion since World War II.¹¹⁶⁴

Just as in England, the Netherlands also faced lively debates around concepts of ‘Dutchness’ between 1988 and 2010. The next section elaborates on the various contexts and events that stimulated this discussion in order to explain the rising demand for Dutch national core curricula in the history classroom.

5.3 Dutch school history and discordant societal expectations

The 1990s witnessed an international tendency to develop ‘core curricula’ as a response to various reports on the current state of education, such as the document ‘A Nation at Risk’ about schooling in the United States. As well as England, the Netherlands also embarked upon this movement and the Dutch process would equally turn out to be complex, controversial, and lengthy. Apart from the examination system, there were hardly any Dutch educational regulations about the goals and content for primary and secondary education. School autonomy and restraint in curriculum regulation are deeply rooted in Dutch society: the freedom of education dates back to 1848 and 1917.¹¹⁶⁵ It has provided schools with independence in their policies and curricular choices ever since, including schools with a religious denomination. This section discusses how this much-valued educational freedom faded increasingly into the background against the call for Dutch national core curricula for the history classroom.

In the early nineties, Dutch secondary schools witnessed a large-scale curriculum change. In 1993 the government introduced a core curriculum for the

1164 Sheila Watson, “‘England Expects’: Nelson as a Symbol of Local and National Identity within the Museum”, *Museum and Society* 4 (2006): 129–151.

1165 J.J.H. Dekker, H.T.A. Amsing and I.J.M. Wichgers, ‘Education in a Nation Divided: The Contribution of School Acts to the Development of Dutch Mass Schooling in the Long Nineteenth Century’, in *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling*, eds. J. Westberg, L. Boser and I. Brühwiler (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 93–118.

first years of secondary education (Dutch: *Basisvorming*). All students aged 12–15 years were to learn the same subjects – fifteen in total, including history – and to achieve the same objectives. They were free to spend some hours on a subject that suited their individual interests and plans (Latin and Greek for example). This implementation was based on the idea of the comprehensive school and emancipation: by selecting later, students could easily ‘transfer’ to different levels and also had the possibility later to discover what kind of job might suit them. The system thus aimed to improve the progression to further education while at the same time creating more equal education opportunities.¹¹⁶⁶ Schools were free to design their own curricula but all students needed a common base: a number of core objectives formulated by the government that could be worked out differently at different school levels.

This common base of skills and content was quite general and seen as essential for students’ functioning in society and further development. The government placed emphasis on the application of knowledge, the development of skills, and coherence between the different subjects (in Dutch: *Toepassing, Vaardigheden, Samenhang*). The history curriculum thus focused on ‘second-order concepts’ (in Dutch: *structuurbegrippen*), as designed by Leo Dalhuisen, the didactics expert mentioned earlier, and on the use of primary sources in relation to ‘interpretation’. History was compulsory in the first years of secondary education, during which all periods were covered. Topics and skills were deepened in upper secondary education.¹¹⁶⁷

A general complaint, however, was the idea that students had hardly any historical knowledge (except about the two examination topics) and that they lacked a chronological overview of history.¹¹⁶⁸ This complaint was given new impetus in 1996, when the popular historical magazine *Historisch Nieuwsblad* ‘surveyed’ members of parliament about their knowledge of Dutch national history. It was not a scientific survey, and conducted by telephone. Two of the fifteen questions were related to the history of the Dutch Revolt. Most MPs had a hard time answering the fifteen factual questions, such as where, when and by

1166 Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (WRR), *Basisvorming in het onderwijs* (Den Haag: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986), 8.

1167 Boxtel and Grever, ‘History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008’, 93.

1168 P. Schneiders, ‘Vak geschiedenis devalueert tot een veredeld “Achter het nieuws”’, *NRC*, January 8, 1993, 7; Aad Nuis, ‘Geschiedenis begint en eindigt bij het verhaal’, *NRC*, May 27, 1993, 9; Birgit Donker, ‘Tachtigjarige Oorlog? Nooit van gehoord’, *NRC*, March 26, 1993, 2; B. Smallhout, ‘Overheid berooft jeugd van verleden’, *NRC*, June 5, 1993, 8; A. Th. Van Deursen, ‘Geschiedenis kan worden afgeschaft’, *NRC*, June 26, 1993, 8. See also: Harald Buskop, Leo Dalhuisen, Theun Dankert, Genio Ruesen and Elise Storck, ‘Het kaf en het koren. Misverstanden die in de krantendiscussies herhaaldelijk terugkeren’, *Geschiedenis in de klas* 17, no. 50 (1998): 4–16.

whom Prince William of Orange was murdered.¹¹⁶⁹ Several MPs argued that a lack of ‘historical feeling’ equalized ‘no feeling for the future’, and yet others emphasized that history can ‘distract’ people from the present and the future.¹¹⁷⁰ MPs also argued that an understanding of long-term developments was far more important than the factual knowledge requested in the survey. Hans Righart classified this argument as ‘a mask for stupidity’,¹¹⁷¹ arguing that facts do matter and that people need to know the context in which developments occurred. Other MPs, however, pointed to the weakness of the survey and refused to participate since the factual questionnaire was not really about historical insight.¹¹⁷²

The public were not pleased, and the general feeling was that contemporary history education (with its focus on skills) had dramatically failed, even although most of the MPs interviewed had participated in the history classroom before 1965.¹¹⁷³ The results were considered ‘disgraceful’ because they had unveiled the national leaders’ lack of knowledge of Dutch history.¹¹⁷⁴ A year after this survey, Undersecretary for Education Tineke Netelenbos installed a committee (*Commissie De Wit*) to examine what ‘society’ expected of history education.¹¹⁷⁵ The committee published a report in 1998 ascertaining that ‘society was suspicious’ of school history and that a gap had arisen between societal expectations and the practice of history education. Skills had become so important that a ‘longitudinal consistency’ was now missing. In the recommendations, the committee included returning from the focus on skills back towards a common historical knowledge base:

Virtually all participants proved to rate the transfer of historical facts and understandings in a chronological framework above all other considerations; the learning of skills, though useful, was taken to be of secondary importance. It is on this issue that the committee found there was a gap between what is widely considered to be necessary by society and what is common practice in history teaching.¹¹⁷⁶

1169 The average score was 6.2 good answers out of a maximum of 15 good answers.

1170 Eva Rensman and Werner Bossmann, ‘Tweede Kamer halt onvoldoende voor proefwerk geschiedenis’, *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, no. 7 (1996), <https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/5845/tweede-kamer-haalt-onvoldoende-voor-proefwerk-geschiedenis.html> (accessed December 5, 2018).

1171 Ibid.

1172 See for example Oussama (Sam) Cherribi (former VVD politician and member of the Dutch Parliament from 1994 to 2002).

1173 Marc van Berkel, *Plotlines of Victimhood. The Holocaust in German and Dutch history textbooks, 1960–2010* (Ede: GVO, 2017), 124.

1174 Ibid.

1175 Adviescommissie Geschiedenisonderwijs / Commissie de Wit, *Het verleden in de toekomst. Het advies van de commissie geschiedenisonderwijs* (Den Haag, 1998).

1176 Ibid. ‘Nagenoeg alle gesprekspartners bleken de meeste waarde te hechten aan de overdracht van historische feiten en inzichten in een chronologisch kader; het aanleren van vaardigheden werd weliswaar nuttig, maar van secundair belang geacht. Op dat punt heeft

The results and research method were debated. Maria Grever, professor of theory and methodology of history at Erasmus University Rotterdam, questioned, for example, the group of people that had been interviewed and argued that politician Frits Bolkestein had played a major role in this change having clearly voiced his discontent with national history education in 1996.¹¹⁷⁷

Another argument for more national history and more content knowledge came from Paul Scheffer, currently professor of European Studies at Tilburg University. In 2000, he wrote an essay about what he referred to as 'the multicultural drama' that boosted the public debate. He argued that the Dutch language, culture and history were neglected in the Netherlands and that 'a lack of national awareness' would harm integration:

This would require us to say goodbye to the cosmopolitan illusion that is the darling of many. The throwaway attitude towards our national identity does not have a welcoming effect. Even if we pride ourselves on not having feelings of nationalism, this borderless attitude of the Dutch does not help integration.¹¹⁷⁸

His ideas on the 'failure of multiculturalism' were strengthened by the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in 2001 and, closer to home, by the murder of the Dutch right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn in 2002. The latter's murderer, a left-wing activist, declared in court that his goal was to stop Fortuyn's striving for power by 'using the weak parts of society to score points' and to protect the country's Muslim minority against Fortuyn's anti-immigration policies.

Already in 2000, a new committee was formed to develop a plan for a renewed balance between knowledge and skills in all forms and levels of secondary education, chaired by Amsterdam historian Piet de Rooij and with Arie Wilschut as secretary of the committee in 2000 and 2001. They designed a plan around core objectives and learning outcomes, as well as a concrete curricular program with a large emphasis on chronology. In February 2001, the committee published their report which aimed to improve 'historical consciousness' via a framework of 'orientation knowledge' and a set of 'historical reasoning skills'.

de commissie een zekere verwijdering geconstateerd tussen wat in een brede maatschappelijke kring wenselijk wordt geoordeeld, en de gangbare praktijk in het geschiedenisonderwijs.'

1177 Frits Bolkestein, 'Eerst de feiten dan de thema's', *NCR Handelsblad*, September 7, 1996, 51; Maria Grever, 'Opvattingen en misvattingen over het geschiedenisonderwijs', in *Geschiedenis op school. Zes voordrachten over het geschiedenisonderwijs*, eds. P. den Boer and G.W. Muller (Amsterdam: KNAW, 1998), 27–48, 39.

1178 Paul Scheffer, 'Het Multiculturele Drama', *NRC Handelsblad*, January 29, 2000, 6. 'Nodig is een afscheid van de kosmopolitische illusie waarin velen zich wentelen. De wegwerpende manier waarop in Nederland is omgesprongen met nationaal besef werkt namelijk niet uitnodigend. We slaan onszelf op de nationale borst omdat we denken er geen te hebben. Die grenzeloze houding van Nederlanders draagt niet bij tot integratie.'

The committee introduced a system of ten historical periods, with associative names such as Era of Monks and Knights (Early Middle Ages) or the Eras of the World Wars, followed by the Eras of Television and Computers. These eras were visualized by symbols; students could thus easily recognize the chronological framework and the ten eras could help them with their historical orientation. Moreover, each era was connected to ‘characteristic features’ (in Dutch: *kenmerkende aspecten*). An example is ‘the Dutch Revolt in the Low Countries and the founding of an independent Dutch state’ as part of the Era of Discoverers and Reformers (1500–1600). In this way, the committee aimed to advise on general historical knowledge without prescribing a canon of fixed names, dates, and events. All students would repeatedly come into contact with the same ten eras and the general orientation knowledge, and their understanding of these historical periods could be deepened over the years. The committee also highlighted some historical skills, such as working with sources and distinguishing causes and consequences.¹¹⁷⁹

Although many professionals in the field supported the idea of a better grasp of chronology, the idea of ten eras was attacked: criticasters described the model as simplistic and Eurocentric as well as sexist and non-testable.¹¹⁸⁰ Moreover, they condemned its failure to deal with diachronic developments.¹¹⁸¹ The fixed dates, names, and symbols were also debated: the Time of Whigs and Revolutions runs from 1700 until 1800 while important revolutions, such as the Russian Revolution (1917), began later. Moreover, the Time of Monks and Knights deals with a period in which knighthood had not yet been established.¹¹⁸² De Rooij answered that the ten eras were indeed not fully correct from a purely scientific point of view but that certain choices were made on the basis of didactical aims.¹¹⁸³ Critics, how-

1179 P. de Rooij (chair), *Verleden, Heden en Toekomst. Advies van de Commissie Historische en Maatschappelijke Vorming* (Enschede: SLO, 2001).

1180 Maria Grever, ‘Geschiedenis moet weer een verplicht vak worden’, *NRC*, February 22, 2001, 7. See also: Carla van Boxtel, Maria Grever and Stephan Klein, ‘De tien tijdvakken van De Rooij zijn slecht te toetsen’, *NRC*, July 18, 2011, 16–17.

1181 Stephan Klein, ‘Teaching History in the Netherlands: Teachers’ Experiences of a Plurality of Perspectives’, *Curriculum Inquiry* 40, no. 5 (2010): 614–634, 616. De Rooij’s response to the criticism: ‘If you subscribe to the idea that the more you put in, the less students will take away, you need to opt for reducing learning content and connecting with the culture in which students live. As there are 164 nationalities in the Netherlands, which one would you pick?’ Interview with Piet de Rooij, ‘Geschiedenis in een moderne jas. Voor wie erudiet wil zijn is het vak Winkler Prins beter’, *Het Onderwijsblad* no. 5, March 10, 2001, <https://onderwijsblad.nl/article.asp?ArtikelID=162>.

