

Review of periodical literature on the history of education published in 2016

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ABSTRACT

This review considers the periodical literature on the history of education published in 2016. It discusses general long-term trends in the field, but focuses mainly on the key areas of research in 2016 itself. The review is divided into several sections: ancient, medieval and early modern history; schooling and education policy; the history of universities and vocational education; histories of literacy, biography and gender; race, ethnicity and colonialism; youth and youth movements; science, medicine, health and welfare; and textbooks and the history curriculum.

KEYWORDS

history of education; periodical literature; academic journals

In this article, a planned annual feature of *History of Education*, we review the periodical literature published on the history of education in the year 2016.¹ The review is based on the 'Exe Libris' online bibliographical database produced by the History of Education Society (HES). Exe Libris surveys the content of 55 current and 13 former English-language journals, mostly published in the UK, identifying articles on the history of education, broadly defined.² These include the main history of education periodicals: *History of Education*, *Paedagogica Historica*, the *History of Education Quarterly* and *History of Education Review*, as well as the HES's own publication the *History of Education Researcher* (formerly the *History of Education Society Bulletin*). Exe Libris also covers many general and specialist historical journals, including the *English Historical Review*, *Social History*, *Economic History Review*, *Historical Journal*, *History Workshop Journal*, *Women's History Review*, *Gender and History*, *Urban History*, *Rural History* and the *International Journal of the History of Sport*. General education journals are less well covered, although the *British Journal of Educational Studies* is included. It should be emphasised that most of the journals included are British-based,³ with few if any US or Australian journals beyond the main ones dealing specifically with the history of education. On occasions Exe Libris has been retrospectively updated to include additional journals (the original list did not include *Paedagogica Historica*, the *History of Education Quarterly* and the *History of Education Review*), but it still covers primarily British journals. It is, however, the most comprehensive specialist resource of its kind, and it now has additional functionality for researchers in the form of links to Google Scholar from its records, which often enable those with institutional access to journals to move from database to article in just a couple of mouse clicks.

The purpose of this new feature of the journal is to review the main patterns in the periodical literature of the year, identifying the most significant subject areas and giving examples of the work published in them. Similar exercises are undertaken by

¹ The review covers articles with a publication date of 2016, and does not include those that may have been published online through systems such as Taylor and Francis's iFirst, used by this journal and many others.

² *Paedagogica Historica* publishes articles in French, Spanish and German, but most are in English.

³ *Irish Historical Studies* is also included.

other journals, including the *Economic History Review* and *Urban History*.⁴ For 2016 Exe Libris contains 315 articles, not all of which can be mentioned in a review of this length. Selectiveness is inevitable, as is the case in other such reviews. In making our selections we have attempted to capture the range of geographical areas covered in the Anglophone literature, which is one of the issues that we explore quantitatively in the first section below. Our review is not mainly ordered chronologically, except for our consideration of the small body of work on the period before c.1750; the bulk of it is organised thematically. It could have been ordered differently, for example by geographical orientation, and future reviewers may prefer to approach the task in this way. We will, however, make some comments in our first section about the spread of geographical coverage in journals such as this one, which of course reflects the recent rapid globalisation of Anglophone work in the sub-discipline.

This is not the first time that Exe Libris has been used to form the basis of a review of trends in the history of education. In 2007, William Richardson used the pre-digital version of it to produce a statistical analysis of publications from 1956 to 2005.⁵ In this article, therefore, we have included a separate section examining trends in the Exe Libris database since Richardson's last survey; we do not expect that this thorough breakdown will be given in subsequent annual reviews.

Survey of trends

It is now ten years since Richardson's survey of trends in the history of education, and it is a useful moment to reconsider changes over time in the periodical literature. Richardson showed that the volume of work published on the history of education expanded rapidly from the 1960s, and this was reflected in the establishment of new journals such as *Paedagogica Historica* in 1961, the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* in 1968 and *History of Education* in 1972, as well as the History of Education Society in 1967, which published the *History of Education Society Bulletin*. Richardson noted that this expansion of the field was 'checked' a little in the 1980s and that the 'postwar nadir of purposefulness and confidence within the British history of education community occurred' in the early 1990s.⁶ The field had regained its purpose and confidence by 2007, and it is clear from Table 1 that the number of articles published on the history of education has continued at a high level since then, with 298 being added to the database in 2015 and 315 in 2016. The field has clearly expanded, although this may in part reflect decisions to include certain articles in the database that might have been overlooked in previous years: examples are the articles, discussed in the 2016 survey below, on the role of public intellectuals in the twentieth century. Recent years have seen an undoubted broadening of what historians of education consider to be their province.

[[TABLE 1 NEAR HERE]]

⁴ 'Review of Periodical Literature Published in 2015', *Economic History Review* 70 (2017): 275-322 (multiple contributors); Jelle Haemers, Jeroen Puttevils, Gerrit Verhoeven and Tim Verlaan, 'Review of Periodical Articles', *Urban History* 44 (2017): 317-43. Some journals have a list of all articles published during the year, but we will not do so: readers can find the complete list by searching in Exe Libris.

⁵ William Richardson, 'British Historiography of Education in International Context at the Turn of the Century 1996-2006', *History of Education* 36 (2007): 569-93. At this point the database consisted of a card index, which was subsequently converted into the current digital format.

⁶ Richardson, 'British Historiography of Education', 569 (abstract), 575.

The historical periods covered by articles in the database are also summarised in Table 1, which shows some clear trends. First, the proportion – though not the absolute number – of articles on the period before c.1750 has declined. Moreover, there has been a significant decline in the proportion of articles that cover the period 1750-1868: whereas more than a third of articles covered this period in the 1960s, by 2010-14 the figure had fallen to 15.9%. Again, this proportional decline masks a growth in actual numbers, from 171 in the 1960s to 122 and 148 in, respectively, the first and second quinquennia of the twenty-first century. The second significant change is the growth of research on twentieth-century history of education. Unsurprisingly, the 1964-present category was very small in the 1960s, but this grew steadily to cover a third of all articles published in 2015, and the previous period, 1911-63, went from 12.9% of articles in the 1970s to 38.4% in 2010-14 and as many as 45.3% in the single year 2015. With growing chronological distance, a period becomes more the province of the historian than the sociologist, and it is not surprising that historians of education have been increasingly keen to investigate the mid-twentieth century. There has been an enormous expansion, in numerical terms, of articles on this period, and a relative decline of interest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is also interesting to note *where* the history of different periods has been published. In 2007 Richardson noted that ‘general historical journals [had] kept alive in Britain the study of education before 1750, while those historians closest to the profession of education [had], since the 1960s, been preoccupied with the period from 1750 in general, and the late nineteenth century in particular’.⁷ It has remained the case that the main focus of journals such as this one and *Paedagogica Historica* has been on the modern period, but there is some indication that modern educational history has found a foothold in general historical journals, as the review below for 2016 will demonstrate.

[[TABLE 2 NEAR HERE]]

There have also been some shifts of geographical focus in recent years, which is more apparent in some publications than others. This was not a significant feature of Richardson’s analysis, although he mentioned some developments in this direction.⁸ However, Richardson was writing on the cusp of a major change in the focus of *History of Education* in particular. Table 2 shows a gradual decline in the proportion of articles dealing with England and Great Britain, from 43.9% in the 1980s to 21.7% in the period 2010-14. The amount of research on England and Britain has remained fairly static, with a modest growth in the numbers of articles on Wales, Scotland and Ireland reflecting a wider interest in ‘four nations’ history as well as flourishing historiographies of these countries in recent decades. While research on the history of education in the British empire and Commonwealth has continued at about the same rate, the ‘Other countries’ category has grown significantly, in both number and proportion, since its nadir in the 1980s. This reflects in particular a tendency for scholars in non-English-speaking parts of the world to publish in English, but also a turn towards transnational and comparative history in some places. *History of Education* now publishes considerably more work on non-British history than on Britain itself, and – although it has always had an international scope

⁷ Ibid., 572.

⁸ Ibid., 582-3.

– this represents a broadening of focus. As well as British history (including England and Scotland), in 2016 the journal carried articles on the Netherlands, the USA, Ireland, Eastern Europe, mandatory Palestine and Israel, Italy, Australia, Finland, the late Ottoman Empire, Switzerland, Malaya, Zambia, Luxembourg, Spain, France, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Brazil, and no fewer than five articles about Sweden.⁹ Anglophone history of education is a global field of research.

[[TABLE 3 NEAR HERE]]

Table 3 breaks the database down by selected subject areas. In Exe Libris, each article is allocated to one or more (a maximum of three) categories, and the incidence of these categories can be traced over time. Again, some note of caution is required here, as it can be an arbitrary decision in which category or categories to place an article.¹⁰ Indeed, the categories themselves reflect the state of the field at the time when they were devised, and some may not be suitable for the current state of the periodical literature.¹¹ However, some broad trends can be discerned, as Table 3 shows. One of the most striking is the steady growth of publications on the history of universities. This has been a field of longstanding interest, reflected in (among other things) the formation of the journal *History of Universities* in 1981, but there has been a significant increase in the number and proportion of articles devoted to this topic since the early 2000s. Other, more predictable, areas of growth are the history of women’s and girls’ education and studies of race and ethnicity, while the past couple of years have seen increased coverage of the history of childhood and youth – topics which are on the edges of the history of education but often intersect with it. There has also been a modest growth in work on the history of youth movements, although this apparent broadening of interest reflects in part the coverage of the database – and this in turn may reflect changing conceptions of what counts as the history of education. Thus, for example, some articles on youth movements from the 1980s and 1990s do not appear in the database, even though we would now consider them to be the history of education: a good example is the debate in the *English Historical Review* in 1986-7 about the nature of twentieth-century Scouting.¹² Another area of rapid growth has been the history of policy, although articles on local administration peaked in the 1970s and 1980s and have declined since. Another declining area is the history of private and ‘public’ schools, and this again partly reflects the internationalisation of research. Meanwhile, as will be seen below, international studies of policy have been especially widespread, and this has contributed to the significant growth of this area. On the other hand, a significant decline – registered in Table 1 – has taken place in the number and proportion of bibliographical articles. This reflects in part the disappearance of the annual survey of periodical literature from the *History of Education Society Bulletin*.