1182 Boxtel and Grever, ‘History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008’, 101.

1183 Interview with De Rooij, ‘Geschiedenis in een moderne jas’. ‘Certainly, if you look at the periods we have made from a purely academic perspective, they are not entirely correct. (...) But if you want students to remember anything of what you teach them, they need to be able to build a mental frame. By producing periods, they can have associations with a particular timeframe.’

ever, argued that this pedagogical claim was not based on any evidence or teachers' experiences.¹¹⁸⁴ They also argued against the associative use of primary sources as a tool for building knowledge: this was a turn away from the disciplinary approach and critical interpretation of historical sources.¹¹⁸⁵

There was another form of critique as well. Since 1968, history had become an elective in the upper levels of all high schools and since 1990, the government had decreased the hours for history as a school subject in lower secondary education. A lack of historical consciousness was therefore seen as a quantitative problem. Maria Grever therefore argued against state intervention at the level of content and for history to be made a compulsory school subject until the age of eighteen.¹¹⁸⁶ She also pointed out that the plan consisted to ninety percent of Dutch and Western European history, although it was designed for classrooms with multicultural populations. Whereas some advocated for a broader view and room for immigrant histories – since 'apparently the coordinates of collective memory have shifted'¹¹⁸⁷ – others wanted to offer immigrants a clear national history of the Netherlands as an invitation to participate in Dutch collective memory.¹¹⁸⁸

The debate about history education in relation to immigration flared up once again after another murder. In 2004, the film director/producer Theo van Gogh was murdered. He had produced the short film *Submission* (2004), together with the Somali-born writer and politician Ayaan Hirsi Ali. The film criticized Islamic ideas with regards to women and this provoked the Dutch Muslim community. On November 2, Van Gogh was assassinated by a Dutch-Moroccan Muslim, who stabbed a letter to his body in which he called for a jihad against *kafir* (unbelievers), against America, Europe, the Netherlands, and the film writer Hirsi Ali. The murders of Fortuyn and Van Gogh led to polarization in Dutch society, political debates and public discourse, accompanied by radical changes to im-

Original in Dutch: 'Inderdaad, als je de tijdvakken die we hebben gemaakt zuiver wetenschappelijk bekijkt, dan kloppen ze niet helemaal. (...) Als je wilt dat een leerling dat wat je hem leert ook kan onthouden, dan moet hij zich er iets bij kunnen voorstellen. Door tijdvakken te maken krijgen ze meteen een associatie bij een tijd.'

1184 Boxtel and Grever, 'History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008', 101.

1185 Klein, 'Teaching History in the Netherlands: Teachers' Experiences of a Plurality of Perspectives', 616.

1186 Maria Grever, 'Geschiedenis moet weer een verplicht vak worden', *NRC*, February 22, 2001, 7. See also: Maria Grever, 'Het verhaal achter veel jaartallen is verdamp't', *NRC*, June 5, 2004, 13.

1187 Maria Grever, 'Geschiedenis per decreet', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 120, no. 3 (2007): 382–386, 385.

1188 For more information about this discussion, see: Kees Ribbens, 'De vaderlandse canon voorbij? Een multiculturele historische cultuur in wording', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 117, no. 4 (2004): 500–521.

migration-related policies.¹¹⁸⁹ Moreover, the discussions about Dutch national identity intensified during these years. International debates around mass immigration and European integration processes, in which national boundaries were questioned, stimulated a revival of national awareness and pride. History education was back in the picture, especially Dutch national history.¹¹⁹⁰

Moreover, just as in England, Dutch television screened a show about the greatest Dutch man or woman. People could vote via diverse media and in November 2004, the murdered Pim Fortuyn gained first place and Prince William of Orange second. However, 77,699 votes could not be processed in time and, if they had been included the prince would have become number one.¹¹⁹¹ In the same year, some politicians expressed a plan to build a National History Museum to offer people a sense of belonging in confusing times. Another similarity with England was the attention placed on ‘citizenship’. Already in 2003, the Education Council of the Netherlands had advised a Citizenship Act and two years later this act was passed by Parliament. The act ordered schools to organize activities in which ‘students build knowledge of Dutch society, develop democratic attitudes, become involved with Dutch culture and get acquainted with the different backgrounds and cultures of their peer group’.¹¹⁹² Another proposal of the Education Council was a national historical canon in order to strengthen Dutch cultural identity and to promote social cohesion.

In 2006, the Committee Van Oostrom presented a list of fifty ‘windows’ on the past: a list of fifty important events, persons and themes in Dutch history.¹¹⁹³ Three of them are concerned with the Dutch Revolt. By choosing the word ‘windows’, the committee emphasized that the selected topics were open for debate and needed to be understood in the larger context of European and world history. The committee also aimed to avoid presenting a single national narrative by including slavery, colonialism, and multiculturalism. Many politicians, journalists, and heritage experts appreciated the canon and several history educators argued that it strengthened the status of their subject. It also led to many more canons, for example for local history and cities.

The Netherlands Institute for Heritage organized various symposia to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the canon. Next to praise, the canon was firmly

1189 Jens Rydgren and Joop van Holsteyn, ‘Holland and Pim Fortuyn: A Deviant Case or the Beginning of Something New?’, in *Movements of exclusion: radical right-wing populism in the Western world*, ed. Jens Rydgren (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2005), 41–63.

1190 Boxtel and Grever, ‘History education in the Netherlands, 1968–2008’, 102.

1191 Kees Ribbens, ‘De Grootste Nederlander m/v? Kanttekeningen bij een vaderlandse canon in beeldbuis-formaat’, *Historica* 28, no. 2 (2005): 21–23, 22.

1192 Klein, ‘Teaching History in the Netherlands: Teachers’ Experiences of a Plurality of Perspectives’, 616.

1193 To view the canon see: <https://www.entoen.nu/> (accessed December 7, 2018).

criticized: the State Institute of Curriculum Expertise had not been involved in the process, neither had the VGN.¹¹⁹⁴ Moreover, academic historians protested against the idea of an *imposed* canon and ‘the lack of a rationale for the topics selected’.¹¹⁹⁵ Several historians also published books on the matter.¹¹⁹⁶ Ed Jonker, for example, claimed that the canon, despite the attempts of the committee, presented an essentialist nation and a closed narrative since it was constructed around ‘Dutch core values’ that ‘we’ have always had, such as tolerance, democratic-mindedness and the strife for consensus making.¹¹⁹⁷ Although several historians valued a certain frame of reference, they argued for a more dynamic approach and pointed out that the canon impeded access to other pasts that also needed to be taught in a multicultural and globalized society.¹¹⁹⁸ In 2008, a group of 23 historians wrote a public letter to parliament in which they protested against an imposed national canon by law since this act would undermine the freedom of (history) teaching. The Dutch Council of State also advised against the mandatory introduction.

Although the Minister of Education, Culture and Science hesitated, the pressure from Parliament was growing and, in June 2009, the Minister urged that the historical canon about what ‘every Dutchman should know’ needed to be addressed at every school. In the school year 2010/2011, the canon was included in the main targets for *primary* education, and teachers were expressly advised to use the canon as an illustration of the earlier designed ten eras. Most history textbooks for secondary education did not mention the canon explicitly: their design was in line with the ten eras and connected to the 49 ‘distinctive features’, which were implemented in higher secondary education in 2007 (Havo/VWO). Generally, historical knowledge, historical thinking, and reasoning remained important in Dutch history education, especially in the upper levels.¹¹⁹⁹

1194 Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel, *Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden. Erfgoed, onderwijs en historisch besef* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), 23–38.

1195 See for example: Maria Grever, ‘Politici, misbruik de canon niet’, *NRC*, July 4, 2007, 7.

1196 Arie Wilschut, *Zinvol, Leerbaar, Haalbaar. Over geschiedenisonderwijs en de rol van de canon daarin* (Amsterdam: Vossiuspers UvA, 2005); Maria Grever, Ed Jonker, Kees Ribbens and Siep Stuurman, *Controverses rond de canon* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2006).

1197 Ed Jonker, ‘Sotto Voce. Identiteit, burgerschap en de nationale canon’, in *Controverses rond de canon*, eds. Maria Grever, Ed Jonker, Kees Ribbens and Siep Stuurman (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2006), 4–28, 26.

1198 See for example: Maria Grever, ‘Nationale identiteit en historisch besef’, in *Controverses rond de canon*, eds. Grever, Jonker, Ribbens and Stuurman (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2006), 29–58, 45; Kees Ribbens, ‘Ruimte voor multiculturaliteit. De vaderlandse canon en de veranderende historische cultuur’, in *Controverses rond de canon*, eds. Grever, Jonker, Ribbens and Stuurman (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2006), 80–105.

1199 The year 2008 witnessed the funding of the first professorship on history education in Rotterdam. Carla van Boxtel held this chair and is currently professor of history education

The next section discusses adaptations made to established Dutch history textbook series as well as two new series that were first published between 1988 and 2010. After an analysis of the series *Sporen* (Traces), published from 1990 until 2001, the section continues with the nineties reprints of *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (Questions of history), published from 1983 until 1996, and *Sprekend Verleden* (The past that speaks), published since 1978. Next, post-2001 prints of *Sprekend Verleden* and a newly published textbook series from 2007 are examined in order to examine changes and continuities after the presentation and implementation of the ten eras and the 49 ‘characteristic features’.

5.4 ‘The battle between religions has by no means abated’

In 1990, Arie Wilschut published the textbook series *Sporen* (Traces) for the first year of secondary school. The series includes a mosaic of themes without a clear chronological order. The textbook authors use the same key concepts (*sleutelbegrippen*) in different chapters. Examples are words such as ‘resistance’, ‘revolt’, ‘freedom’, and ‘peace’: notions that play an important role in the chapter about the Dutch Revolt but also in chapters about the Patriot Period, the French Revolution and World War I for example.¹²⁰⁰ They thus seem almost a-historical concepts, but the authors contextualize the same notions differently in the various chapters. In this way, the series aims to amplify and to deepen students’ understanding of the key concepts. Moreover, the content is organized around six lenses, or six central ‘questions of history’: about the economic order, the social order on a large scale as well as on a small scale (family), the search for meaning in culture and religion, and politics on a national as well as an international level (question about peace and war).¹²⁰¹ These six lenses as well as the key concepts are described as a ‘fixed frame’ (*vast kader*), designed to help students to recognize historical processes and to stimulate comparisons, for example between different societies as well as between past and present.¹²⁰²

at the Research Institute of Child Development and Education and the Amsterdam School of Historical Studies (University of Amsterdam).

1200 Arie Wilschut, Karin Loggen and Tom van der Geugten, *Sporen. Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw 2* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1992), 152, 154, 188, 202, 218, 258.

1201 Arie Wilschut, ‘Zinvolle en leerbare geschiedenis’, in *Het verleden in het heden: geschiedenis, historisch onderzoek en de plaats van de historicus in de maatschappij van vandaag*, eds. Bouke Billiet, Pieter Cassiman and Matthieu Vanspeybroeck (Ghent: Academia Press, 2002), 49–70, 60.

1202 Ibid. See also: A. Wilschut and T.F. van der Geugten, *Sporen en de basisvorming* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1990), 4. ‘Because contemporary questions have been framed about the six preset perspectives, it is not hard for pupils to apply these to the contemporary reality in which they live. This is encouraged, moreover, with the *Sporen* set of concepts,

An example is the section about the Dutch national anthem in the chapter about the Dutch Revolt. This begins with an image of the Dutch hockey team in orange T-shirts singing 'The William'. The authors ask the students whether they know the origin of the song.¹²⁰³ After an explanation of the history of this national anthem, the authors refer to other Sea Beggars' songs and mention that these songs became popular again during World War II. In the assignments, the authors ask pupils to consider whether it is a good idea to use such an old song as the national anthem or whether a new one would be better.¹²⁰⁴

The chapter about the Dutch Revolt begins by introducing the story of Kenau Simonsdochter Hasselaer (1526–1589), a woman who became famous by her deeds during the Spanish siege of the Dutch city Haarlem. The story describes how Kenau lost her son in this fight and became heartbroken:

But then she takes a bold decision: she will avenge her son's death. She is taken to Ripperda: 'Dozens of women have lost husbands or sons, just like me. They want to defend the town, just like the gunners, the Germans, the Walloons and the Scots. Allow us onto the ramparts; give us pikes and swords. Let me form a women's company.' Ripperda paces up and down, shakes his head and mumbles in his beard. Then he takes a decision: 'Never or hardly ever has a woman spoken like you do, but I admire you. I understand that you, just like the men, wish to fight the tyrant. Form the women's company!'¹²⁰⁵

The authors also describe the surrender of the Dutch city of Haarlem due to starvation. Furthermore, they explain that Egenberger and Wijnveld created a large painting about Kenau and the other fighting women, which was displayed in the Haarlem town hall for years and was said to be a source of pride for the people. More recently, it has been moved to the attic. The authors explain this change: most stories about Kenau turned out to be fictional.¹²⁰⁶ Students are

which works systematically with general concepts that are not tied to particular subjects or periods.' Original in Dutch: 'Omdat binnen de vaste zes gezichtspunten stof is gekozen uitgaande van hedendaagse vraagstellingen, is toepassing op de hedendaagse werkelijkheid waarin de leerlingen leven niet moeilijk. Dit wordt bovendien bevorderd door het begrippenapparaat in Sporen dat systematisch werkt met algemene begrippen die niet aan bepaalde onderwerpen of tijdvakken gebonden zijn.'

1203 Wilschut et al., *Sporen 2* (1992), 88.

1204 Ibid., 89.

1205 Ibid., 54. 'Maar dan neemt zij een kloek besluit: ze zal de dood van haar zoon wreken. Zij laat zich bij Ripperda brengen: "Tientallen vrouwen hebben nu een man of een zoon verloren, net zoals ik. Zij willen de stad verdedigen zoals de schutters, de Duitsers, de Walen en de Schotten. Laat ons ook op de wallen staan, geef ons pieken en zwaarden. Laat mij een vrouwenvendel vormen." Ripperda loopt heen en weer, schudt het hoofd en mompelt in zijn baard. Dan neemt hij een besluit: "Zelden of nooit is er zo door een vrouw gesproken, maar ik bewonder u. Ik begrijp dat u zich net als de mannen wilt verzetten tegen de tiran. Vorm het vrouwenvendel!"'

1206 Ibid.

given three sources about Kenau, written by different authors in different times, and they are asked to compare these sources and argue which seems the most reliable. They are also to find out which fictional elements were introduced over time.¹²⁰⁷

The authors use this introductory story to demonstrate processes of construction and framing within history education: stories about historical events change over time and sometimes fictional elements are added. In the teachers' guide, the authors emphasize that the story about Kenau was very popular in the nineteenth century and that a Kenau painting from this century tells students more about the nineteenth century than the sixteenth century.¹²⁰⁸ Moreover, the authors argue that, according to the current state of history science, Kenau led a rather ordinary life.¹²⁰⁹

She was just one of the many women who helped to reinforce and improve the town's ramparts during the siege. [...] The active role played by the Haarlem women may have been remarkable in itself, particularly in the eyes of foreign soldiers. As source 2 shows, this gave rise to fantasies. In the 19th century, with romantic and nationalist hero worship all the rage, these fantasies were revived.¹²¹⁰

The chapter dedicates a special section to 'independent women', which begins with quotes from travellers claiming that 'Dutch' women took control over men in an unnatural way because the men drank too much. The textbook authors clarify that Dutch men would leave their homes for long periods of time, for example to work at sea, and women would continue working and defending the city in their absence.¹²¹¹ The next page displays a poem by Jacob Cats claiming that women should behave silently and peacefully.¹²¹² In the assignments, students are asked to discuss Cats' idea of gender roles.¹²¹³ Such an assignment seems anachronistic to a certain extent but, according to the series, history

1207 Ibid., 56–57.

1208 Arie Wilschut, Karin Loggen and Tom van der Geugten, *Sporen. Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw 2. Docentenhandleiding* (Groningen: Wolters-Noorhoff, 1992), 60.

1209 Ibid., 61.

1210 Ibid. 'Zij was gewoon een van de vele vrouwen, die tijdens het beleg meewerkten aan de versterking en verbetering van de wallen. (...) Waarschijnlijk is de actieve rol van de Haarlemse vrouwen op zichzelf iets opmerkelijks geweest, vooral in de ogen van buitenlandse soldaten. Dit heeft (zoals uit bron 2 blijkt) aanleiding gegeven tot fantasieën. In de 19^e eeuw zijn deze fantasieën nieuw leven in geblazen in het kader van de romantische en nationalistische heldenverering.'

1211 Wilschut et al., *Sporen 2* (1992), 84.

1212 Ibid., 86. 'De man moet op straat om zijn handel gaan. De vrouw moet in huis de keuken gadeslaan. Het vlijtig straatgewoel wordt in de man geprezen, maar in een tere vrouw een stil en zedig wezen. Gij, reist dan, naarstig man en pas op uw gewin. Gij, zet u, jonge vrouw en let op uw gezin.'

1213 Ibid., 87.

education needs to focus on 'knowledge, understanding and skills that are relevant for contemporary issues, developments and problems'.¹²¹⁴

In comparison with the Dutch history textbook series analyzed previously, *Sporen* places much emphasis on the role of women during the Dutch Revolt. This could be explained by the advent of gender history and women's history at the time of publication, with the latter being one of the two examination topics in 1990 and 1991. At the end of the nineties, however, the introductory story was replaced by a story about the brave Mayor Pieter Adriaansz van der Werf who offered his own body as food to the hungry inhabitants during the Siege of Leiden in 1574 (but was not eaten).¹²¹⁵

Another group highlighted in the book are foreign soldiers. This is visible in the introductory story but also in the chapter's main text:

When Haarlem was besieged by the Spanish, there were not just Haarlem citizens or Dutchmen on its town walls. The story about Kenau also mentions Germans, Scotsmen and Walloons, who had been hired as soldiers. The majority of William of Orange's army consisted of mercenaries, as did the Spanish army. Estimates have it that only one in five soldiers was actually a Spaniard.¹²¹⁶

The chapter also discusses immigrants. In a section about social order and population growth the authors mention several reasons why immigrants came to Holland, such as war, suppression, religious persecution, and the opportunities offered by Dutch prosperity (for both poor and rich people). The authors also quote the mayor of Amsterdam, Cornelis Hooft (1547–1626), who argued against foreigners becoming members of the city council because they were not wise, earnest or peaceful enough and would only take the job for the money.¹²¹⁷ In the assignments, students are asked about their opinion in relation to another contemporary theme: discrimination. 'Do you think that immigrants were discriminated in the Netherlands and what do you think about the mayor's argumentation?'¹²¹⁸ Historical imagination is encouraged when students are asked to imagine themselves as refugees. 'Would you become a Sea Beggar on a ship at sea or would you withdraw to your estate in Germany?'¹²¹⁹ The authors omit to

1214 Wilschut and Van der Geugten, *Sporen en de basisvorming*, 4.

1215 Arie Wilschut, Piet Groenewegen, Marcel van Driessen and Dick van Straaten, *Sporen 2 (mavo) havo vwo* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1999), 60–61.

1216 Ibid., 68. 'Toen Haarlem door de Spanjaarden werd belegerd, stonden er niet alleen Haarlemmers of Hollanders op de stadsmuren. In het verhaal van Kenau las je ook over Duitsers, Schotten en Walen. Zij waren als soldaten gehoord. Het grootste deel van het leger van Willem van Oranje bestond uit huursoldaten. Bij het Spaanse leger was dat ook zo. Geschat wordt, dat maar één op de vijf soldaten een Spanjaard was.'

1217 Wilschut et al., *Sporen 2* (1992), 82.

1218 Ibid., 83.

1219 Ibid., 65.

mention, however, that most (ordinary) people did not have such an option, not being in possession of an estate in Germany.

The textbook series presents a more nuanced portrayal of the Sea Beggars, beyond their status as heroes, and displays an image about the hanging of the ‘martyrs of Gorcum’.¹²²⁰ Whereas the latter were absent in most history textbooks from the sixties, seventies, and eighties, they reappear in this series from the nineties with the function of counterbalancing the Spanish barbarity. In the text, the authors mention the Spanish cruelty next to the Sea Beggars’ acts under the header ‘Terror’.¹²²¹

The same page discusses whether the Dutch Revolt was a war about religion or liberation. The authors conclude this section with a quote from Prince William of Orange, who argued that both mattered and that the people ‘have to work together for church improvements and the liberation of the nation’.¹²²² The series also shows that several people interpreted the historical events of their own time in different ways. Students are invited to form their own view on the past, based on the arguments: ‘What do you think, was it all about religion or freedom?’¹²²³

Just as in *Sporen*, migration and immigration also became important topics in other history textbooks from the nineties. A 1996 reprint of the series *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* (since 1983) includes a chapter entitled ‘The Netherlands as an immigration country’.¹²²⁴ The first section, ‘Welcome to the Netherlands?’ examines various groups of people who came to the Netherlands in the period before 1900: Why did these people come to the Netherlands and how were they welcomed?¹²²⁵ The authors begin this section with the Dutch Republic and explain why various refugees were welcomed there: ‘During the revolt against Spain in the second part of the sixteenth century, the Dutch Protestants had already experi-

1220 Ibid., 71. See also: Wilschut et al., *Sporen 2* (1999), 80. ‘Tot nu toe ben je vooral geweld van Spanjaarden tegengekomen. Oranje en de geuzen zeiden dat ze streden voor de vrijheid en tegen de Spaanse “onderdrukking”. Het woord onderdrukking betekent dat de Spanjaarden de Nederlanders dwongen hen te gehoorzamen, ook al wilden die dat helemaal niet. Maar de geuzen konden er ook wat van. Toen ze Gorcum veroverden, namen ze negentien monniken gevangen – ook een zwakzinnige en een stokoude monnik. Ze warden in een stinkende mosselschuit naar Den Briel gevaren. Daar warden ze geslagen en vernederd. Ondertussen kwam er een brief van Willem van Oranje waarin stond: “Iedereen moet in de vrijheid van zijn geloof beschermd worden en niemand mag worden lastiggevallen.” De geuzenleider Lumey van der Marck werd woedend. “Heeft Oranje soms Den Briel veroverd of ik?” riep hij. Hij liet de negentien monniken aan de galg opknopen.’

1221 Wilschut et al., *Sporen 2* (1992), 70.

1222 Ibid. ‘Wij moeten samenwerken om te komen tot verbetering van de kerk en de verlossing van het vaderland.’

1223 Ibid., 71.

1224 Joop Toebes, René Bakker, Drea Berghorst, Liesbeth Coffeng, Alexandra Haijkens, Ronald van Kesteren, Paul van Leeuwen, Michael van der Lubbe and Theo van Zon, *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis 3 mavo/havo/vwo* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1996), 170.

1225 Ibid., 172.

enced several intolerant Catholic kings.¹²²⁶ The authors also explain that refugees from the Southern Netherlands as well as Huguenots and Jews came to the 'independent North', and that signs of the 'former Dutch tolerance' are still visible in contemporary Amsterdam, such as the synagogue built by Portuguese Jews in the seventeenth century. They also point out that these refugees were favoured over the Catholics because the latter were not allowed to build churches. They had to meet during secret meetings (*schuilkerken*).¹²²⁷

The series continues to point out that not all newcomers had the same opportunities: money, status, and skills were also unevenly distributed, and that prejudice was rife, such as against Jewish people, who were seen as greedy and unreliable and were not allowed to live in every city.¹²²⁸ The authors conclude with a question, wondering whether 'we' have ultimately learned anything.¹²²⁹ They refer to a survey and argue that young people have become more and more tolerant: they think differently about foreigners than their parents do and 'girls are more open-minded than boys'.¹²³⁰ In 1996, the series argued that Dutch people had become more tolerant over time.

The same idea about progress in tolerance is narrated in *Sprekend Verleden* (since 1978). In a 1999 reprint, the authors argue that, in the sixteenth century, 'many more' people were 'very intolerant' than is the case nowadays and that a (political) cooperation between Catholics and Protestants, such as within the Dutch political party Christian Democratic Appeal, would have been out of the question at the time.¹²³¹ The authors also focus on 'intolerance' in their main text, describing an intolerant Philip II, intolerant Calvinists and an 'intolerant Catholic Frenchman' who murdered the Prince.¹²³² Furthermore, students are to consider whether the Prince of Orange was indeed 'ahead of his time', as is often argued, and whether he would have approved of the Iconoclastic Outbreak.¹²³³ Next to (in)tolerance, 'freedom' is still an important notion in this series. The

1226 Ibid., 172–173. 'Tijdens de opstand tegen Spanje in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw hadden de Nederlandse protestanten al eerder ervaring opgedaan met onverdraagzame katholieke koningen.'

1227 Ibid., 173.

1228 Ibid., 174.

1229 Ibid., 194.

1230 Ibid.

1231 Leo Dalhuisen, Harald Buskop, Roen van der Geest, Donald Haks, Alfons Lammers, Frans Steegh and Cees de Waal, *Sprekend Verleden 2. Geschiedenis Basisvorming* (Baarn: Nijgh-Versluys, 1999), 23.

1232 Ibid., 142.

1233 L.G. Dalhuisen, H.J.M. van der Geest, H. Hulshof, P.D.M. Latour and C.Y. Meijers-Bastiaans, *Sprekend Verleden. Deel 2. Wegwijzer voor de leerling* (Den Haag: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1990), 50.

authors argue that freedom was important to the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic, ‘just as to the Dutch people nowadays’.¹²³⁴

The notions of ‘freedom’ and ‘tolerance’ are thus perpetuated and remain important signifiers in the framing process. A difference with the textbooks of the eighties is the attention placed on migration in relation to the Dutch Revolt and the Dutch Republic: ‘Notions such as “migration” and “asylum seeker” are modern but the refugee problem is of all time’, explain the authors in the 1999 reprint.¹²³⁵ They explain that the population of the Republic grew from one to two million people between 1570 and 1650, thanks to refugees from the south as well as the Huguenots from France and Jews from Spain, Portugal, the German Empire and East-Europe.¹²³⁶

In this reprint, the authors also added a new assignment in relation to multiperspectivity: students are to read a section on the Spanish Armada (1588) in a Dutch, a Spanish and an English history textbook and explain the differences between the three narratives in relation to the textbooks’ country of origin.¹²³⁷ While the Dutch excerpt uses 1588 to explain how the war between the Netherlands and Spain changed, the English narrative focuses on the English heroic deeds and the Spanish narrative mainly on the storms. The authors explain that this historical event is narrated differently and that students’ views on history can be affected by the narrative propagated in their respective country. In the 2012 edition this assignment is accompanied by two images from the Spanish comic book also incorporated in an English series as we saw in Chapter 4.¹²³⁸ Students are encouraged to reflect on history from a meta-perspective and to examine how historical narratives are constructed and framed, thus gaining awareness of the ‘limits’ of their own textbooks.