⁹ On this point, see Mark Freeman, Tom Woodin and Susannah Wright, ‘History of Education (UK)’, in J. L. Huerta Hernández, A. Cagnolati and A. Diestro Fernández (eds), *Connecting History of Education: Scientific Journals as International Tools for a Global World* (Salamanca: FahrenHouse, 2015), 106.

¹⁰ It is possible to suggest amendments by contacting the owners of the database via the web interface.

¹¹ There is a certain Anglocentricity to the categories: for example, they include ‘Private and “public” schools’, ‘Local administration, school boards, LEAs’ and ‘Secondary technical schools’.

¹² Allen Warren, ‘Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain c.1900–1920’, *English Historical Review* 101 (1986): 376–98; John Springhall, Anne Summers and Allen Warren, ‘Debate’, *English Historical Review* 102 (1987): 934–50.

Considering other areas that feature heavily in the literature, Table 3 shows a steady level of research on the churches and religions in education, and on the role and status of teachers.

We now move to a detailed consideration of the periodical literature for 2016. This is broken down at first by period and then by theme.

Ancient, medieval and early modern history

Ancient and medieval history of education, in the journals covered by our database, is even more scant than in the periods examined by Richardson. Although 2016 may be a somewhat atypical year – in most years, for example, there is some coverage of the ancient and medieval worlds in *History of Education* – the main focus has been on more recent periods. Only seven articles out of 315 focused on the period before 1500, comprising 2.2 per cent of the total,¹³ compared with around 10 per cent in the period 1956-2005. Most of these appeared in specialist period-specific journals such as the *Classical Quarterly* and *Early Medieval Europe*, along with popular articles in *History Today*. This modern focus is reflected in the programmes of History of Education Society annual conferences, and in the focus of teaching programmes in Faculties of Education in Britain. The ancient and medieval worlds are often the province of philosophers of education rather than historians. Even the history of universities focuses mainly on the early modern and modern periods, though some general histories of education – for example, *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (2015)¹⁴ – have tried to ensure that earlier periods receive the attention that they deserve. The history of universities has a close relationship with intellectual history and histories of literacy and the book, one example being Graham Barrett and George Woudhuysen's article on the *Epistulae Austrasicae*, a collection of letters from early medieval Germany.¹⁵

The period 1500-1750 is also less prominent in the history of education than was, at one time, the case. Table 1 in this review, and Richardson's survey, both demonstrate this.¹⁶ For 2016 *Exe Libris* records 18 articles dealing with this period, or 5.7 per cent. (Even for the period 2001-5 it was 11 per cent.) A large proportion of these are concerned with continental Europe, notably Germany – in articles by Alison Rowlands, Meelis Friedenthal, Pietro D. Omodeo and Hannah Murphy – and southern Europe, in articles by Alejandro Gómez Camacho and Jesús Casado Rodrigo, Renee Raphael and Luís Miguel Carolino (see also below).¹⁷ Many of these

¹³ Note that the numbers and percentages here may not tally with those in Table 1 above, because – as also noted at the table itself – articles can be placed in more than one category.

¹⁴ Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman and Lindsay Paterson (eds), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

¹⁵ Graham Barrett and George Woudhuysen, 'Assembling the Austrasian Letters at Trier and Lorsch', *Early Medieval Europe* 24 (2016): 3-57.

¹⁶ Richardson, 'British Historiography of Education', 592. Note that Richardson gives a higher percentage than we do here, because his survey excludes bibliographical and historiographical articles, as well as 'general histories'.

¹⁷ Alison Rowlands, 'Gender, Ungodly Parents and a Witch Family in Seventeenth-Century Germany', *Past and Present* 232 (2016): 45-86; Meelis Friedenthal, 'Nominal Definition in the Seventeenth-Century University Disputations of the German Cultural Space', *History of Universities* 29 (2016): 65-87; Pietro D. Omodeo, 'Central European Polemics over Descartes: Johannes Placentinus and His Academic Opponents at Frankfurt on Oder (1653-1656)', *History of Universities* 29 (2016): 29-64; Hannah Murphy, 'Common Places and Private Spaces: Libraries, Record-Keeping and Orders of Information in Sixteenth-Century Medicine', *Past and Present* 230 (2016): 253-68; Alejandro Gómez Camacho and Jesús Casado Rodrigo, 'Literacy Education and Orthography in the Spanish Golden

concern intellectual history and the history of universities and libraries, with a particular interest in the history of science, which is certainly growing among scholars of this period. Overlaps with the history of medicine, which are increasingly apparent in studies of later periods,¹⁸ can also be seen in Murphy's article, which appears in *Past and Present*.¹⁹ For Britain, there are several articles on this period in regional journals such as *Midland History* and *Northern History* (Victoria Spence, Stephen K. Roberts and Vanessa Wilkie) as well as the *Scottish Historical Review*, where Stephen J. Reid's valuable study of Scottish Latin literature in the period c.1480-1700 traces key trends in printing and the evolution of language use among literate Scots.²⁰ The links between literacy and politics are explored in Roberts's article on the diary of the Worcestershire royalist Henry Townshend during the English civil war. Similarly, Wilkie examines the correspondence and textual annotations of an early seventeenth-century controversialist Lady Eleanor Douglas, in a useful contribution to the history of women's writing. Unsurprisingly, religion also features prominently in histories of education in England during this period, notably in studies by Eric Bramhall and Spencer J. Weinreich.²¹

The remainder of this review deals with articles on the period since c.1750, which form the vast bulk of published research on the history of education in 2016.

Schools and education policy

It has become commonplace to remark that historians of education have become less interested in schools and schooling, and more interested in a wider range of educational institutions, not to mention education that takes place beyond formal organisations.²² Gary McCulloch has explored in detail the many different directions that historians of education have taken since taking heed of Lawrence Cremin's exhortation in 1965 to 'project [their] concerns beyond the schools to a host of other institutions that educate: families, churches, libraries, museums, publishers, benevolent societies, youth groups, agricultural fairs, radio networks, military

Age, 1531-1631', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 646-60; Renee Raphael, 'Eclecticism as a Vibrant Philosophical Program: Claude Berigard and Mauro Mancini on the University of Pisa', *History of Universities* 29 (2016): 1-28; Luís Miguel Carolino, 'Science, Patronage and Academies in Early Seventeenth-Century Portugal: The Scientific Academy of the Nobleman and University Professor André de Almada', *History of Science* 54 (2016): 107-37.

¹⁸ See Laura Kelly, 'Irish Medical Student Culture and the Performance of Masculinity c.1880-1930', *History of Education* 46 (2017): 39-57; see also below.

¹⁹ 2nd ref

²⁰ Victoria Spence, 'Adapting to the Elizabethan Settlement: Religious Faith and the Drive Towards Conformity in Craven, 1559 to 1579', *Northern History* 53 (2016): 189-219; Stephen K. Roberts, 'The Uses of Scribal Publication in the Making of a Royalist: Henry Townshend of Worcestershire, His "Diary" and Parliament, 1640-3', *Midland History* 41 (2016): 152-67; Vanessa Wilkie, 'Reading and Writing Between the Lines: Lady Eleanor Douglas, a Midland Visionary and her Annotated Pamphlets', *Midland History* 41 (2016): 168-83; Steven J. Reid, 'A Latin Renaissance in Reformation Scotland? Print Trends in Scottish Latin Literature, c.1480-1700', *Scottish Historical Review* 95 (2016): 1-29.

²¹ Eric Bramhall, 'Penitence, Preachers and Politics 1533-47: Thomas Cranmer's Influence on Church Teaching on Penance during the Henrician Reformation', *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 687-707; Spencer J. Weinreich, 'Edward VI's Treatise on the Papal Supremacy and the Education of a Theologian-King', *History of Education Researcher* 98 (2016): 66-75.

²² Gary McCulloch and Tom Woodin, 'Towards a Social History of Learners and Learning', *Oxford Review of Education* 36 (2010): 133-40.

organizations, and research institutes'.²³ More than half a century later, readers will find in this review examples of articles on almost all these institutions. By contrast, studies of individual schools are comparatively rare in the periodical literature for 2016, although some are mentioned in other sections of this review. Two articles in the Australian journal *History of Education Review* are exceptions: Neville Douglas Buch and Beryl Roberts present a quantitative study of pupils from a Brisbane school in the early twentieth century, while Tony James Brady considers the education of warders' children at the St Helena Penal Establishment in Queensland in the late nineteenth.²⁴ In the *History of Education Researcher* John Black presents an account of a single English secondary modern school, based on a range of sources including his own recollections of life as a pupil and a school inspector's report from 1959.²⁵ Other historians look at school systems and the wider roles that they played. In another Australian study published in the *History of Education Review*, Carole Hooper relates the issues of selection and curriculum content in a case study of mid-nineteenth-century Victoria.²⁶ Rowan Faye Steineker shows how, in the 1840s and 1850s, the Creek Nation in North America developed a system of schools that enabled them both to meet their own needs and to resist some of the encroachments of the central government – they were able to retain 'political control over their own schools'.²⁷ For a more recent period, Patrice Milewski, using oral history interviews conducted in the 1990s with pupils who attended schools in Ontario in the 1930s, makes a number of points about the experience of schooling, particularly concerning perceptions of the teacher and the uses of corporal punishment.²⁸ For an earlier period, Esbjörn Larsson has two articles in this journal dealing with monitorial education in Sweden from the 1820s to the 1840s, offering insights into both educational policy and the pedagogies of monitorial schooling in this period.²⁹

The history of educational policy remains an area of interest, including in many education journals that are not covered by our database. Fifty-one articles appear in the category 'The state, policies, planning, administration', or 16.2 per cent of the total for 2016 (see Table 3). Twentieth-century education policy remains of interest: Hsiao-Yu Ku, for example, examines R. H. Tawney's views on policy during the Second World War, and Gary McCulloch shows how Labour Party education policy – especially in relation to selection and comprehensivisation – evolved during

²³ Gary McCulloch, *The Struggle for the History of Education* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), esp. 16, 71 and chapters 7-8; Lawrence Cremin, *The Wonderful World of Ellwood Patterson Cubberley* (New York: Teachers College, 1965), 48.