1234 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2* (1999), 149.

1235 Ibid., 146. ‘Begrippen als migranten en asielzoekers zijn modern (hoofdstuk 10), maar het vluchtelingen-probleem is van alle tijden. Vluchtelingen waren er ook in de tijd dat een deel van de Nederlanden in oorlog was met Filips II. De bevolking van de Republiek groeide tussen ongeveer 1570 en 1650 van naar schatting één tot bijna twee miljoen.’ See also: Leo Dalhuisen, Harold Buskop, Roen van der Geest and Cees de Waal, *Sprekend Verleden 2. Werkboek* (Baarn: NijghVersluys, 1999), 138.

1236 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2* (1999), 146. See also: Leo Dalhuisen, Conny Bastiaans, Harald Buskop, Quirijn Dalhuisen, Marloes Davidzon, Roen van der Geest, Adrienne van Pelt-Kamphuis, Frans Steegh and Cees de Waal, *Sprekend Verleden. Leerboek 2 havo/vwo* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers Educatief, 2012), 104; Leo Dalhuisen, Conny Bastiaans, Harald Buskop, Roen van der Geest, Frans Steegh and Cees de Waal, *Sprekend Verleden. Werkboek 2 havo/vwo* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers Educatief, 2012), 62.

1237 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2* (1999), 158; Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2. Werkboek* (1999), 151. See also: L.G. Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2 havo/vwo* (Baarn: NijghVersluys, 2005), 117.

1238 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2* (2012), 117.

The series further includes various genres, and incorporates short descriptions of English films. The authors point to the importance of discussing historical films because they contain widespread ideas and reach a broad audience. They mention *The Sea Hawk*, an English film made in 1940 in which the character of Philip II constitutes an analogy of Hitler,¹²³⁹ explaining the keys thus generated.

Sprekend Verleden also displays further adaptations: it still includes the section that examines hero worshipping with the example of the Dutch 'sea hero' De Ruyter but in the 1999 reprint this section is enlarged with extra questions and another example. The authors point out that things are more complex than most people think, referring to Etta Palm (1743–1799). 'She is not well-known. Why? Why are some included in people's memory while others are excluded?'¹²⁴⁰ The authors explain that Palm was an early feminist and that she was an 'outsider' during her lifetime. However, over time it turned out that 'she was right' and 'should we forget them just because they had no direct success with their ideas and opinions?'¹²⁴¹ The authors' word choice reveals the idea of progress. The series intentionally highlights a 'forgotten' woman and inspires a discussion about 'heroes'. The focus on women is also present in other sections.¹²⁴²

The textbook assignment shows that former heroes are not automatically perpetuated and that the authors are not against heroes per se; rather, students are encouraged to examine why certain people have become heroes while others have not. This becomes even clearer in the 2005 edition: in the section 'Every time has its own William of Orange' students are to consider 'images' that have surrounded the 'Father of the Fatherland', published during the Dutch Revolt but also in the nineteenth century and during World War II.¹²⁴³ The authors explain that the prince became a 'resistance hero' during 1940–1945 and that he was honoured after the war for his ideal of 'tolerance'. A call for a re-appreciation of heroes was also present in Dutch academic historiography, such as by Marjan Schwegman in 2008, when she was the director of the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam.¹²⁴⁴

In 2001, the committee De Rooij published its report, presenting a framework of 'orientation knowledge', a set of historical reasoning skills and ten historical

1239 Dalhuisen et al., *Spreken Verleden 2* (1999), 171.

1240 Ibid., 159.

1241 Ibid.

1242 Ibid., 146. See also: Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2* (2005), 104–105.

1243 Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2* (2005), 116. See also: Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2* (2012), 116; Dalhuisen et al., *Sprekend Verleden 2. Werkboek* (2012), 64.

1244 Marjan Schwegman, 'Waar zijn de Nederlandse verzetshelden', *Van der Lubbelezing* (2008): 1–11, 1. See also: Jaap Cohen and Hinke Piersma, *Moedige mensen. Helden in oorlogstijd* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom, 2014), 9–15.

periods with associative names and symbols. Since *Sprekend Verleden* had become a popular long seller, it was also reprinted in this period. In general, the narrative of the Dutch Revolt remained the same in this series after 2001. In a teacher's guide (2006), the authors explain their position in a separate section entitled 'De Rooij and *Sprekend Verleden*': that the report corresponds with their series in several ways, such as the cohesion between historical knowledge and skills, the importance of images, and the idea of a chronological overview of 'orientation knowledge'.¹²⁴⁵

The authors also integrate the ten eras, despite describing them as confusing and incorrect, and explicitly state that they prefer the 'traditional periodisation' as the ten eras, 'under the header of clarity, (...) divide what needs to be connected'¹²⁴⁶ and block the path to historical consciousness. They announce that their series is less oriented towards north-western Europe and men than De Rooij's report, attending explicitly to remarkable individuals as well as to the position of women in general.¹²⁴⁷ Moreover, the authors explain that they use films and television as sources in their series, while other textbook authors and the committee De Rooij mostly ignore these items.¹²⁴⁸ They introduce students to historical skills in order to analyse films and television series in relation to notions such as 'interpretation', 'evidence', 'empathy', 'objectivity', and 'subjectivity'.¹²⁴⁹

In 2007, the suggestions by committee De Rooij were implemented in higher secondary education (Havo/VWO) and, in the same year, the history textbook series *Feniks* (Phoenix) was published by ThiemeMeulenhoff. This series is designed in line with the new regulations and ideas around history education, including the ten eras, with two chapters generally dedicated to each era. Volume One deals with the first four eras and Volumes Two and Three each discuss three eras. Volume Two begins with the fifth era, 'the time of discovery and reform', which is narrated in two chapters, the Spanish Empire (Hispanic Monarchy) and the 'rise of the Netherlands',¹²⁵⁰ with the central question: 'How did the present-day Netherlands arise from the struggle for self-governance and religious freedom?'¹²⁵¹ Freedom is an important element of this question, and in the short

1245 Leo Dalhuisen, Conny Bastiaans, Harald Buskop, Roen van der Geest, Liesbeth Polano, Frans Steegh and Cees de Waal, *Sprekend Verleden. Docentenhandleiding VMBO GT/HAVO* (Baarn: NijghVersluys, 2006), 13.

1246 *Ibid.*, 14.

1247 *Ibid.*

1248 *Ibid.*, 15.

1249 *Ibid.*, 90.

1250 Leo Salemink and Jos Venner, eds., *Feniks. Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw. Leesboek 2 havo/vwo* (Utrecht/Zutphen: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2008), 26. Co-authors of this volume are Albert Jan Bosch, Boudewijn Bossink, Wout Claessens and Marian Veldkamp.

1251 *Ibid.*, 27.

introduction in the beginning of the chapter it immediately becomes clear that the authors are framing the Dutch Revolt as a fight for freedom:

The Dutch were to obey the Spanish rulers, who were increasingly running their centralized government from Brussels. Towns and regions lost their administrative freedoms. There was no religious freedom. It would not take long for the Dutch to stand up to this, even if, in the sixteenth century, there were no Dutch: you were a Hollander or a Frisian. The uprising that broke out against the Spanish served to unify all these regional allegiances into a national one: it was the revolt against the Spanish that bred the Netherlands and the Dutch people. In this chapter, you will learn how the Netherlands arose out of this struggle for freedom, a struggle against the Spanish.¹²⁵²

Whereas *Sporen* highlighted the practice of mercenary troops, this series clearly narrates the sixteenth century as a fight against 'the Spanish'. Moreover, the series presents the events in an anachronistic national frame: the workbook emphasizes that the battle led to a kind of 'national awareness' and that 'the birth of the Dutchman was at hand'.¹²⁵³ The complex history of the Dutch Revolt is thus 'flattened': the authors do not mention 'internal' struggles or victims, such as the 'martyrs of Gorcum', as *Sporen* did, for example.

Feniks narrates history in line with the system of the ten eras and the 49 characteristic features and these trigger this series' flattening process. The Era of Discoverers and Reformers (1500–1600) has five characteristic features, the fifth of which is 'the Dutch Revolt in the Low Countries and the founding of an independent Dutch state'.¹²⁵⁴ This sentence gives direction to the authors' narrative, which presents the Dutch Revolt in the light of its end: they write towards the founding of the Dutch state and accentuate the 'birth of the Netherlands' in a fight against the 'Spaniards'. The anachronistic presentation is provoked by the era's boundaries: although 1579 (the Union of Utrecht) and 1581 (the Act of Abjuration) are included, the end of the Dutch Revolt and thus the broader international *recognition* of the United Provinces in 1648 are excluded from this era.

1252 Ibid. 'Nederlanders moesten gehoorzamen aan Spaanse bestuurders, die steeds meer centraal vanuit Brussel regeerden. Steden en gewesten verloren hun bestuurlijke vrijheden. Er was geen vrijheid van geloof. Het duurde niet lang eer de Nederlanders hiertegen in verzet kwamen. Al kon je in de zestiende eeuw niet spreken van Nederlander, je voelde je Hollander of Fries. De opstand die uitbrak tegen de Spanjaarden zorgde ervoor dat men zich als Nederlanders aan elkaar verbonden begon te voelen. Uit het verzet tegen Spanje kwam het land Nederland en het Nederlandse volk voort. In dit hoofdstuk leer je hoe Nederland ontstond uit een strijd voor vrijheid, een strijd tegen de Spanjaarden.'

1253 Leo Saleminck and Jos Venner, eds., *Feniks. Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw. Werkboek 2 havo/vwo* (Utrecht/Zutphen: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2008), 45. 'In de strijd tegen de Spanjaarden was er iets ontstaan als een nationaal besef, de geboorte van de Nederlander was aanstaande.'

1254 'De Opstand in de Nederlanden en het ontstaan van een onafhankelijke Nederlandse staat.'

The framing of the Dutch Revolt as a fight for freedom against the Spaniards is not only apparent in the introduction. The section about William of Orange equally emphasizes ‘freedom’: the authors describe the aim of the Revolt as an attempt to bring about freedom of religion and governance for all Dutch people.¹²⁵⁵ Moreover, the freedom frame is underlined by the authors’ choice of focalization, which includes an adapted source fragment in which the prince speaks to the people in 1568:

We will fight the cruel tyranny of the Spaniards. To this purpose, all good citizens must serve themselves and show themselves to be true servants of God and of King and Fatherland and prove themselves to be willing defenders of freedom.¹²⁵⁶

In the assignments, students are to compare the Dutch Revolt to the American War of Independence and the French Revolution.¹²⁵⁷ Whereas these comparisons highlight the fight for liberty all these uprisings share, earlier sections such as about the centralization plans by Charles V and Philip II emphasize the *loss* of freedom.¹²⁵⁸ The idea of centralization and the loss of freedom forms the basis for a comparison with the present. At the end of the chapter, a separate section is dedicated to ‘centralization in Europe’:

As in the days of Charles V and Philip II, we are now living in a time when a new government has been installed above the old national governments. In this section, we will compare the centralization politics that began with European unification under Charles V. [...] It was agreed in the Constitution that the European Commission would gain more decision-making power and the national government less. In 2005, the citizens of the Netherlands and France voted in a referendum against more power being granted to the European Union. The proposed European Constitution was rejected.¹²⁵⁹

1255 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Werkboek 2* (2008), 34. ‘De Opstand had tot doel vrijheid van geloof en bestuur te creëren voor alle Nederlanders.’

1256 *Ibid.*, 35. ‘Wij zullen de wrede tirannie van de Spanjaarden bestrijden. Daarom moeten alle goede onderdanen zichzelf helpen en zich nu als ware dienaren Gods, van de koning en het vaderland en als bereidwillige verdedigers van de vrijheid tonen’.

1257 *Ibid.*, 44 and 51.

1258 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 2*, 28–29. The section is entitled ‘Spaans bestuur in de Nederlanden’.

1259 *Ibid.*, 44. ‘Net als ten tijde van Karel V en Filips II leven wij nu in een tijd waarin boven de oude landsbesturen een nieuw bestuur wordt opgezet. In dit menu vergelijken wij de politiek van centralisatie die onder Karel V begon met de Europese eenwording. [...] Een afspraak uit de grondwet was dat de Europese Commissie meer te beslissen kreeg en de nationale regering minder. In 2005 spraken inwoners van Nederland en Frankrijk zich in een referendum uit tegen meer macht voor de Europese Unie. De voorgestelde Europese grondwet werd afgewezen.’

Students are given a source about the opinion poll in the Netherlands and part of an interview with historian John Gillingham, who wrote a book about European integration in 2003.¹²⁶⁰ This fragment is entitled 'constitution is bad for EU':

Gillingham makes no secret of the fact that Europe's problems have mainly been caused by federalism and dirigisme. What Europe needs is more market and less Brussels. [...] 'After the war, Europe was shaped in a top-down fashion, which was inevitable in those days; but now the Europeans should decide for themselves what sort of Union they want.'¹²⁶¹

In the assignments, students are asked to explain Gillingham's use of the expressions 'top-down', 'domineering' and 'too much Brussels'.¹²⁶² The authors have not only selected source fragments that interpret European centralization as a loss of freedom, they also express this idea themselves. In Volume Three, in a section on the history of the European Union, they write about the contemporary situation in the main text under the header 'Brussels and its rule-making mania':

The 'United States of Europe' are currently more a figment of the imagination than ever before. Not everyone can or will sympathize with Brussels-manufactured democracy. The interminable guidelines that new Member States of the European Union have to meet run to eighty-thousand pages of Brussels rules and regulations, ranging from the size of a beer glass to the thickness of a bicycle tyre. Over the past decades, an excess of rules has waxed in many areas of detail.¹²⁶³

Alongside the perpetuation of well-known signifiers, such as 'freedom' and 'tolerance' the geographic scope and embedding have changed: the European Union is an important frame of reference in these authors' textbook narrative and not only in relation to the Dutch Revolt. 'Freedom' and 'Europe' equally play an important role in Volume One, when the authors compare the Roman Empire

1260 John Gillingham, *European Integration. Superstate or New Market Economy?* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

1261 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 2*, 44. 'Gillingham maakt er geen geheim van dat Europa's problemen vooral zijn veroorzaakt door het federalisme en dirigisme. Europa heeft meer markt nodig, en minder "Brussel". [...] "Europa is na de oorlog top-down vormgegeven en dat kon in die tijd ook niet anders; nu moeten de Europeanen zelf gaan uitmaken wat voor soort Unie zij willen"'.

1262 *Ibid.*, 56.

1263 Leo Salemink and Jos Venner, eds., *Feniks. Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw. Leesboek 3 havo/vwo* (Utrecht/Zutphen: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2009), 116. Co-authors of this volume are Cor van der Heijden, Idzard van Manen and Robert Boonstra. "Brusselse regelzucht". Maar momenteel lijken de "Verenigde Staten van Europa" verder weg dan ooit. Niet iedereen kan of wil begrip opbrengen voor de Brusselse democratie. De reeks richtlijnen waaraan nieuwe lidstaten van de Europese Unie moeten voldoen bestaat uit tachtigduizend pagina's met regels en verordeningen. Zelfs met de maat van een glas bier en de dikte van een fietsband bemoeit Brussel zich. De afgelopen decennia is er op detailgebieden een overmaat aan regels gegroeid.'

with the European Union, for example.¹²⁶⁴ Moreover, the chapter about the Greeks has six sections, four of which are given a header that explicitly mentions ‘freedom’, such as ‘freedom to choose’, ‘fight for freedom’, ‘freedom to think’, or ‘less freedom, more influence’.¹²⁶⁵ These sections discuss the implementation of Greek democracy, the Greco-Persian Wars, Greek philosophy, and the Peloponnesian War.

Another important notion in this series is ‘religious freedom’ in relation to ‘tolerance’. In a section about the ‘tolerant Republic’, the authors wonder why the Republic was so attractive to foreign guests and immigrants:

It is often said that the Netherlands is a tolerant nation, a reputation that our country already had in the Golden Age. Trade involved many contacts with foreigners, fostering an understanding of many minorities. Protestants, moreover, were convinced that it was up to each individual how they wished to conduct their religious life. As urban life increasingly involved a mix of Catholics, different Protestant denominations and Jews, it was of the utmost importance to maintain religious freedom. Religious freedom, in its turn, attracted more immigrants.¹²⁶⁶

Just as in *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis*, the Dutch Republic is described as an ‘immigration country’ that attracted a number of intellectuals.¹²⁶⁷ The authors emphasize that tolerance was not applied to the Catholic minority, however, who remained second-class citizens.¹²⁶⁸ Moreover, they point out that the Republic especially welcomed people who could contribute. Poor and sick people, as well as prostitutes and criminals, were banned as far as possible.¹²⁶⁹ One section at the end of the chapter makes a comparison with present-day immigration in the Netherlands, emphasizing that these ‘new’ people positively contribute to the development of the Netherlands but that immigration can also cause prob-

1264 Leo Salemink and Jos Venner, eds., *Feniks. Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw. Leesboek 1 havo/vwo* (Utrecht/Zutphen: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2008), 53. Co-authors of this volume are Raymond de Kreek, René Notermans, Frouke Schrijver, Frank Tang, Jos Venner and Ludwig Verberne.

1265 *Ibid.*, 30–37. See also: Leo Salemink and Jos Venner, eds., *Feniks. Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw. Werkboek 1 havo/vwo* (Utrecht/Zutphen: ThiemeMeulenhoff, 2008), 33–43.

1266 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 2*, 54. ‘Vaak wordt er over Nederland gezegd dat het een tolerante natie is. Deze reputatie has ons land al tijdens de Gouden Eeuw. Door de handel waren er veel contacten met buitenlanders. Hierdoor ontwikkelde men begrip voor allerlei minderheden. Daarbij waren veel protestanten van mening dat iedereen zelf mocht weten hoe hij invulling gaf aan zijn geloof. Omdat er in de steden een mengelmoes ontstond van katholieken, aanhangers van verschillende protestantse kerken en joden was het van groot belang dat de godsdienstvrijheid werd gehandhaafd. Deze godsdienstvrijheid leidde tot verdere immigratie.’

1267 *Ibid.*, 47 and 54.

1268 *Ibid.*, 55.

1269 *Ibid.*, 57.

lems.¹²⁷⁰ The workbook also generates a comparison with the present, explaining that many people regard 'tolerance' as the most significant characteristic of Dutch society.¹²⁷¹ Students are asked to explain the word 'tolerance' and give examples of Dutch tolerance in present-day society.¹²⁷² Moreover, the workbook displays an image of a secret Catholic church in Amsterdam and asks why its existence is a form of religious intolerance as well as a form of religious tolerance.¹²⁷³

An important difference with *Vragen aan de Geschiedenis* is the idea of progress. Whereas the nineties reprints of Toebes' series highlight the growth in tolerance, *Feniks* is more moderate. The socio-political context had changed and this is reflected in this series' textbook narrative. The final chapter of Volume Three, 'abundance and discomfort', discusses contemporary history, such as the post-1945 period, the sixties and 'multicultural society'.¹²⁷⁴ Under the header 'pluralist society', the authors refer back to the discussion of tolerance in Volume Two:

A society that involves different ethnic minorities is also called a pluriform or multicultural society. The Netherlands of the Golden Age, the Republic, acted as a magnet to people in other countries who were persecuted for their ideas or beliefs. After the revolt against Spain, there was a certain measure of tolerance for those whose faith was not the Protestant one. The question is how society deals with these population groups. A multicultural society offers many opportunities but it may also give rise to xenophobia.¹²⁷⁵

Next to comparisons with the present, the authors encourage reflection on the notions of 'freedom' and 'tolerance' through time, asking, for instance, 'How free are we?'¹²⁷⁶ following a chapter about the Enlightenment. On the one hand, the authors emphasize the historically unique position of the Netherlands with its high levels of liberty. At the same time, they discuss the recent murder of two Dutch men because of their ideas, showing a portrait of Theo van Gogh.¹²⁷⁷ They

1270 Ibid., 64.

1271 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Werkboek 2*, 71.

1272 Ibid.

1273 Ibid., 72.

1274 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 3*, 128–129, 137.

1275 Ibid., 137. 'Een samenleving met verschillende, etnische minderheden wordt ook wel een pluriforme of multiculturele samenleving genoemd. Het Nederland van de Gouden Eeuw, de Republiek, oefende al een grote aantrekkingskracht uit op mensen uit andere landen die vanwege hun ideeën of geloof werden vervolgd. Na de Opstand tegen Spanje was er een zekere tolerantie ten opzichte van mensen die een ander geloof hadden dan het protestantse geloof. De vraag is hoe de samenleving met deze bevolkingsgroepen omgaat. De multiculturele samenleving biedt veel kansen, maar kan ook tot vreemdelingenhaat leiden.'

1276 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 2*, 106.

1277 Ibid.

argue that ‘tolerance’ is still an important issue and ask the students to design an exhibition about it by gathering newspaper articles and pictures that discuss tolerance and arranging them in two piles: for and against tolerance.¹²⁷⁸

A contemporary newspaper article also plays an important role in the (historical) narrative of the Dutch Revolt. The chapter about the rise of the Netherlands contains a final section entitled ‘Fighting for God’.¹²⁷⁹ The workbook explains that the sixteenth century was characterized by religious wars and that many people died during these conflicts. Instead of progress, the impact of 9/11 is clearly visible: ‘In this day and age, the battle between religions has by no means abated. Over the last few years, there have been fights between different religions and between different factions within religions.’¹²⁸⁰ The authors provide a list of several religious conflicts, such as between Christians and Muslims in the Moluccas since 1999, between several Muslims in Afghanistan since 1992, as well as in Iraq since 2006.¹²⁸¹ They also include a Dutch newspaper article that discusses the *Laskar Jihad*, an Islamist and anti-Christian Indonesian militia, founded in 2000.¹²⁸² The article explains how these jihadists used ‘inflammatory’ open air sermons to rally support for their revenge of the earlier ‘defeat’ by the Christians. The article uses the word ‘conventicle’ (*hagepreek*) and thus refers back to the events of 1566.

Under the theme of this key – religious fanaticism – the Iconoclasm of 1566 is narrated as a direct result of the Protestant conventicles, with the result that the nuances of history textbooks from previous research periods – focusing on other perpetrators and difficult socio-economic circumstances, for example – are no longer incorporated here. This flattening process is also visible in the section about the Iconoclasm itself, entitled ‘from conventicle to the Iconoclasm’.¹²⁸³ The authors explain how Protestants listened to Calvinist preachers and that these unlawful sermons in the open air attracted many listeners. The authors continue: ‘These open-field sermons incited the faithful to strip the churches of their splendours. The iconoclastic outbreak erupted in 1566.’¹²⁸⁴ In this explanation, the Iconoclasm is a direct result of the Calvinist sermons and no further explanations are given. This flattening process is not strengthened by educational

1278 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Werkboek 2*, 122 and 137.

1279 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 2*, 45.

1280 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Werkboek 2*, 57. ‘Heden tegen dage is de strijd tussen religies nog altijd niet geluwd. Er zijn de afgelopen jaren gevechten tussen verschillende godsdiensten en tussen richtingen binnen religies geweest.’

1281 Ibid.

1282 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 2*, 45. Dirk Vlasblom, ‘Strijd op Molukken wordt heilige oorlog’, *NRC*, June 30, 2000, 1.

1283 Salemink and Venner, *Feniks. Leesboek 2*, 31.

1284 Ibid. ‘Tijdens de hagenpreken werd er opgeroepen de kerken te ontdoen van pracht en praal. In 1566 brak de Beeldenstorm uit.’

requirements: although the Iconoclasm is an important ‘window’ of the Dutch historical canon, its content is not obligatory for secondary-school students and the canon’s background information emphasizes that various people with various backgrounds and motives participated. Instead, the flattening process is stimulated by the socio-political context and the contemporary theme of ‘Jihadists’ and their ‘fights for God’. It also shows that narrated ‘echoing events’ are not necessarily more helpful in understanding history.

5.5 Conclusion

Between 1988 and 2010, history was a hot topic in England and the Netherlands, as was displayed by the fierce newspaper discussions as well as by the television shows and polls about the greatest national hero. In the early 2000s, debates about ‘the’ national identity in relation to the multicultural society intensified in both countries, as a result of international debates on mass immigration, European integration, and 9/11. In both countries, controversies around school history were connected to these wider debates about the national self-image of the past, present, and future. While English and Dutch politicians, historians, and educators disagreed about the content of history education, most agreed on the fact that this school subject was relevant (again). At the same time, the governments of both countries failed to improve the infrastructure of school history, for example by making history a compulsory subject. Instead, they interfered with the *contents* of school history: in the UK, the National Curriculum for History was implemented (from 1991) and in the Netherlands, the ten eras and 49 ‘distinctive characteristics’ became compulsory elements of the history curriculum (from 2007). These developments impacted history textbooks profoundly.

In England the newly published history textbooks seemed to copy elements from older textbook narratives; however, within a different frame. For example, Roosevelt’s four freedoms re-entered an English series but without the idea of progress in freedom. Instead, the authors showed a contemporary world map which displayed present-day forms of violence against the four freedoms. Moreover, citizenship became an important theme in English textbooks. Whereas history textbooks discussed earlier celebrated sea power and the heroic ‘sea-dogs’, such as Drake and Hawkins, these former heroes became contested persons – slave traders and pirates – in discussions about citizenship and the search for a post-imperial identity. Authors thus placed much more emphasis on Elizabeth I, probably also because the NC for history explicitly mentioned ‘crowns’ in its core unit. The Queen was not perpetuated as a heroine; instead, students were encouraged to question her status and to examine how she could ‘steer’ her image in public opinion.