²⁴ Tony James Brady, "Raw, free", and "almost rude": Educating Warders' Children on St Helena Penal Establishment', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 103-14; Neville Douglas Buch and Beryl Roberts, 'No Regrets in the Evening of Life: Access, Equity and Exclusivity at Junction Park State School in the Early Twentieth Century', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 69-87.

²⁵ John Black, 'A Micro-History of Nelson Haden County Secondary Modern Boys School, Trowbridge, Wiltshire, Focusing on the HMI Inspection of October 1959', *History of Education Researcher* 97 (2016): 43-51.

²⁶ Carole Hooper, 'Access and Exclusivity in Nineteenth-Century Victorian Schools', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 16-27.

²⁷ Rowan Faye Steineker, "'Fully Equal to That of Any Children": Experimental Creek Education in the Antebellum Era', *History of Education Quarterly* 56 (2016): 273-300, quoted at 298.

²⁸ Patrice Milewski, 'An Oral History of Students' Experiences of Teachers and School during the 1930s', *History of Education Researcher* 97 (2016): 4-13.

²⁹ Esbjörn Larsson, "'Cheap, efficient, and easy to implement"? Economic Aspects of Monitorial Education in Swedish Elementary Schools during the 1820s', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 18-37; Esbjörn Larsson, 'Classes in Themselves and for Themselves: The Practice of Monitorial Education for Different Social Classes in Sweden, 1820-1843', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 511-29.

the twenty years between the end of the war and the issue of Circular 10/65 in 1965, focusing on the contribution of Michael Stewart in particular.³⁰ Amy Palmer looks at nursery education policy in England, arguing that the low priority given to this sector in the period 1918-72 resulted in a chaotic landscape of inadequate provision whose effects are still being felt in the twenty-first century. As Palmer notes, '[t]he history of early years education policy in England is a severely neglected field of enquiry': this emphasises the opportunities that remain for historians of education to cover largely uncharted territory, even for twentieth-century Britain.³¹ Policy in nineteenth-century Britain is also examined: Andrew T. Knudsen, in *Paedagogica Historica*, offers a careful study of examinations policy in England and Wales in the period 1846-62, prior to the emergence of the 'Revised Code'; while David Mitch, in the same journal, demonstrates the importance of middle-class philanthropy in the development of elementary schooling.³²

Studies of policy in other contexts abound. Finance is a key theme, and is the subject of a special issue of *Paedagogica Historica*, entitled 'The Backbone of Schooling: Entangled Histories of Funding and Educational Administration', edited by Carla Aubry Kradolfer and Michael Geiss. Articles in this issue include the one by Mitch mentioned above, Johannes Westberg's study of the funding of mid-nineteenth-century Swedish elementary schools, Dick van Gijlswijk on the state financing of Dutch primary education, and Anne Bosche on educational planning units in Switzerland in the 1960s and 1970s.³³ Other studies address the recent impact of globalisation on national education policies, and indeed the emergence of supra-national institutions of educational governance. An example of the latter is Regula Bürgi's examination of the dissemination of 'output governance' by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in the 1960s, which, it is argued, has had a long-term impact on the educational governance of European countries.³⁴ Bürgi's paper also appears in the *Paedagogica Historica* special issue on funding. Another study of globalisation and its impact is the article by Polychronis Sifakakis *et al* on the recent history of Greek policy: these authors explore the impact of 'global governance discourse' on the language and practice of policy-makers in

³⁰ Hsiao-Yuh Ku, 'Fighting for Social Democracy: R.H. Tawney and Educational Reconstruction in the Second World War', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 266-85; Gary McCulloch, 'British Labour Party Education Policy and Comprehensive Education: From *Learning to Live* to Circular 10/65', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 225-45.

³¹ Amy Palmer, 'Nursery Schools or Nursery Classes? Choosing and Failing to Choose between Policy Alternatives in Nursery Education in England, 1918-1972', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 103-21, quoted at 106.

³² Andrew T. Knudsen, 'Profession, "performance" and Policy: Teachers, Examinations and the State in England and Wales, 1846-1862', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 507-24; David Mitch, 'Schooling for All via Financing by Some: Perspectives from Early Modern and Victorian England', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 325-48.

³³ Mitch, 'Schooling for All via Financing by Some'; Johannes Westberg, 'Making Mass Schooling Affordable: In-Kind Taxation and the Establishment of an Elementary School System in Sweden, 1840-1870', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 349-63; Dick van Gijlswijk, 'Early Central Regulation, Slow Financial Participation: Relations between Primary Education and the Dutch State from ±1750-1920', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 364-79; Anne Bosche, 'The Back Office of School Reform: Educational Planning Units in German-Speaking Switzerland (1960s and 1970s)', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 380-94.

³⁴ Regula Bürgi, 'Systemic Management of Schools: The OECD's Professionalisation and Dissemination of Output Governance in the 1960s', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 408-22.

Greece.³⁵ Some articles, like this one, straddle the boundary between history and policy studies, with particular examples appearing in the *Journal of Educational Administration and History*. Like Sifakakis *et al*, Greg Thompson and Nicole Mockler take a Foucauldian approach to recent policy in Australia, reflecting on aspects of the 'audit culture'.³⁶ Indeed, a review article in the same journal by Richard Niesche asks 'What Use is Foucault in Education Today?'.³⁷ Niesche's review considers recent books by Stephen Ball and Donald Gillies,³⁸ and agrees with Ball that some aspects of Foucault's work can prove useful in writing a history of education policy.

Universities and vocational education

One of the most striking developments in recent years has been the growth of historical interest in universities: there are 79 articles on higher education in 2016, compared with 80 in the whole of the 1980s, 83 in the 1990s and 190 in the period 2000-09. As a relative proportion of work on the history of education, this is a striking trend, as Table 3 above clearly shows. With broader links to intellectual and political history, some of the articles on universities are discussed elsewhere in this review, but there are many other contributions on a range of international topics. A special issue of the *History of Education Review*, edited by Julia Horne and Tamson Pietsch, is devoted to universities and the First World War. In it, among other contributions, Horne draws attention to the role of university women on the 'knowledge front': this arena of war 'slipped and slid across the duality of home and battle fronts' and also lasted into the years of peace.³⁹ Horne shows how two particular women, the medical researcher and doctor Elsie Wood and the headmistress and trade unionist Lucy Woodcock, found that the knowledge front opened up opportunities for women which extended beyond the war itself. Geoffrey Sherington's article in the same issue examines the impact of the war on two British liberal academic historians, James Bryce and H. A. L. Fisher: the latter, of course, is perhaps best known for his role in the Education Act of 1918.⁴⁰ Also in the special issue, articles by Glenda Sluga and by Kate Darian-Smith and James Waghorne consider the issues of commemoration and memorialisation of the war, which have been attracting considerable interest in recent years.⁴¹

Higher education policy in various countries is a feature of the literature: Douglas Rhein, for example, considers the historical and contemporary international influences on the Thai university system, while Uri Cohen and Adi Sapir examine the

³⁵ Polychronis Sifakakis, Anna Tsatsaroni, Antigone Sarakinioti and Menie Kourou, 'Governance and Knowledge Transformations in Educational Administration: Greek Responses to Global Policies', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 48 (2016): 35-67.

³⁶ Greg Thompson and Nicole Mockler, 'Principals of Audit: Testing, Data and "Implicated Advocacy"', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 48 (2016): 1-18.

³⁷ Richard Niesche, 'What Use is Foucault in Education Today?', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 48 (2016): 113-18.

³⁸ Stephen Ball, *Foucault, Power and Education* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013); Donald A. Gillies, *Educational Leadership and Michel Foucault* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

³⁹ Julia Horne, 'The "Knowledge Front", Women, War and Peace', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 151-67, quoted at 153.

⁴⁰ Geoffrey Sherington, 'British Academics, Liberalism, and the First World War', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 198-211.