Dutch textbooks also encouraged students to reflect on heroes: with the help of several examples, they asked why certain people became a hero while others did not. Moreover, migration and immigration became important topics and textbooks emphasized that the Netherlands had ‘already’ been an immigration country in the sixteenth century. Dutch series perpetuated the idea of progress to some extent, explaining that people from the past were far more ‘intolerant’ than nowadays and arguing that Dutch tolerance had grown since the Dutch Revolt. However, after 9/11 the idea of progress in tolerance was no longer perpetuated. Instead, a textbook series dedicated a special section to the theme ‘fighting for God’ since these battles have ‘by no means abated’. Under the header of ‘religious fanaticism’, the Protestant sermons of 1566 were compared to recent Jihadist conventicles.

In sum, affected by the transformations in the socio-political context, such as the fear of Europeanization and migration, (national) heroes resumed their role in society at large as well as in history textbooks from both countries. However, whereas popular media of both nations searched for the greatest Briton or Dutchman/woman, English and Dutch history textbooks also invited students to examine the *construction* process of national heroes. In this way, history didactics as part of the educational and pedagogic context mitigated the impact of the socio-political developments. Another similarity is the increasing interaction with other – mostly popular – genres, such as films, paintings, and comic books. These interaction processes were also visible in Chapter Two: popular poems reinforced the English textbook narrative. Yet between 1988 and 2010, various genres, perspectives and interpretations were included in English and Dutch history textbooks in order to teach historical thinking skills.

However, ideas about school history were diverse. Whereas some educators and historians advocated a ‘narrative iconoclasm’ – aimed at the examination and deconstruction of national frames by teaching historical thinking skills, multiple perspectives and ‘new histories’ – others argued for a ‘restoration’ and clear-cut national narratives in order to offer newcomers a straightforward view of their new country and accompanying national identity. For example, in 2010, an English publishing house aimed to ‘restore’ school history by reprinting textbooks from the past: the 1930s series by Carter and Mears discussed earlier. Although the textbooks were revised and adapted to a certain extent, it is precisely such ‘reprints’ that play an important role in the perpetuation of national narratives. Whereas the David-Goliath allegory and the famous notion of ‘standing alone’ had disappeared from English series by the 1980s and 1990s, they were resurrected in the new millennium, as were other notions that had disappeared, such as ‘our island story’, albeit in a more inclusive way in contemporary debates about history education.

In the Netherlands, (in)tolerance and freedom were perpetuated as important signifiers in the framing of sixteenth-century history, which demonstrates the influence of the narratological context. At the same time, the contemporary socio-political circumstances refurbished the signifiers: textbooks implemented assignments on migration and 'discrimination', a pertinent topic during this period. Furthermore, whereas Europe was seen as a promising framework for national narratives in the previous research period, this was no longer the case and a Dutch textbook series includes an explicit decline narrative. Under the theme 'a loss of freedom', contemporary European centralization politics are compared to those of Charles V and Philip II. These generated keys underline the 'traditional' interpretation of the Dutch Revolt as a fight for freedom.

6 Conclusion

‘The Brexit campaign’, commented Irish columnist Fintan O’Toole in the *Guardian* in June 2016, ‘is fuelled by a mythology of England proudly “standing alone”, as it did against the Spanish Armada and Adolf Hitler’.¹²⁸⁵ O’Toole also pointed out that, rather than standing alone, England has been part of a larger entity over the past four hundred years. Nevertheless, the myth is strong and Prime Minister David Cameron knew it. A month earlier, he had held his speech on the UK’s strength and security in the EU and several times he had tried to deconstruct the heroic idea of ‘standing alone’. He argued that it was not ‘through choice that Britain was alone’ during World War II and that ‘Churchill never wanted that’.¹²⁸⁶ Interestingly, he also referred to the Spanish Armada in his argument for Britain to remain a member of the EU:

The truth is this: what happens in our neighbourhood matters to Britain. That was true in 1914, in 1940 and in 1989. Or, you could add 1588, 1704 and 1815. And it is just as true in 2016. Either we influence Europe, or it influences us. And if things go wrong in Europe, let’s not pretend we can be immune from the consequences.¹²⁸⁷

Although ‘Remainers’ and ‘Brexiters’ framed the Spanish Armada in different, usually opposing ways in their political rhetoric, the examples show that they both generated ‘echoing events’. Apparently, 1588 functions as a widespread national narrative to which various events can be keyed.

This study has examined and questioned the perpetuation, actualization, and canonization of national narratives in English and Dutch history textbooks – widespread media known to instil a sense of meaning, memory, and identity –

1285 Fintan O’Toole, ‘Brexit is being driven by English nationalism. And it will end in self-rule’, *The Guardian*, June 19, 2016. This column was awarded with the European Press Prize Commentator Award in 2017, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jun/18/england-eu-referendum-brexit> (accessed September 25, 2019).

1286 David Cameron’s speech on the UK’s strength and security in the EU on May 9, 2016, www.gov.uk/government/speeches/pm-speech-on-the-uks-strength-and-security-in-the-eu-9-may-2016 (accessed September 25, 2019).

1287 Ibid.

in the period between 1920 and 2010. Changes and continuities in national narratives found in textbooks are often explained by direct state interventions, specific policies, and ideological agendas. This conviction has hardly been problematized until now, and other reasons for the perpetuation of national narratives in this genre are easily overlooked. This study therefore selected history textbook series from England and the Netherlands – countries that do not have a system of approved textbooks, unlike many others – and aimed to shed light on the perpetuation of national narratives from a more inclusive and longitudinal approach by answering the following research question: *How and why are national narratives perpetuated in English and Dutch history textbooks between 1920 and 2010?*

By using discourse analysis and an integrated approach – history textbook series were studied as an integrated whole – this study aimed to analyse less visible processes in the perpetuation of national narratives in this genre. History textbooks were examined as layered narratives in which stories overlap, interfuse, and interact. In this way, this study has explored a *new type of textbook research* in order to understand the perpetuation of national narratives from a different angle: the analysis of narrative demands, frames, and keys in history textbooks. Since these narrative devices facilitate the interaction between past and present, they can elucidate how history has been made sense of and to what extent this has changed over time. Textbook authors have narrated various histories as ‘echoing events’, and the study of these ‘echoes’ has revealed widespread frames of reference and perpetuated schemata in the narratives of national history. To contextualize the empirical research and to explain change and continuity, four explanatory contexts were selected based on a pilot study: 1. socio-political developments; 2. the historical discipline; 3. education and pedagogy and 4. narrative discourse. These contexts affect each other and include national as well as international developments and ideas.

Comparative research was necessary in order to examine the role of national developments in processes of perpetuation. Comparative research on the national narratives in history textbooks disclosed shared ‘echoes’, moral messages, and transnational narrative structures that might be overlooked if the analysis were limited to one specific national context. Since the comparison was conducted on a meta-level, two case studies were examined: the English defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) in English history textbooks and the early days of the Dutch Revolt (1566–1584) in Dutch history textbooks. Rather than give a full representative overview of these case studies in the examined research period, this study has endeavoured to explore a new kind of textbook analysis by scrutinizing the narrative demands, frames and keys found in history textbooks. It thus sheds light on the interpretation of (national) history as a meaningful connection between the three temporal dimensions of past, present, and future.

The new approach also offers the opportunity to analyse underlying conceptions of history in the genre of textbooks.

The study began with textbooks printed just after World War I, in 1920, when several initiatives were launched to reduce strong nationalistic visions in textbooks, and ended with books from the new millennium, in 2010, when several countries were witnessing a revival of national narratives in education.

In both countries, the Great War gave rise to a moral and pedagogical discourse about peace and school history since the latter was accused of poisoning children with nationalism. The authors of the English history textbooks examined, however, were not particularly concerned with the theme of peace. The generated keys express their pedagogy and show how they ordered the world and gave meaning to the past and the present. After World War I, national narratives in English history textbooks were interpreted in the light of the contemporary war events. Sea power was an important theme in the socio-political context and various textbook authors keyed the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 to other histories in which 'sea power' had played a decisive role. They repeatedly referred to Spain, Holland, and France in different historical periods, and explained how England gained sea power and became a world player. Histories that differed in time and place were subject to the same 'England as Mistress of the Seas' pattern of interpretation. This frame and the generated keys were given social relevance in the contemporary interbellum, with textbook authors underlining the role of the fleet in their narration of the Great War and pointing out that England's sea power was still of great importance at the time of the textbooks' publication.

It is remarkable that *all* the English history textbooks examined from the first research period frame the English defeat of the Spanish Armada as a *national naval* victory in which England gained command of and became 'mistress' of the seas. Although the Catholic textbook series portrays Elizabeth I and Philip II in a different way to the non-Catholic series, it also emphasizes the national victory and highlights the role of Catholics in the sea battle. Whereas Elizabeth I is a controversial figure in English history textbooks – described as a 'vain and quite unscrupulous woman' as well as a queen with a 'passionate devotion to national interests' – the loyal sailors are universal heroes and celebrated for their brave defence of England.

The Dutch textbooks reveal a different tendency. They clearly display the 'pillarized' society of the day, and authors use contrasting frames to narrate sixteenth-century history. Most authors narrate the Dutch Revolt as a romance: a (national) fight for freedom against (foreign) absolutism and tyranny. However, the Catholic textbook series adopts a counter-frame, explicitly referring to the Dutch historian Nuyens and his changing view on the past. It also narrates the Dutch Revolt not as a national romance but as a tragedy which led to the per-

secution of Catholics and the division of the Low Countries. At the same time, however, the Catholic counter-frame confirms and perpetuates the basics of the frame itself: the importance of the Dutch Revolt as a founding narrative for the Netherlands.

The Dutch Revolt thus does not constitute a shared national narrative but rather a sensitive topic in historiography and the textbooks examined hardly contain any keys pertaining to it. Moreover, whereas English authors generate 'relevant' keys to the Great War, such war-related keys would not have the same significance in the Netherlands due to the country's neutrality in WWI. Yet the socio-political context is also defining in the Dutch textbook series examined, albeit in another way and in close cooperation with the historical disciplinary context. The various frames have a function in the present, with the Catholics, for instance, aiming for historical recognition and emancipation, including in aspects of education. The Catholic author Commissaris explicitly agitates against the 'freedom-frame' and the *national* character of various historical commemorations by highlighting internal struggles and the constraints to which Catholics were subjected. He was inspired by both Nuyens and Dutch historian Pieter Geyl, including the latter's ideal of the Greater Netherlands (a fusion of the Netherlands with Flanders).

In the first research period, therefore, socio-political developments dominate the narratives and interpretations of national history in both countries' history textbooks, albeit in different ways. Although both countries witnessed discussions about peace education, these developments in the educational and pedagogical context did not affect the textbook narratives of the two case studies selected. An important difference is the role of the historical disciplinary context: whereas English textbook authors hardly discuss academic historical developments, a Catholic Dutch textbook author actively refers to developments in academic historiography in his explicit attack on the dominant, initial frame of the Dutch Revolt.

The power of narrative discourse is primarily visible in English history textbooks, which echo popular poems such as Newbolt's *Drake's Drum*. Some scholars recommend the use of famous historical poems in history education as these have 'sticking power' and linger in the memory due to their evocative form and clear content. The histories of the national narratives themselves as texts can thus play an important role in the perpetuation process when a fictional genre is used to reinforce the textbook narrative. Although textbook researchers have mostly examined national narratives in relation to academic historiography with the aim to adjust and improve textbook narratives, this study has shown that it is fruitful to take other mediators of national memory into account – such as poems, novels and, more recently, films and games – in order to *understand* the perpetuation processes as relevant to national narratives in the genre of text-

books. Textbook authors can give focalization to a fictional genre because this category offers great potential for imagining the past and for applying a coherent plot structure to it.

In the second research period, the influence of World War II on frames and keys in history textbooks was undeniable: although individual elements of national narratives are perpetuated, the narrative configuration changes in both countries. Pre-1945 English textbooks frame 1588 as an event that brought about a change in power and made England 'mistress of the seas', supported by keys between sea victories over Spain, Holland, and France, as well as other historical events in which England triumphed and celebrated her sea power. After 1945, English textbook authors utilize a different keying process, generating keys between Philip II, Napoleon, and Hitler, framed as masters of Europe who aimed to *invade* England. In the decades after World War II, these keys are still apparent in English history textbooks. A 1966 series, for example, utilizes this well-known triptych and extends it with a flashback to Genghis Khan (1162–1227).

Several English textbook authors stress the danger of invasion in their narratives of sixteenth-century history and in their accounts of World War II. Moreover, they frame 1588 as a struggle for 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom of religion', two of the four freedoms that were articulated by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1941. English textbook authors employ Roosevelt's 'four freedoms' speech as a *transnational* and *transhistorical* frame in their narratives. Some of the English textbook series examined reinforce this frame with 'metaphorical maps', such as a time chart with an imaginative zig-zag plotline representing the rise and fall of freedom. Another example is a fictional geographical 'map' in which the journey towards the four freedoms is represented as four rivers flowing towards a sunny future, on which several ships sail towards this glorious horizon. Some of these threaten the four freedoms, and the ships of the 'Armada', 'Napoleon' and 'Hitler' are all sinking in the river of 'freedom from fear'. These imaginative guides underline specific conceptions of history, such as Whig history and the interpretation of history as 'the record of man's struggle to obtain the four freedoms'.

In the aftermath of World War II, the recent war events also influenced English textbook narratives in another way. The David–Goliath allegory once again gained new significance in the post-war years, after textbook authors had framed sixteenth-century history as a battle between plucky 'David' and 'giant' Spain in the first research period. Several characteristics of this biblical narrative appeared in English textbooks, such as the power disparity, divine intervention, the battle between good and evil (freedom and tyranny) and hope for the future (the underdog can beat the giant). World War II stimulated champion feelings and, inspired by Churchill's rhetoric, textbook authors employed heroic keys about how the nation had 'stood alone' in her resistance to the various 'masters of

Europe'. The David–Goliath allegory is a recurring motif in English textbook narratives, and precisely by this act of reiteration, these narratives constitute, affirm, and inculcate a broader national narrative that is perpetuated in different textbook series over time.

Unlike England, the Netherlands was occupied by the Nazis in the years 1940–1945. Whereas the David–Goliath allegory was a common feature to both countries' textbooks in the first research period, it is no longer perceptible in Dutch history textbooks published after 1945. In the light of recent developments – such as the Nazi occupation and decolonization processes – the Netherlands had become a 'small' country, and overly emphasizing its greatness in the past would only serve to draw attention to its perceived diminished status. The position of the nation was resituated: textbook authors explain that, while 'our country' fought major battles in the past, such as against Spain in the sixteenth century, over time such a role became beyond 'our power'. Inspired by the rise of transnational agencies such as UNESCO, Dutch series began to narrate national history through a European lens.

Soon after 1945, several Dutch textbook authors made adaptations to their textbook series to include explicit keys between the Dutch Revolt and World War II. In these textbooks, the dominant frame of the first research period is perpetuated and exaggerated: authors begin to place more emphasis on the dichotomies between freedom and tyranny or between democracy and absolutism as a means of explaining the forces at work in both sixteenth century and contemporary history.

A shift is perceptible from 1954, when a group of textbook authors, inspired by cooperation during the war, sought to overcome pillarization. They understood that the Dutch Revolt was a sensitive topic and produced a textbook series in which they began to highlight *tolerance*. They emphasize Erasmus' tolerance in sixteenth-century history as an inspirational source for present-day issues. Other textbook authors follow suit and adopt this frame, narrating history as a process of growth towards tolerance, presenting Philip II as the prototype of an 'intolerant king', and portrayals of the Dutch Revolt show how concepts of equality and tolerance slowly became established. Some Dutch textbook authors explain in their introductions that they project past centuries onto the background of their own time in order to convey the *meaning* of history. These new configurations of history are accompanied by the presentation of a new turning point. Instead of 1572 – often seen as the start of the 'liberation' but certainly not by Catholics – 1648 becomes a more significant year: the religious wars had ended and 'tolerance' began to flourish.

In sum, while shifts in academic historiography affected to some extent how the individual elements of national narratives were perpetuated, socio-political events and processes were far more influential, leading to a *re-interpretation* of

history in textbooks from both countries. This 'new' conception of history had a moral and performative function in the present and underlined the educational and pedagogical aim to prevent school history from losing its credibility. An important difference was the narrative discourse. The narrative demands, frames, and keys as used in famous political speeches given during World War II, such as by Churchill and Roosevelt, dominate several English textbooks and not only narrate contemporary events but are also applied to sixteenth-century history. Although this is also the case in Dutch textbooks published just after 1945 – Queen Wilhelmina, for example, generated keys between the Dutch Revolt and the contemporary war, both interpreted as a fight for freedom against a superior enemy – this frame soon disappeared. The Dutch interpretative shift began in 1954 and was not based on war rhetoric, although World War II had given an impetus to mutual understanding and engagement between Catholics and Protestants.

In the third research period, the academic historiographical context had a significant impact on English and Dutch textbooks: political and military history made way for (more) cultural history and history 'from below'. Textbook authors no longer explained history by the power of the nation, patterns, or the will of God but instead placed events in their broader (technical) contexts, including (un)expected consequences and 'bad luck' or 'accidents of history'. Inspired by the emerging influence of history didactics, students were stimulated to 'do history': weigh up the evidence and develop an argument. Rather than presenting a chronological, historical overview, history textbooks of this period employ a thematic approach based on skills. Students are also required to examine well-known stories and legends; famous phrases such as 'God blew and they were scattered', for example, are thus perpetuated in primary and secondary sources that discuss the reasons for the failure of the Spanish Armada.

The emergence of a focus on (historical) skills in textbooks series was to a certain extent a result of the changed socio-political context. World War II and decolonization processes had already impacted the position of the Netherlands, and now Britain was no longer the metropolis of a global empire but the 'sick man of Europe'. As a result of decolonization processes, a stagnating economy, soaring prices, and growing industrial unrest, Britain had to reposition itself and this impacted on the history classroom. What national narrative, if any, could textbooks present when the subject of older versions – Britain as a supremacy in times of global greatness – had vanished? Alongside an orientation on European history and world history, textbooks began to focus on skills in order to fulfil the criteria for a 'useful' school subject. The School Council Project (1972–1976) aimed to create a new kind of history syllabus by highlighting diverse themes, such as the Arab–Israeli conflict and the American West (designed to examine

popular stereotypes) and by promoting innovative didactical methods, such as the 'detective approach'.

'New history' and the inquiry method were also introduced in Dutch textbooks at the end of the seventies. Although the educational and pedagogical contexts and history scholarship had a great impact on Dutch history textbooks, narratological aspects are equally powerful. Freedom and (in)tolerance are perpetuated as important signifiers in the narration and interpretation of the Dutch Revolt in all the history textbooks examined, although the specific content is adapted to the society of the time. In the seventies and eighties, contemporary concepts of 'tolerance' were stretched as a reaction to the (emerging) multi-ethnic society and the often-problematic integration of ethnic and cultural minorities. Contemporary discussions about (in)tolerance were no longer oriented around the absence of persecution, but rather around repression, discrimination, and prejudice. These new themes are thus also discussed in relation to the past and several Dutch textbook authors question and criticize the long-propagated myth of 'Dutch tolerance'.

Influenced by transformations in the socio-political context, textbook authors generate different keys and these shifts can be illustrated by their choices of focalization. Whereas former textbook authors had quoted Queen Wilhelmina to show that the Dutch had fought several times for freedom throughout history, a textbook series from the seventies quotes Roeslan Abdulgani, known for his leadership role during the Indonesian National Revolution in the late 1940s. This series shows how a former Dutch colony began to regard the Dutch colonizers as 'Spaniards' and became inspired to start its own fight for freedom.

Another form of keying in Dutch history textbooks was inspired by developments within history scholarship. Inspired by German *Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, some textbooks connect school history to the social sciences. From this perspective, history was supposed to serve contemporary society and school history therefore was required to bolster an understanding of processes and structures. The Dutch Revolt, for example, could contribute to a comprehension of complex present-day conflicts by providing students with insight into the complexity of this sixteenth-century topic. This tendency was also influenced by fear of competition from the new school subject 'Civics' (*maatschappijleer*). Curriculum developers and history textbook authors were thus anxious to demonstrate the societal relevance of history, and produced narratives that were thematic, exemplary, and clearly connected to the social sciences and social critique. For example, under the header 'the price for freedom', textbook authors discuss the Dutch Revolt in relation to World War II, the Vietnam War, and an imaginary nuclear war in order to counteract the idea of heroism that had often dominated textbook narratives about wars and revolts.

The fourth research period is characterized by heated discussions about national narratives and state interference with the contents of school history. 'New history' was criticized in both countries: it was said that students obtained hardly any content-related knowledge on the subject. Moreover, international developments around mass immigration, multicultural societies, an expanding Europe, and 9/11 fuelled debates about 'the' national identity and the future of the nation as such. Debates around school history were connected to notions of the national self-image from the past, present, and future.

Margaret Thatcher had hoped that the 'new history' trend could be reversed by a 'restoration' and introduced the National Curriculum in 1988. She argued that 'new history' undermined national pride and deeply regretted that the older British narrative of progress and imperial greatness had left the classroom. She spoke of an 'attack on our heritage and great past' and became convinced that the state must intervene. A similar trend was visible in the Netherlands, albeit later in time. The Dutch government sought to meet societal demands by installing a committee with the task to devise a plan for a renewed balance between knowledge and skills in all forms and levels of secondary education. In 2001, Committee De Rooij presented a report in which they proposed a system of ten eras, accompanied by forty-nine 'characteristic features' that emphasized national as well as Western European history. In 2007, these were integrated into the qualification descriptors of higher secondary education.

English textbooks copied elements from older textbook narratives but placed them within a different frame. Citizenship had become an important theme. Formerly celebrated sea heroes such as Drake and Hawkins became contested persons – pirates, thieves, and slave traders – in discussions about citizenship and the search for a post-imperial identity. While authors thus place much more emphasis on Elizabeth I, not least because the National Curriculum for history explicitly mentioned 'crowns' in its core unit, the queen is not perpetuated as a heroine. Instead, students are encouraged to question her status and to examine how she could 'steer' her image in public opinion. Dutch textbooks also invite students to examine why certain people had become heroes. Although historical heroes regained importance in the contemporary socio-political context, they were not simply perpetuated in the genre of textbooks. Rather, textbooks from both countries invited students to examine the *construction* process of national heroes. In this way, history didactics as part of the educational and pedagogical context mitigated the impact of socio-political developments on textbook narratives.

Whereas some educators and historians advocated a 'narrative iconoclasm' – aimed at the examination and deconstruction of national heroes and frames by teaching historical thinking skills, multiple perspectives, and new histories – others argued for a restoration and clear-cut national narratives in order to offer

immigrants a straightforward view of their new country with its accompanying national identity. For example, in 2010 an English publishing house aimed to 'restore' school history by reprinting textbooks from the past, such as the 1930s series by Carter and Mears. Whereas the David–Goliath allegory and the famous notion of 'standing alone' had disappeared in English textbook series from the 1980s and 1990s onwards, they were resurrected in the new millennium. Other vanished notions were equally revived in debates around English history education, such as an adapted version of 'our island story'.

The Netherlands also saw a powerful narrative discourse at this time. While (in)tolerance and freedom were perpetuated as important signifiers in the framing of sixteenth-century history, these were refurbished to accommodate the contemporary socio-political circumstances. The idea of progress in tolerance, for instance, was no longer perpetuated after 9/11. Furthermore, whereas Europe was seen as a promising framework for national narratives in the previous research period, this was no longer the case and one Dutch textbook series features an explicit narrative of decline. Under the theme 'a loss of freedom', contemporary European centralization politics are compared to those of Charles V and Philip II. These generated 'keys' underline the traditional interpretation of the Dutch Revolt as a fight for freedom.

The last research period thus displays a diffuse and complex image. Academic historiography influenced the history textbook series examined, which implemented, for instance, narratives about colonial history and the transatlantic slave trade. At the same time, the frames of national narratives were affected by socio-political events and processes (e.g. European integration, immigration, and the 'failure' of the multicultural society) and debates about 'them' and 'us'. While re-nationalization processes appealed to frames and keys narrated earlier, well-known examples were slightly adapted to fit the present and thus avoided remaining static. At the same time, the impact of the socio-political and narratological contexts was mitigated by history didactics and the educational and pedagogical contexts. Images, sources, and historical thinking skills were used to question and deconstruct the frames and narrative demands of textbooks, thus exposing explicitly the constructed character of history.

To conclude, this longitudinal study has distinguished the perpetuation of individual story elements from the perpetuation of narrative demands, frames, and keys in order to shed light on the less visible ways in which textbooks perpetuated national narratives between 1920 and 2010. Together with the integrated approach, beyond an analysis of the case studies in a particular section of the textbook, this distinction was essential as the results have shown. After World War II, both English and Dutch textbook authors felt a need for a re-interpretation based on the 'changed' reality in the present. Consequently, their textbooks propagate a 'new' interpretation and conception of history that suited

the 'new' reality of the time. Although various individual elements of national narratives are perpetuated, the narrative configuration of textbooks changed as shifts in the framing and keying process reveal. This demonstrates the power of the socio-political context, which dominated all four research periods but most of the time *not* in the form of direct political intervention or prescribed content. Instead, narrative demands, frames, and keys were perpetuated as long as the specific interpretation of the past was relevant for and a match with the present.