⁴¹ Glenda Sluga, 'Nationalism, the First World War, and Sites of International Memory', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 212-27; Kate Darian-Smith and James Waghorne, 'Australian Universities and the Commemoration of the First World War', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 239-55.

models of governance adopted by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem during the twentieth century.⁴² Meanwhile, Petr Chalupický and Zdenka Johnson show how different pre-existing traditions of education shaped the development of Czech and Slovak ‘economic universities’ in the post-Second World War period, despite the single policy adopted across the unified Czechoslovakia.⁴³ National disciplinary traditions are also examined: one example is Nick Witham’s article in the *Historical Journal* on Richard Hofstadter’s popular book *The American Political Tradition*, published in 1948. Witham argues that Hofstadter paid close attention to both ‘popularity’ and ‘complexity’ in his work, which was a significant example of both academic professionalisation and influential popular liberal ‘middlebrow’ writing in the early post-war years.⁴⁴ Another post-war academic development – the establishment of an Area Studies Division at the 6th Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* in Paris – is the subject of an article by Ioana Popa in the journal *History of the Human Sciences*.⁴⁵ Other contributions to the study of specific disciplines include two interesting pieces on British sociology: John Smyth re-examines Dennis Marsden’s work from the 1950s and 1960s and argues for its continuing relevance for contemporary sociologists of education, while Martyn Hammersley shows how a dispute about ‘Marxist bias’ in an Open University sociology course in the 1970s reflected wider cultural and inter-generational changes from the late 1960s.⁴⁶

This work on public intellectuals – Witham’s article, mentioned above, is another example⁴⁷ – reflects a large body of literature in 2016 in the category ‘Political parties and movements’. Thirty-two articles appear under this heading, some of which have already been discussed; many deal with British topics but there are others on the USA, Switzerland, Nazi Germany, France, Argentina and Spain, to name a few. Several articles address Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and Cold War politics. György Péteri, in *Social History*, explores the history of the academic fields of sociology and economics in Hungary in the late 1960s and early 1970s, while Monica E. Mincu, in this journal, considers the relationship between Soviet and Western models of education during the Cold War, particularly under the impact of globalisation.⁴⁸ Robert Hornsby considers youth tourists from capitalist countries to the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 1960s, along with international students; between them these groups numbered in the hundreds of thousands in the 1960s and

⁴² Douglas Rhein, ‘Westernisation and the Thai Higher Education System: Past and Present’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 48 (2016): 261-74; Uri Cohen and Adi Sapir, ‘Models of Academic Governance during a Period of Nation-Building: The Hebrew University in the 1920s-1960s’, *History of Education* 45 (2016): 602-20.

⁴³ Petr Chalupický and Zdenka Johnson, ‘Differences between Czech and Slovak Economic Higher Education from 1945 to 1953’, *History of Education* 45 (2016): 758-74.

⁴⁴ Nick Witham, ‘Popular History, Postwar Liberalism, and the Role of the Public Intellectual in Richard Hofstadter’s *The American Political Tradition* (1948)’, *Historical Journal* 59 (2016): 1133-55.

⁴⁵ Ioana Popa, ‘International Construction of Area Studies in France during the Cold War: Insights from the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* 6th Section’, *History of Human Sciences* 29, no. 4 (2016): 125-50.

⁴⁶ John Smyth, ‘“Education and the working class”: A Conversation with the Work of Dennis Marsden and His Contribution to the Sociology of Education’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 48 (2016): 275-89; Martyn Hammersley, ‘An Ideological Dispute: Accusations of Marxist Bias in the Sociology of Education during the 1970s’, *Contemporary British History* 30 (2016): 242-59.

⁴⁷ Witham, ‘Popular History’.

⁴⁸ György Péteri, ‘Contested Socialisms: The Conflict between Critical Sociology and Reform Economics in Communist Hungary, 1967-71’, *Social History* 41 (2016): 249-66; Monica E. Mincu, ‘Communist Education as Modernisation Strategy? The Swings of the Globalisation Pendulum in Eastern Europe (1947-1989)’, *History of Education* 45 (2016): 319-34.

1970s.⁴⁹ Articles like this reflect a growing interest in the politics and education of Warsaw Pact countries. Turning to Britain, in 2016 the *English Historical Review* carried three articles which dealt with intellectual history, each of which has a relationship to the history of education: the paper by Kirby mentioned below, and also Ben Jackson's study of neoliberal influences on the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties, which has implications for the history of education policy.⁵⁰ The third, by Alexandre Campsie, demonstrates the vibrancy of 'progressive' thought among politically unaffiliated Left intellectuals from the 1930s to the 1950s, whose debates 'fed into' the emergence of the 'New Left'. Campsie considers the sociological work of Charles Madge and Michael Young, among others, and the interest in the 'politics of everyday life' – a 'more individualist strand of British left-wing thought, interested in recovering the subjectivity and diversity of everyday life'.⁵¹ In a similar vein, Laura Carter shows how a new social history, 'the history of everyday life', developed after the First World War; this epitomised by the historians Charles and Marjorie Quennell, whose books were very popular and who were involved in a range of informal educational activities, including broadcasting and the Geffrye Museum in London. Carter argues that 'the history of everyday life' should be given due weight in accounts of the emergence of social history in the twentieth century. In the past this historiographical story has largely been told in relation to developments within the universities and adult education in the mid-twentieth century.⁵²

As is usually the case, a small but significant body of research on the history of vocational and workplace education appears in the literature for 2016. Agricultural education featured in some of these articles, including contributions by Garrett Gowen, Rachel Friedensen and Ezekiel Kimball on Meiji Japan and Peter M. Jones (see also below) on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, as well as Ezwan Arman, Mohd Zufri Mamat and Maisarah Hasbullah (see also below) on colonial Malaya.⁵³ These were among a number of contributions on the history of vocational and workplace education, including an article in this journal by Philip Eigenmann and Michael Geiss on 'apprentice activism' in Switzerland from 1880 to 1950.⁵⁴ Eigenmann and Geiss argue that the apprentices' protests seen elsewhere were absent from Switzerland due to the 'corporatist organisation' of vocational education, which left room for various other agencies to represent apprentices' interests; as a result what emerged was the 'professionalisation of paternalism' in Switzerland.⁵⁵ In

⁴⁹ Robert Hornsby, 'The Enemy Within? The Komsomol and Foreign Youth Inside The Post-Stalin Soviet Union, 1957-1985', *Past and Present* 232 (2016): 237-78.

⁵⁰ James Kirby, 'R. H. Tawney and Christian Social Teaching: *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* Reconsidered', *English Historical Review* 131 (2016): 793-822; Ben Jackson, 'Currents of Neo-Liberalism: British Political Ideologies and the New Right, c.1955-1979', *English Historical Review* 131 (2016): 823-50.

⁵¹ Alexandre Campsie, 'Mass-Observation, Left Intellectuals and the Politics of Everyday Life', *English Historical Review* 131 (2016): 92-121, quoted at 120 and 121.

⁵² Laura Carter, 'The Quennells and the "History of Everyday Life" in England, c.1918-69', *History Workshop Journal* 81 (2016): 106-34.

⁵³ Garrett Gowen, Rachel Friedensen and Ezekiel Kimball, 'Boys, Be Ambitious: William Smith Clark and the Westernisation of Japanese Agricultural Extension in the Meiji Era', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 542-58; Peter M. Jones, 'Making Chemistry the "Science" of Agriculture, c.1760-1840', *History of Science* 54 (2016): 169-94; Ezwan Arman, Mohd Zufri Mamat and Maisarah Hasbullah, 'Agricultural Education as a Medium for the Transmission of Western Science during British Rule in Malaya, 1905-1957', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 587-601.

⁵⁴ Philipp Eigenmann and Michael Geiss, 'Doing it for Them: Corporatism and Apprentice Activism in Switzerland, 1880-1950', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 570-86.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 585-6.

the different context of Ireland, Marie Clarke examines vocational education for girls in the mid-twentieth century, relating this both to secondary education and to the female labour market.⁵⁶ In 2016 there were also reflections on the role of academics in industrial relations, highlighted in three contributions to a 'symposium' in *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* marking the fiftieth anniversary of the Donovan Commission (1965-8), by Peter Ackers, George Bain and William Brown.⁵⁷ It is worth noting that few articles in 2016 were devoted specifically to adult and workers' education, although an article in *Midland History* on nineteenth-century Birmingham debating societies by Toshihiko Iwama shows that some scholars continue to work on this area.⁵⁸ Other recent work that deals with adult education – such as the articles by Scott-Brown and Hutton noted in the next section – has tended to focus on the wider intellectual and political context rather than on the institutions *per se*.⁵⁹

The history of literacy

An area of longstanding interest that continues to feature heavily in the periodical literature is the history of literacy and reading/writing practices. There are far fewer quantitative studies than was once the case: few historians now focus on the 'signature literacy' that was a staple of social science history in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, and which featured heavily in some general histories of education.⁶⁰ The category 'literacy and books' contains 30 articles in our database for 2016, almost a tenth of the total, and covering the medieval period to the late twentieth century. Magazine reading, of very different kinds, is the subject of articles by Ian B. Stewart and Harry Cocks. Stewart uses the *Celtic Magazine* as a lens through which to view the Scottish cultural nationalist movement of the 1870s and 1880s, while Cocks uses the records of a police investigation from 1950 to explore the readership of pornographic magazines and, in particular, the ways in which these readers justified their interest to the authorities and to themselves.⁶¹ The link between reading and features in research on other periods, too. For Kathryn Gleadle, in *Past and Present*, the 'emergence of juvenile literature and reading practices' was one of a number of developments, including in the field of formal education, that facilitated the development of political identity among young Britons in the late eighteenth century –

⁵⁶ Marie Clarke, 'Education for Girls in Ireland: Secondary and Vocational Curricular Provision, 1930-1960', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 79-102.

⁵⁷ Peter Ackers, 'The Oxford School of Industrial Relations: Fifty Years after the 1965-1968 Donovan Commission: Introduction: Who Were the Oxford School and Why Did They Matter?', *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 37 (2016): 201-7; George Bain, 'A Canadian's Reflections on the Oxford School', *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 37 (2016): 208-14; William Brown, 'The Oxford School at Donovan', *Historical Studies in Industrial Relations* 37 (2016): 215-21.

⁵⁸ Toshihiko Iwama, 'Shaping Civic Culture through Public Discussion: The Debating Societies of Birmingham, c.1850-c.1890', *Midland History* 41 (2016): 57-70.

⁵⁹ Sophie Scott-Brown, 'The Art of the Organiser: Raphael Samuel and the Origins of the History Workshop', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 372-90; Alexander Neil Hutton, '"A Repository, a Switchboard, a Dynamo": H. L. Beales, a Historian in a Mass Media Age', *Contemporary British History* 30 (2016): 407-26.

⁶⁰ See for example W. B. Stephens, *Education in Britain 1750-1914* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), chapter 2.

⁶¹ Ian B. Stewart, 'Of Crofters, Celts and Claymores: The *Celtic Magazine* and the Highland Cultural Nationalist Movement, 1875-88', *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 88-113; Harry Cocks, '"The Social Picture of Our Own Times": Reading Obscene Magazines in Mid-Twentieth-Century Britain', *20th Century British History* 27 (2016): 171-94.

a development that amounted to a 'juvenile enlightenment'.⁶² Returning to the twentieth century, two articles examine reading in the context of war, from very different perspectives: Sutcliffe considers British and Australasian soldiers' reading and educational practices during the First World War; and Spencer uses W. E. Johns's books about a fictional female pilot, 'Worrals of the WAAF', to draw wider conclusions about the gendering of informal education in the mid-twentieth century.⁶³ Both these articles feature in a special issue of *Paedagogica Historica* on 'Education, War and Peace', edited by Gary McCulloch and Georgina Brewis. Fewer contributions focus on technologies and pedagogies of writing, but Matthew Eddy considers eighteenth-century Scotland and children's acquisition of 'scribal skills' in formal learning environments and elsewhere.⁶⁴

Biography and gender

There has been something of a resurgence of biographical studies and life histories in the history of education, and this is reflected a number of contributions to the literature in 2016, many of which consider women's educational lives. Lorraine Screene uses a range of archival sources – some of which have been digitised – to examine aspects of the life and ideas of Constance Maynard, one of the founders of Westfield College for women, of which she was 'mistress' from 1882 to 1913. Screene's sources enable her to demonstrate the role that religious belief played in Maynard's life and career.⁶⁵ Kate Rousmaniere examines the experiences of a Birmingham (UK) infant head teacher, Dorothy Walker, during the Second World War. Using Walker's letters as her main source, Rousmaniere shows how her subject not only negotiated the challenges posed by the war itself, but also challenged traditionalist cultures of education and a masculine educational hierarchy.⁶⁶ Meritxell Simon-Martin also uses one woman's letters to reconstruct an aspect of the past, though her work – on the painter Barbara Bodichon – is more focused on the forging of identity and, in the case of Bodichon, the ways in which, through her letters, she articulated her individuality and subjectivity. Simon-Martin's article is a valuable contribution to the historiography of literacy, as well as to women's history, biography and the history of art.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, Ann K. McClellan considers a well-known writer, Vera Brittain, tracing the impact of the First World War on Brittain's views on university education and women's place within it.⁶⁸ Another key female figure considered in the periodical literature in 2016 was Hannah Arendt, subject of a special issue of the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* edited by Wayne Veck and Sharon Jessop. The articles in this issue contribute to the

⁶² Kathryn Gleadle, 'The Juvenile Enlightenment: British Children and Youth during the French Revolution', *Past and Present* 233 (2016): 143-84, quoted at 144.

⁶³ Marcella P. Sutcliffe, 'Reading at the Front: Books and Soldiers in the First World War', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 104-20; Stephanie Spencer, 'No "fear of flying"? Worrals of the WAAF, Fiction, and Girls' Informal Wartime Education', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 137-53.

⁶⁴ Matthew Daniel Eddy, 'The Child Writer: Graphic Literacy and the Scottish Educational System, 1700-1820', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 695-718.

⁶⁵ Lorraine Screene, 'An Exploration of Religion and Education in the Life of Constance Maynard, Mistress of Westfield College', *Women's History Review* 25 (2016): 89-104.

⁶⁶ Kate Rousmaniere, 'Dorothy's Wars: School Leadership during the Birmingham Blitz', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 48 (2016): 211-24.

⁶⁷ Meritxell Simon-Martin, 'Barbara Bodichon's Travel Writing: Her Epistolary Articulation of Bildung', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 285-303.

⁶⁸ Ann K. McClellan, "'I was my war; my war was I": Vera Brittain, Autobiography and University Fiction during the Great War', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 121-36.

history and philosophy of education, as well as to contemporary studies of educational leadership.

Biographical studies of elite male figures remain widespread. A number of articles consider particular aspects of the lives and influence of well-known individuals: examples are Ku's article on R. H. Tawney's work in the Second World War, mentioned above, and Brian Fleming and Judith Harford's work on Daniel O'Connell's educational legacy in Ireland.⁶⁹ Another contribution on Tawney, by James Kirby in the *English Historical Review*, reconsiders *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, though this is not primarily centred on Tawney's educational activities and interests.⁷⁰ Considering a more recent period, Peter Ribbins and Brian Sherratt report on a study of the eight Department of Education permanent secretaries between 1976 and 2012, in an article for the *Journal of Educational Administration and History* focusing on the career of Sir Tim Lankester.⁷¹ The lives and opinions of individual male professors are the subject of articles by John A. Moses on George Arnold Wood, professor at the University of Sydney, and his views on the First World War, and by Alexander Hutton, who considers the social historian H. L. Beales and his influence as a mid-twentieth-century public intellectual.⁷² Another well-known academic figure re-examined in 2016 was Raphael Samuel, whom Sophie Scott-Brown, in *History of Education*, describes as 'a case study of the liberatory educator'; like Hutton, Brown links her subject's educational work with his scholarly output and historical practice. As a biographer, Brown is careful to acknowledge the limits to, as well as the extent of, Samuel's influence on his greatest project, the History Workshop, a network of socialist and feminist historians which produced the *History Workshop Journal* and an important series of books.⁷³

These individual studies contribute to a wider discussion – both within and beyond the history of education – of the values and limitations of biographical and life history approaches to the past. In the published version of his inaugural lecture as director of the Institute of Historical Research, Lawrence Goldman explores the interaction between history and biography, arguing for 'the integration of structural and personal approaches' to the study of the past.⁷⁴ Goldman's examples come from outside the history of education, but Peter Cunningham, in a review of four recent books in this journal, makes a similar point. 'We may', he notes, 'be carried away by a sense that the cutting edge of education history has "moved on" from the local to the transnational and global, an ineluctable methodological progression'; however, it remains the case that studying 'an individual teacher's life ... demands attention to personal agency'.⁷⁵ A range of biographical studies in recent years have reminded historians of education of the importance of studying the role of individuals. Annmarie Valdes, in the *History of Education Researcher*, adopts a particular

⁶⁹ Ku, 'Fighting for Social Democracy'; Brian Fleming and Judith Harford, 'Irish Education and the Legacy of O'Connell', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 169-87.

⁷⁰ Kirby, 'R. H. Tawney and Christian Social Teaching'.

⁷¹ Peter Ribbins and Brian Sherratt, 'Biography in the Study of Public Administration: Towards a Portrait of a Whitehall Mandarin', *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 48 (2016): 243-60.

⁷² John A. Moses, 'Sydney Professor G. A. Wood and the Great War 1914-1918', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 228-38; "A Repository, a Switchboard, a Dynamo".

⁷³ Scott-Brown, 'Art of the Organiser', 374.

⁷⁴ Lawrence Goldman, 'History and Biography', *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 399-411, quoted at 411.

⁷⁵ Peter Cunningham, 'Local and Personal Educations and Their Histories', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 679-82, quoted at 682.

approach to doing this, influenced by Hermione Lee's work. Valdes takes up the challenge of reconstructing aspects of three nineteenth-century women's educational lives, in their relation to others, through a re-assemblage of archival traces or 'body parts' from key stages of those lives; this is not always an easy task given women's relative absence from the archival and historical record. The purpose of Valdes's study is not mainly to reconstruct lost or marginalised biographies, but to identify some of the ways in which women like this were able to follow their vocation and create careers through the maximal use of their abilities and the careful nurturing and deployment of educational networks. This raises further questions about the role of individuals in history, but also about how and when historians should focus on the individual in their research.⁷⁶

These questions have been of particular interest to historians of second-wave feminism, which features significantly in the periodical literature for 2016, often in articles dealing with educational pasts. A special issue of the *Women's History Review* is entitled 'Historicising the Women's Liberation Movement', and features, among other contributions, an article by Phillida Bunkle on the educational background to second-wave feminism in Britain, notably the school system created in the aftermath of the 1944 Education Act. Bunkle draws in particular on the autobiographical accounts of three feminist writers and three readers, as well as her own experiences; these personal case studies illuminate the wider stories that she tells. In the same issue Laurel Forster emphasises the importance of feminist print cultures, encroaching into what had been a male-dominated publishing industry.⁷⁷ Elsewhere, Lucy Delap focuses specifically on bookshops, whose role she sees as 'crucial for a feminist movement that was powerfully critical of the mainstream media'.⁷⁸ Adding to the mix are some personal reflections, such as Miriam David's account of her political education in the women's liberation movement and of the research she has done with three generations of feminists in academia.⁷⁹ Similarly, Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink and Katherine Holden recall their work with Leonore Davidoff, writing the history of gender and the family in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.⁸⁰ Linda Gordon's 'musings' on intersectionality, feminism and activism, in *Gender and History*, also contain some personal reflections as well as a detailed critical account of the emergence of the concept of intersectionality and its role in scholarship.⁸¹ Rosemary Delmar, meanwhile, writes a long review of Sheila Fitzpatrick's memoir *A Spy in the Archives*, her account of research in the Soviet Union in the 1960s and 1970s; Delmar herself worked in Soviet studies in the 1960s and, according to her review, is writing 'a memoir of the 1970s'.⁸²

⁷⁶ Annmarie Valdes, "For you seem principally to indulge in brain work pure and simple": Utilizing Life History Methods to Connect Women's Education and Agency in Nineteenth-Century America', *History of Education Researcher* 97 (2016): 14-30.

⁷⁷ Phillida Bunkle, 'The 1944 Education Act and Second Wave Feminism', *Women's History Review* 25 (2016): 791-811.

⁷⁸ Lucy Delap, 'Feminist Bookshops, Reading Cultures and the Women's Liberation Movement in Great Britain, c.1974-2000', *History Workshop Journal* 81 (2016): 171-96, quoted at 191.