Apparently, mismatch also occurred. This comparative and longitudinal study has shown that, besides the macro-level of Wertsch's schematic narrative templates, a meso-level is equally important in the discussion and analysis of underlying patterns in the national narratives of history textbooks. Wertsch has argued that change only takes place at the level of specific narratives about specific events and persons, and that schematic narrative templates are dominated by 'conservatism and a resistance to change'. While this study acknowledges that national stories can change dramatically while underlying patterns remain the same, it has also shown that frames and keys can also change while individual story elements are still perpetuated. Certain frames and keys can fade into the background and new underlying patterns can emerge after drastic changes in a society or the world have taken place. Instead of highlighting a 'basic' narrative template within a cultural tradition like Wertsch does, this meso-level is concerned with the *plurality* of narrative templates within a certain cultural tradition and the dynamics of their dominance over time.

Another feature of this meso-level is the visibility of certain narrative patterns, in contrast with Wertsch's macro-level and the unwitting use of narrative templates. Some textbook authors explicitly mention in their introduction that they observe a pattern in history, which they seek to convey by generating underlying patterns in their narration of the national past. They create a chain of signification, derived from a combination of cross-references between histories, and recompose different times and spaces into a new configuration in order to give *meaning* to the past, the present, and the future.

This study's longitudinal and empirical approach has thus shown that the 'timeless truths' of national narratives are not as timeless as is often assumed. It is, therefore, important to historicize research on the structures and perpetuation processes of national narratives in the genre of textbooks. At the same time, Wertsch's macro-level remains relevant: *Echoing Events* has also shown how certain frames from the first research period returned in history textbooks from the fourth research period, albeit refurbished to a certain extent.

As the genre of history textbooks has recently become more dynamic and multi-layered, with hyperlinks to other media such as YouTube, a suggestion for further research is the examination of this hybrid source since forms of 'echoing' are not necessarily bound to printed texts. Does this hybrid textbook genre

reduce or strengthen underlying patterns in the narration and interpretation of national history? Further, whereas this study is an example of ‘close reading’ – examining both form and content of complete textbook series taken from a substantiated sample – ‘distant reading’ may also prove a valuable method for further research. This approach can reveal terminological patterns when a historicized glossary (e.g. concerning ‘nation’ or ‘citizenship’) is applied to a large textbook corpus. Another interesting lacuna for future research concerns history in textbooks for primary education. An analysis of these sources might lead to other outcomes. The appeal of ‘good stories’ is very important for children and their textbooks probably require a greater emphasis on narrative demands, framing, and keying.

Another gap to be considered for further research is analysis on the consumers of history textbooks. Whereas this study has focused on the production of national narratives over a long period of ninety years, it is also crucial to investigate how national narratives in textbooks are used and appropriated by students and teachers. In such a study the research would be primarily limited to the contemporary situation. Several scholars have already made a start with this type of research (for examples see chapter 1).

Finally, to gain more insight into the perpetuation of national narratives it is also important to look *beyond* the history textbook and to include, for instance, renditions for a large public. The perpetuation of national narratives was, and is, not only affected by school history and history textbooks; interdisciplinary, comparative research in various (inter)national media and (mnemonic) practices can provide more insight into the continuity as well as discontinuity of national narratives. Whereas ‘Brexiters’ and ‘Remainers’ both generated echoing events to the sixteenth-century victory over the Spanish Armada in the media, the national myth of the ‘stiff upper lip’ was no longer propagated in these contemporary debates: it quivered with rage instead.¹²⁸⁸

1288 Martin Wolf, ‘Brexit has replaced the UK’s stiff upper lip with quivering rage’, *Financial Times*, February 8, 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/ddb1ab46-0b57-11e8-8eb7-42f857ea9f09> (accessed June 6, 2022).

Appendix I – Sample of twelve English history textbook series, circa 1920–2010

Authors	Title	Publishing house	Period
Cecil Kerr, Susan Cunningham, F.A. Forbes	<p><i>The Grip-Fast History Books</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Book I: The Beginnings of Christian Britain</i> - <i>Book II: Medieval Britain</i> - <i>Book III: The Building of the British Empire</i> - <i>Book IV: The Middle Ages and the Renaissance</i> - <i>Book V: United Britain</i> 	London: Longmans, Green and Co. LTD	1924–1927*
Muriel Masfield et al.	<p><i>The House of History</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>The Basement. From the earliest men to the fall of Rome</i> - <i>The First Story. The Middle Ages</i> - <i>The Second Story. Early modern history</i> - <i>The Third Story. Later modern history</i> - <i>The Fourth Story. Modern social and industrial history</i> 	London: Nelson	1931–1964*
Ernest Wynn Williams	<p><i>Kingsway Histories for Seniors</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Book 1: From Roman Britain to 1485</i> - <i>Book 2: The Tudors and Stuarts</i> - <i>Book 3: George I to the Battle of Waterloo</i> - <i>Book 4: Modern Britain and the World</i> 	London: Evans Brothers Limited	1935–1965*

(Continued)

Authors	Title	Publishing house	Period
E.H. Carter and R.A.F. Mears	<i>A History of Britain</i> – <i>Book I: Early Times to 1485</i> – <i>Book II: 1485–1688</i> – <i>Book III: 1688–1815</i> – <i>Book IV: 1815–Present Day</i> – <i>Section I: 1422–1603</i> – <i>Section 2: 1485–1714</i> – <i>Section 3: 1603–1783</i> – <i>Section 4: 1783–Present Day</i> – <i>Section 5: 1688–Present Day</i>	Oxford: Clarendon Press	1937–1968*
John Johnston Bell	<i>The Freedom Histories</i> – <i>Volume I: In and out of Serfdom. 450 A.D. to 1485 A.D.</i> – <i>Volume 2: Freedoms in Study, Church and Field. 1485 A.D. to 1750 A.D.</i> – <i>Volume 3: The Effects of Geographical and Scientific Discovery on Freedom and Security in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries</i> – <i>Volume 4: Power and the People. The Constitution and its History</i>	Exeter: A. Wheaton & Company	1945–1953*
Samuel Arthur Williams and Robert Charles Williams	<i>The Four Freedoms Histories or the People We Are: A History for Boys and Girls</i> – <i>Volume I: The Earliest Times to A.D. 1485. The Making of a Nation</i> – <i>Volume II: Modern England 1485–1783. The National State</i> – <i>Volume III: Great Britain the Workshop of the World 1783–1870. Revolutions and Reforms</i> – <i>Volume IV: Great Britain and the World: 1870–1949. The Age of Competition</i>	London: George G. Harrap & Co. LTD.	1947–1963*
Rowland W. Purton	<i>New View Histories</i> – <i>No. 1: Our Heritage</i> – <i>No. 2: Our Commonwealth</i> – <i>No. 3: Our People</i> – <i>No. 4: Our Democracy</i>	London: Collins Clear-Type Press	1958–1968*

(Continued)

Authors	Title	Publishing house	Period
W.J.C. Gill and H.A. Colgate	British history for secondary schools – <i>Book I. Ancient Times to the Coming of the Normans</i> – <i>Book II. The Normans to 1485</i> – <i>Book III. 1485–1714</i> – <i>Book IV. 1688–1815</i> – <i>Book V. 1815 to the Present Day</i>	London: Edward Arnold	1966–1971*
Peter Moss	History Alive – <i>Introductory Book. To 1485</i> – <i>Book 1. 1485–1714</i> – <i>Book 2. 1688–1789</i> – <i>Book 3. 1789–1914</i> – <i>Book 4. 1900–The Present</i> – <i>Source Book. Readings and Exercises in British History. 1485 to the Present</i>	London: Blond Educational	1967–1976*
John Aylett	In Search of History – <i>Early Times–1066</i> – <i>1066–1485</i> – <i>1485–1714</i> – <i>1714–1900</i> – <i>The Twentieth Century</i>	London: Edward Arnold	1983–1999*
Josh Brooman, Angela Leonard and James Mason	A Sense of History – <i>Medieval Realms 1066–1500</i> – <i>The Making of the United Kingdom. Crowns, Parliaments and Peoples, 1500–1750</i> – <i>Expansion, Trade and Industry</i> – <i>The Era of the Second World War</i> – This series includes many more volumes.	Harlow: Longman	1991–1994*
Tony McAleavy, Elizabeth Sparey, Keith Worral, Andrew Wrenn	Presenting the Past – <i>Book 1: Britain 1066–1500</i> – <i>Book 2: Britain 1500–1750</i> – <i>Book 3: Britain 1750–1900</i> – <i>Book 4: The modern World</i>	London: Collins Educational	2001–2015

* The textbook series is reprinted at least until this year but might be reprinted over a longer period.

It is important to keep in mind that a textbook series can still be used for quite some time in the history classroom after the latest reprint.

Appendix II – Sample of twelve Dutch history textbook series, circa 1920–2010¹²⁸⁹

Authors	Title	Publishing house	Period
M.G. de Boer and Dr. J. Presser	<i>Beknopt leerboek der geschiedenis van het vaderland</i> (Concise textbook of the history of the nation) – <i>Deel I</i> – <i>Deel II</i>	Leiden: Sijthoff	1901– 1955*
J.W. Pik	<i>Overzicht der vaderlandsche geschiedenis</i> (Survey of national history) – <i>Eerste deel</i> – <i>Tweede deel (sinds ± 1648)</i>	Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Wil- link	1919– 1958*
Dr. E. Rijpma	<i>De ontwikkelingsgang der historie</i> (The progress of history) – <i>I: Oudheid en Middeleeuwen</i> – <i>IIA: Het tijdperk van 1500 tot 1789</i> – <i>IIB: Het tijdperk van 1500 tot 1815.</i> – <i>IIIA: Het tijdperk van 1789 tot heden</i> – <i>IIIB: Het tijdperk van 1815 tot heden</i>	Groningen: J.B. Wolters	1925– 1964*
A.C.J. Commissaris	<i>Leerboek der Nederlandse geschiedenis</i> (Textbook of Dutch history) – <i>Eerste deel. Tot 1795</i> – <i>Tweede deel. Van 1795 tot heden</i>	's Hertogenbosch: Malmberg	1935– 1961*

1289 Another widespread and well-known Dutch history textbook series in the last research period, ca. 1988–2010, is MeMo. Since one applicant of the NWO research project was involved in the production process of this textbook series, it was not included in the Dutch textbook sample.

(Continued)

Authors	Title	Publishing house	Period
Dr. A. Blonk and Dr. J. Romein	Leerboek der algemene en vaderlandse geschiedenis (Textbook of general and national history) – <i>Deel I: Oudheid en Middeleeuwen</i> – <i>Deel II: Nieuwe Geschiedenis en Franse Revolutie</i> – <i>Deel III: Nieuwere en Nieuwste Geschiedenis</i>	Groningen: J.B. Wolters	1940–1962*
Novem	Wereld in Wording (The world in the making) – <i>Deel 1: Tot 1715</i> – <i>Deel 2: Van 1715 tot heden</i> – <i>Deel 2: Nieuwe Geschiedenis</i> – <i>Deel 3: Nieuwste Geschiedenis</i> – <i>Deel 1. Tot 1500</i> – <i>Deel 2. Van 1500 tot 1900</i> – <i>Deel 3. De Twintigste Eeuw</i>	Den Haag: Van Goor Zonen	1954–1984*
A.J.V.M. Adang, Dr. F.E.M. Vercauteren et al.	Mensen en Machten (People and power) – <i>Deel 1</i> – <i>Deel 2</i> – <i>Deel 3</i>	Amsterdam: Meulenhoff Educatief	1962–1985*
L. Dalhuisen et al.	Sprekend Verleden (The past that speaks) – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 1</i> – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2</i> – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2a</i> – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 2b</i> – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 3</i> – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 3a</i> – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 3b</i> – <i>Een geschiedenis van de wereld 3c</i>	Haarlem: Gottmer Educatief Den Haag: Nijgh & Van Ditmar Educatief	1978–present
E.W. Heidt, Drs. C.P.W.F. Herzberg, A.J. Kaarsemaker, H. Telle, Drs. H. Ulrich, A.L. Verhoog, G. Vermeulen, Prof. Dr. H.L. Wesseling	Kijk op de Tijd (A look at the past) – <i>Leerlingenboek 1</i> – <i>Leerlingenboek 2</i> – <i>Leerlingenboek 3</i>	Den Bosch: Malmberg	1979–1995*
Drs. J. Toebes et al.	Vragen aan de Geschiedenis (Questions of history) – <i>Deel 1</i> – <i>Deel 2</i> – <i>Deel 3</i>	Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff	1983–1996*

(Continued)

Authors	Title	Publishing house	Period
A.H.J. Wilschut et al.	<i>Sporen</i> (Traces) – <i>Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw 1</i> – <i>Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw 2</i> – <i>Geschiedenis voor de onderbouw 3</i>	Groningen: Wolters- Noordhoff	1990– 2001
Leo Salemink and Jos Venner, eds.	<i>Feniks</i> (Phoenix) – <i>Leesboek 1</i> – <i>Leesboek 2</i> – <i>Leesboek 3</i>	Utrecht/ Zutphen: ThiemeMeu- lenhoff	2007- present

* The textbook series is reprinted at least until this year but might be reprinted over a longer period.

It is important to keep in mind that a textbook series can still be used for quite some time in the history classroom after the latest reprint.

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