⁷⁹ Miriam E. David, 'Feminism, Activism and Academe: A Personal Reflection', *Women's History Review* 25 (2016): 983-98.

⁸⁰ Megan Doolittle, Janet Fink and Katherine Holden, 'Blood, Contract and Intimacy: History and Practice with Leonore Davidoff', *Gender and History* 28 (2016): 288-98.

⁸¹ Linda Gordon, "'Intersectionality", Socialist Feminism and Contemporary Activism: Musings by a Second-Wave Socialist Feminist', *Gender and History* 28 (2016): 340-57.

⁸² Rosalind Delmar, 'The History of a PhD', *History Workshop Journal* 82 (2016): 282-90. See Sheila Fitzpatrick, *A Spy in the Archives: A Memoir of Cold War Russia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013).

Race, ethnicity and colonialism

Colonialism and colonial education policy remain areas of interest, as do race and ethnicity in education. The *Exe Libris* database contains a substantial body of work on race and ethnicity going back to the 1960s. At that time the vast bulk of work under this heading was concerned with American education, and usually published in US-based journals. The situation is not so different in 2016: of 19 articles in the 'race and ethnicity' category, 14 are mainly concerned with the US, and another partly so. In terms of periodisation, a number deal with the nineteenth century, including AnneMarie Brosnan's study of Southern textbooks during and after the civil war, Matthew Gardner Kelly's article on mid-nineteenth-century California and Michael Hines's paper on the African-American community of New York in the 1920s.⁸³ Civil rights and desegregation still feature in the literature – Ansley T. Erickson and Michelle A. Purdy both produced interesting studies in 2016⁸⁴ – as does the history of race in American universities. The latter has a significant contemporary political dimension. Most notably in 2016, James D. Anderson and Christopher M. Span placed in context the recent African-American protest movements on university campuses; this contribution was the first in a new section of the *History of Education Quarterly*, 'History of Education in the News'.⁸⁵ These developments are part of wider social protests, most notably the 'Black Lives Matter' movement. Anderson and Span explain that, '[w]ithin the past two years, black students at over eighty colleges and universities, from Harvard, Yale, Duke, and Occidental, to the University of Michigan and the University of Missouri, have submitted formal demands that their universities acknowledge their histories and change their practices, policies, and treatment of all people from underrepresented backgrounds, but particularly African-American students'.⁸⁶ They emphasise the importance of student demands that universities acknowledge the complicity of their founders in the institution of slavery and other instruments of repression; and they report on responses such as the project at Georgetown University in which genealogists have worked with students, staff and alumni to trace descendants of slaves whom the university traded in the 1830s. These developments are echoed elsewhere in the 'Rhodes Must Fall' campaign, which started in South Africa in 2015 and spread to the University of Oxford, where in early 2016 students demanded the removal of a statue of Cecil Rhodes from Oriel College.⁸⁷ George Walker, in the *Journal of Imperial and*

⁸³ AnneMarie Brosnan, 'Representations of Race and Racism in the Textbooks Used in Southern Black Schools during the American Civil War and Reconstruction Era, 1861-1876', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 718-33; Matthew Gardner Kelly, 'Schoolmaster's Empire: Race, Conquest, and the Centralization of Common Schooling in California, 1848-1879', *History of Education Quarterly* 56 (2016): 445-72.

⁸⁴ Ansley T. Erickson, 'Desegregation's Architects: Education Parks and the Spatial Ideology of Schooling', *History of Education Quarterly* 56 (2016): 560-89; Michelle A. Purdy, 'Blurring Public and Private: The Pragmatic Desegregation Politics of an Elite Private School in Atlanta', *History of Education Quarterly* 56 (2016): 61-89.

⁸⁵ James D. Anderson and Christopher M. Span, 'History of Education in the News: The Legacy of Slavery, Racism, and Contemporary Black Activism on Campus', *History of Education Quarterly* 56 (2016): 646-56.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 649-50.

⁸⁷ Amit Chaudhuri, 'The Real Meaning of Rhodes Must Fall', *Guardian*, 16 March 2016: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/16/the-real-meaning-of-rhodes-must-fall> (accessed 31 August 2017).

Commonwealth History, undertakes a detailed examination of Rhodes's various wills, which eventually resulted in the Oxford Rhodes Scholarships.⁸⁸

Race and ethnicity also feature in studies of education in Britain, the British empire, and beyond. Christian Ydesen and Kevin Myers show how, in the 1950s and 1960s, the backgrounds of immigrant children in Birmingham were seen by welfare professionals as causes of low attainment – and they argue that these attitudes reflected the emergence of an 'imperial welfare state'.⁸⁹ Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wasserman interrogate the complexities of 'British' identity in colonial settings – specifically, Natal, where the arrival of St Helenian children, with their 'ambiguous racial identity', in the 1870s disrupted settled racial hierarchies, and, as a result, presented challenges for both teachers and colonial policy-makers.⁹⁰ Imperial themes feature elsewhere in the periodical literature for 2016. Parimala V. Rao, for example, re-examines the Indian revolt of 1857, which contemporaneous colonial leaders 'blamed' on the 'spread of English education' on the subcontinent. Rao rejects this interpretation, and indeed the whole notion of 'a clash of civilisation' in the 1850s.⁹¹ More recent colonial and post-colonial history is considered too: Matthew Hilton examines the Starehe Boys' School in Nairobi, 'one of the undoubted success stories of post-independence Kenya', while Timothy Livsey argues that the development of universities in Nigeria was the product of a complex process of debate and compromise between colonial administrators and West African leaders.⁹² Although inequalities of power existed between the two sides, Livsey highlights 'the need for a continuing reassessment of colonial-era development with an eye for evidence of African involvement that has been hidden from the historical record'.⁹³ It seems to have been a contrasting story in Malaya, where – as Arman, Mamat and Hasbullah argued in this journal (see also above) – 'Western science' was transmitted in a highly centralised way through agricultural education during the first half of the twentieth century.⁹⁴

Religion and religious education are also important themes in the history of colonialism, and indeed elsewhere. Missions and missionaries have been a significant area of interest, and remain so in 2016. Yoonmi Lee shows how different groups viewed and used Australian mission schools in Korea during the early twentieth century: the missionaries themselves saw their educational work as promoting Christianity, the Korean population saw it as providing educational opportunities, and the Japanese colonial authorities sought to exploit it in the cause

⁸⁸ George Walker, "'So Much to Do': Oxford and the Wills of Cecil Rhodes", *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44 (2016): 697-716.

⁸⁹ Christian Ydesen and Kevin Myers, 'The Imperial Welfare State? Decolonisation, Education and Professional Interventions on Immigrant Children in Birmingham, 1948-1971', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 453-66.

⁹⁰ Rebecca Swartz and Johan Wasserman, "'Britishness", Colonial Governance and Education: St Helenian Children in Colonial Natal in the 1870s', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44 (2016): 881-99, quoted at 882.

⁹¹ Parimala V. Rao, 'Modern Education and the Revolt of 1857 in India', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 25-42, quoted at 29 and 42.

⁹² Matthew Hilton, 'Charity, Decolonization and Development: The Case of the Starehe Boys School, Nairobi', *Past and Present* 223 (2016): 227-67, quoted at 227; Timothy Livsey, 'Imagining an Imperial Modernity: Universities and the West African Roots of Colonial Development', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44 (2016): 952-75.

⁹³ Livsey, 'Imagining an Imperial Modernity', 967.

⁹⁴ Arman *et al*, 'Agricultural Education'.

of political socialisation.⁹⁵ Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus considers the educational efforts of Japanese Protestants themselves in colonial Korea, a welcome contribution to a literature which usually focuses on Western missions and education. Neuhaus shows that, although Protestant educational efforts were initially aligned with colonial interests, they could have the effect of undermining the colonial project, and Korean Christians became prominent in the independence movement.⁹⁶ Desmond Ikenna Odugu, considering Igboland (the Nsukka region of modern Nigeria) in the period 1890-1930, likewise draws attention to the agency of colonised people in shaping educational expansion; he uses both archival and second-generation oral sources to provide a more nuanced history of education in the region than has hitherto been written.⁹⁷ Meanwhile, Brendan Carmody's account of Catholic education in modern Zambia also reveals different motivations among the providers and users of educational opportunities, and in this case the Catholic church itself, faced with a diverse body of pupils in its schools, 'generally struggle[s] to ensure that the Catholic mission is retained'.⁹⁸ Other religious traditions are also discussed in the periodical literature for 2016: Jewish identities in two very different educational contexts are explored by Erin Corber (a youth centre in interwar Strasbourg) and Marco di Giulio (Italian academia after unification).⁹⁹

Youth and youth movements

The study of youth and informal education is another burgeoning area of historical research. Much of the literature on youth and education in 2016 relates to the history of political organisations and movements in the mid to late-twentieth century. University students have long engaged with social and political questions through volunteering and social action,¹⁰⁰ and the history of the student experience relates not only to the history of higher education, but also to social history more broadly and debates in contemporary politics. Jonathan Dean assesses the impact of collective memory of student experience in the past, specifically student protests in the 1960s, in shaping the 'discursive and affective landscape of contemporary radical politics'.¹⁰¹ Dean examines memories of 1960s radicalism in responses to the student protests against tuition fee increases which took place in the UK in the winter of 2010-11. Invocations of the 'spirit of '68' were used to construct different meanings and understandings of the 2010-11 student protests, showing the ongoing relevance of past experience to contemporary activism – this is also reflected in the 'Rhodes Must Fall' movement discussed above. Memories of 1960s youth culture are also

⁹⁵ Yoonmi Lee, 'Religion, Modernity and Politics: Colonial Education and the Australian Mission in Korea, 1910-1941', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 596-613.

⁹⁶ Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus, 'Assimilating Korea: Japanese Protestants, "East Asian Christianity" and the Education of Koreans in Japan, 1905-1920', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 614-28.

⁹⁷ Desmond Ikenna Odugu, 'Historiographic Reconsideration of Colonial Education in Africa: Domestic Forces in the Early Expansion of English Schooling in Northern Igboland, 1890-1930', *History of Education Quarterly* 56 (2016): 241-72.

⁹⁸ Brendan Carmody, 'Catholic Education in Zambia: Mission Integrity and Politics', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 621-37, quoted at 636.

⁹⁹ Erin Corber, 'The Kids on Oberlin Street: Place, Space and Jewish Community in Late Interwar Strasbourg', *Urban History* 43 (2016): 581-98; Marco di Giulio, 'Scholarship, Politics, and Jewish Identity in Italian Post-Unification Academia', *History of Universities* 29 (2016): 88-111.

¹⁰⁰ See Georgina Brewis, *A Social History of Student Volunteering: Britain and Beyond 1880-1980* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

¹⁰¹ Jonathan Dean, "'Angelic Spirits of '68": Memories of 60s' Radicalism in Responses to the 2010-11 UK Student Protests', *Contemporary British History* 30 (2016): 305-25, quoted at 320.

examined by Helena Mills, who points out that the lived reality of the period was much more complex than popular stereotypes of the 'swinging sixties' suggest. Mills focuses on the experiences and personal memories of 'ordinary' women, who mostly went straight to work after leaving school. Revisionist histories have highlighted continuities with the political, social and cultural norms of earlier decades, and Mills concludes that 1960s youth culture is often more politicised in popular memory, and in historical work on the period, than it was at the time.¹⁰²

The relationship between youth and politics, or more specifically, the attempts by political leaders and organisations to stake a claim on youth, is often rooted in the fear of its revolutionary potential. In his article on the 'cold war youth race', Christopher Sutton explains that the Soviet Union was the forerunner in the race for leadership of the world's youth in the 1920s, having formed the first state-sponsored youth organisation, the Komsomol, in 1918. Britain could not compete, partly because it was not prepared to pour the 'staggering' amount of money into youth organisations that Russia was prepared to invest, but also because British imperialism was essentially oppressive: colonial youth were more attracted to organisations with positive social agendas, such as the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.¹⁰³

Debates on youth culture give insights into broader political and cultural tensions, as Matthew Worley explores in his article on cultural change, identity politics and the British left in the mid-1970s. British politics and the economy faced numerous domestic and international problems during this time, including rising unemployment, industrial conflict and a global oil crisis. Much to the distaste of the mainstream media, the social and political strife of the period appeared to find expression in the emergence of a new youth culture, typified by punk bands such as the Sex Pistols and the Clash. The Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) came to see punk as a site of political struggle, a youthful revolt aligned with their own objectives, and debate on youth culture in their journal, *Marxism Today*, reveals much about the evolution of the left in the later twentieth century. It was part of a broader turn away from class as the determining identity within progressive politics, alongside the growth of social movements rooted in questions of race, gender and sexuality.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, Evan Smith and Daryl Leeworthy examine the role of the CPGB and its youth wing, the Young Communist League, in the advancement of gay rights in the 1970s and 1980s.¹⁰⁵

The debate on youth culture in the 1970s also indicated a capacity to engage with politics outside of formal political processes and practices. Youth culture allowed for modes of identity that cut across class-based, geographic, or religious affinities. There were earlier attempts to organise youth across class boundaries in the Youth Hostels Association (YHA). Formed in the 1930s, the YHA was ostensibly a non-political organisation, yet, as Michael Cunningham argues, its desire to foster healthy recreation and help young people access the countryside took place within certain

¹⁰² Helena Mills, 'Using the Personal to Critique the Popular: Women's Memories of 1960s Youth', *Contemporary British History* 30 (2016): 463-83.

¹⁰³ Christopher Sutton, 'Britain, Empire and the Origins of the Cold War Youth Race', *Contemporary British History* 30 (2016): 224-41.

¹⁰⁴ Matthew Worley, 'Marx-Lenin-Rotten-Strummer: British Marxism and Youth Culture in the 1970s', *Contemporary British History* 30 (2016): 505-21.

¹⁰⁵ Evan Smith and Daryl Leeworthy, 'Before *Pride*: The Struggle for the Recognition of Gay Rights in the British Communist Movement, 1973-85', *20th Century British History* 27 (2016): 621-42.

ideological and cultural assumptions linked to concepts of simplicity, service and improvement.¹⁰⁶

Science, medicine, health and welfare

The history of science and education has been an substantial area of research, and this was reflected in the theme for the History of Education Society's annual conference in 2015, 'Science, Technologies and Material Culture in the History of Education'; there is a useful summary by Heather Ellis in the *History of Education Researcher* for 2016,¹⁰⁷ and a special issue of this journal appeared on the theme in February 2017. In the periodical literature for 2016, the physical, biological and human sciences were represented in 22 articles. Research on science education in schools and universities emphasises the role of educators in developing courses of instruction and popularising science. Magnus Hultén, for example, highlights the influence of elementary teachers on the development of school science textbooks in Sweden during the nineteenth-century. While scientists wrote the first scientific textbooks, teachers developed the genre, bolstering the cultural status of science and strengthening the elementary teaching profession.¹⁰⁸ With a focus on higher education, Carolino (see also above) similarly explores the complex interprofessional relationships involved in the publication of scientific texts in seventeenth-century Portugal. Through a case study of nobleman and university professor André de Almada, who established an informal academy for the study of astronomy, Carolino identifies 'cultures of patronage' in the development of scientific knowledge in institutional settings.¹⁰⁹ By assessing the changing cultural status of science within educational and social institutions, these articles contribute to curricular history as well as the history of the scientific community. Bruce Curtis, for example, connects science and technology studies and educational history in his examination of the science of pedagogy in a two-part article in *Pedagogica Historica*. Focusing on the conflicts between educational innovators Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell over the development of monitorial schooling in England, Curtis explores the emergence of pedagogical science and its impact on the organisation and practice of public education in the nineteenth century.¹¹⁰

In addition to charting the development of scientific knowledge within schools, learned societies and universities, articles on science education attest to the broader significance of science in relation to technological and industrial development. Work by Jones on the science of agriculture c.1760-1840 (see also above), and Benoît Godin and Désirée Schauz on industrial research, for example, calls attention to the practical and economic implications of scientific research and education, and the

¹⁰⁶ Michael Cunningham, 'Ethos and Politics in the Youth Hostels Association (YHA) in the 1930s', *Contemporary British History* 30 (2016): 177-202.

¹⁰⁷ Heather Ellis, 'History of Education Society Annual Conference, Liverpool 2015', *History of Education Researcher* 97 (2016): 57.

¹⁰⁸ Magnus Hultén, 'Scientists, Teachers and the "Scientific" Textbook: Interprofessional Relations and the Modernisation of Elementary Science Textbooks in Nineteenth-Century Sweden', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 143-68.

¹⁰⁹ Carolino, 'Science, Patronage and Academies', 110.

¹¹⁰ Bruce Curtis, 'Priority, Politics and Pedagogical Science, Part I: The Mental Steam-Engine', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 661-73; Bruce Curtis, 'Priority, Politics and Pedagogical Science, Part II: The Priority Dispute and a Standard Model of Pedagogy', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 674-88.

ways in which it is pursued by governments and commercial organisations.¹¹¹ Research on education and medicine also intersect with articles commemorating the centenary of the First World War, which was another significant theme of the literature in 2016. A special issue of the *History of Education Review* on universities, expertise and the First World War, for example, includes articles by Tamson Pietsch on the professionalization of dentistry and Ann Stephen on surgical knowledge.¹¹²

Alongside a focus on scientific education and research within institutional settings, several articles highlight the diverse sites and practices associated with popular science from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, with a particular focus on England. Jennifer C. Mori's close examination of the pamphlets produced by Henry Andrews of Royston, a teacher, stationer, bookseller, mathematician, astronomer and meteorological instrument-maker, for example, traces the dissemination of scientific ideas among working-class readers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹¹³ Similarly, Hsiang-Fu Huang found that astronomy lectures in British theatres during the first half of the nineteenth century were attended by diverse groups, including juveniles, working men and women and the upper classes.¹¹⁴ Museums have been influential in shaping public understandings of science, and articles by Karen Jones and Marco Tamborini examine the educative role of natural history museum exhibits in England and Germany respectively.¹¹⁵

The history of medicine and health in relation to education is a developing area of interest. Karen Rushton, for example, explores the historic records of Stannington Sanatorium, the UK's first purpose-built children's tuberculosis sanatorium. The extensive collection, recently catalogued with funding from the Wellcome Trust, includes patient radiographs, clinical files and administrative records, and offers a rich resource for historians of medicine, health and childhood.¹¹⁶ Focusing on the history of health rather than medicine, Virginia Thorley considers the Australian national free school milk scheme, which lasted from 1951 to 1974, in the context of the dairy industry as well as the history of educational policy.¹¹⁷ Nelleke Bakker, meanwhile, attends to the increasing focus on mental, as well as physical health in mid-twentieth century educational discourses in the West, stimulated by the World Health Organisation's positive concept of health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being', rather than merely 'the absence

¹¹¹ Jones, 'Making Chemistry the "Science" of Agriculture'; Benoît Godin and Désirée Schauz, 'The Changing Identity of Research: A Cultural and Conceptual History', *History of Science* 54 (2016): 276-306.

¹¹² Tamson Pietsch, 'Universities, War and the Professionalization of Dentistry', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 168-82; Ann Stephen, 'Portrait of an Artist as an Ex-War Surgeon', *History of Education Review* 45 (2016): 183-97.

¹¹³ Jennifer C. Mori, 'Popular Science in Eighteenth-Century Almanacs: The Editorial Career of Henry Andrews of Royston, 1780-1820', *History of Science* 54 (2016): 19-44.

¹¹⁴ Hsiang-Fu Huang, 'When Urania meets Terpsichore: A Theatrical Turn for Astronomy Lectures in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History of Science* 54 (2016): 45-70.

¹¹⁵ Karen Jones, 'The Rhinoceros and the Chatham Railway: Taxidermy and the Production of Animal Presence in the 'Great Indoors'', *History* 101 (2016): 710-35; Marco Tamborini, "'If the Americans can do it, so can we": How Dinosaur Bones Shaped German Paleontology', *History of Science* 54 (2016): 225-56.

¹¹⁶ Karen Rushton, 'The Records of Stannington Children's Sanatorium: Charting Half a Century of Tuberculosis Care', *Social History of Medicine* 29 (2016): 829-39.

¹¹⁷ Virginia Thorley, "'School Milk" in the Context of the Australian Dairy Industry', *Rural History* 27 (2016): 103-117.

of disease or infirmity'.¹¹⁸ Through a case study of child hygiene in an agrarian-industrial area of the Netherlands, Bakker found that while the attention of school doctors shifted from physical to mental well-being to some degree, their predominant focus remained the identification of health problems, abnormalities and mental deficiency. Children's mental health in the West was of interest to a range of specialists, including medical doctors, educationists, psychologists and psychiatrists, often working within state-supported institutions for the provision of welfare. The mental health of children is also the subject of an article on depictions of the 'insane' in English county asylums by Steven J. Taylor.¹¹⁹

A special issue of this journal, edited by Johanna Sköld and Kaisa Vehkalahti, is devoted to the topic of 'Marginalized Children: Methodological and Ethical Issues in the History of Education and Childhood'. Some articles in this issue deal with the difficult issue of child sexual abuse, notably contributions by Sköld herself, Nell Musgrove, and Adrian Bingham *et al.*¹²⁰ This area raises obvious ethical issues for educational researchers, and the topic of 'marginalized children' more widely provokes some interesting methodological reflections by Mona Gleason – who follows David Lancy in expressing unease about the implications of the 'agency movement' in cultural anthropology.¹²¹ Other contributions to the history of child welfare in 2016 include Juha Hämäläinen's intellectual history of 'child protection' across a long period of history and wide range of geographical contexts, and Belén Jiménez-Alonso and José Carlos Loredó-Narciandi's study of Spanish and French childcare manuals from the early twentieth century.¹²² Meanwhile, Christopher Bischof builds on earlier accounts of the 'over-pressure' epidemic in English schools of the 1880s, emphasising teachers' participation in contemporaneous debates, and explaining the importance of the episode in shaping future understandings of childhood and the roles of professionals and the state.¹²³

Two articles deal specifically with the history of psychology in twentieth-century education. In Franco's Spain, as Amparo Gomez and Antonio Fco. Canales show in *Paedagogica Historica*, child psychiatry and psychology were mobilised in the re-education and control of children both within and beyond educational

¹¹⁸ Nelleke Bakker, 'Monitoring Child Health: School Doctors at Work in a Dutch Rural Area, 1930-1970', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 813-30, quoted at 813.

¹¹⁹ Steven J. Taylor, 'Depraved, Deprived, Dangerous and Deviant: Depicting the Insane Child in England's County Asylums, 1845-1907', *History* 101 (2016): 513-35.

¹²⁰ Johanna Sköld, 'The Truth about Abuse? A Comparative Approach to Inquiry Narratives on Historical Institutional Child Abuse', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 492-509; Nell Musgrove, 'Abuse of Foster Children in Nineteenth-Century Australia: Why Did it Happen Then, and Why Does it Matter Now?', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 460-76; Adrian Bingham, Lucy Delap, Louise Jackson and Louise Settle, 'Historical Child Sexual Abuse in England and Wales: the Role of Historians', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 411-29.

¹²¹ Mona Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap: Caveats for Historians of Children, Youth, and Education', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 446-59. See David F. Lancy, 'Unmasking Children's Agency', *AnthropoChildren: Ethnographic Perspectives in Children & Childhood* 2 (2012): <http://popups.ulg.ac.be/2034-8517/index.php?id=1253> (accessed 7 July 2017).

¹²² Juha Hämäläinen, 'The Origins and Evolution of Child Protection in Terms of the History of Ideas', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 734-47; Belén Jiménez-Alonso and José Carlos Loredó-Narciandi, "'To Educate Children from Birth": A Genealogical Analysis of Some Practices of Subjectivation in Spanish and French Scientific Childcare, 1898-1939', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 719-38.

¹²³ Christopher Bischof, 'A "Rich Crop of Nervousness": Childhood, Expertise, and the State in the mid-1880s British Over-Pressure Controversy', *English Historical Review* 131 (2016): 1415-44.

institutions – a project of ‘biological pedagogy’.¹²⁴ In this journal, an article by Clementine Beauvais examines British and US child psychology, focusing on the trend of – or obsession with – allocating ‘ages’ to children on the basis of intelligence, physique, and emotional and other attributes. This ‘golden age of “ages”’, dating from the very early twentieth century to the 1920s, was relatively short-lived, but some vestiges, such as the concept of the ‘reading age’, had a long after-life.¹²⁵ Elsewhere, in *Paedagogica Historica*, Beauvais considers the notion of ‘giftedness’, in a Californian context, in much the same period, relating it to the specific context of Stanford University and its intellectual and institutional history.¹²⁶

Articles on physical education cover extensive ground, with international research spanning a variety of places and periods. The *International Journal of the History of Sport* for 2016 includes a number of wide-ranging articles on physical education. Adrian Harvey challenges the idea that football was the product of English public schools, arguing that the football culture of Sheffield and clubs outside of schools were fundamental to the establishment of the game.¹²⁷ Colm Hickey similarly expands understandings of the relationship between public schools, sport and wider society by investigating athleticism, usually associated with public schools, in British elementary schools in the Victorian and Edwardian periods.¹²⁸ Pablo Ariel Scharagrodsky and Valeria Varea trace the origins of physical education, as a school subject and a university degree in Argentina and Australia, and several articles examine initiatives within physical education in Asia.¹²⁹ In common with other historians, historians of education are paying increasing attention to the body, and physical education is a useful lens through which to do this. Thus Vanessa Heggie, in *Past and Present*, situates the relationship between science and sport in nineteenth-century Britain and Europe in its educational, political and medical contexts.¹³⁰ Caroline Kahlenberg shows how American missionaries in the late Ottoman empire collaborated with the government to use physical education and sport in a project of remodelling the Turkish female body.¹³¹ Physical education had wider political implications elsewhere too, including France: Jean-Marc Lemonnier, Michaël Attali and Elodie Parisse show how disillusionment with physical education teaching in *lycées* in the 1960s anticipated the more explosive political events of 1968.¹³²

¹²⁴ Amparo Gomez and Antonio Fco. Canales, ‘Children’s Education and Mental Health in Spain during and after the Civil War: Psychiatry, Psychology and “Biological Pedagogy” at the Service of Franco’s Regime’, *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 154-68.

¹²⁵ Clementine Beauvais, ‘Ages and Ages: The Multiplication of Children’s “Ages” in Early Twentieth-Century Child Psychology’, *History of Education* 45 (2016): 304-18, quoted at 315.

¹²⁶ Clementine Beauvais, ‘Californian Genius: Lewis Terman’s Gifted Child in Regional Perspective’, *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 748-65.

¹²⁷ Adrian Harvey, ‘The Public Schools and Organized Football in Britain: Fresh Perspectives on Old Paradigms’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 33 (2016): 272-88.

¹²⁸ Colm Hickey, ‘A Flock of Swallows: Athleticism in Elementary Schools, 1870-1914 – A Necessary Corrective’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 33 (2016): 734-51.

¹²⁹ Pablo Ariel Scharagrodsky and Valeria Varea, ‘Tracking the Origins of Physical Education in Argentina and Australia’, *International Yearbook of Oral History* 33 (2016): 777-96.

¹³⁰ Vanessa Heggie, ‘Bodies, Sport and Science in the Nineteenth Century’, *Past and Present* 231 (2016): 169-200.

¹³¹ Caroline Kahlenberg, ‘“The Gospel of Health”: American Missionaries and the Transformation of Ottoman/Turkish Women’s Bodies, 1890-1932’, *Gender and History* 28 (2016): 150-76.

¹³² Jean-Marc Lemonnier, Michaël Attali and Elodie Parisse, ‘Young People’s Disillusionment with French Education before 1968: Sport, the School Curriculum and Social Change’, *Social History* 41 (2016): 54-71.

Textbooks and the history curriculum

The study of textbooks has long been a topic of interest for historians of education. As John Issitt pointed out in the 'Sources and Interpretations' section of this journal in 2004, while textbooks may be associated by many with 'boring' classroom study, regarded as insufficient as teaching aids and inadequate as a literary genre, they offer a rich source of analysis across a range of disciplines. Textbook research can 'illuminate the history of ideas and the evolution of dominant ideologies as well as the effects of government rhetoric, cultural mythology, pedagogic design, authorial intent and many other areas'.¹³³ In the periodical literature for 2016, new methodological and analytical approaches to the study of textbooks offer fresh perspectives on the educational past. Tina van der Vlies, for example, draws on Michael Rothberg's concept of 'multidirectional memory', the interaction between dominant memories and histories, and new events and interpretations, in order to examine 'multidirectional war narratives' in history textbooks. A multidirectional narrative, Vlies explains, 'combines different histories, places and times in a productive way by generating meanings from combinations of histories'.¹³⁴ In a case study of English history textbooks produced between 1920 and 1960 for 11- to 14-year-old students, van der Vlies found that the authors crafted a sense of continuity through the use of analogies between the English defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 and other more recent historical events, such as the Battle of Britain. In doing so, the authors shaped understandings of the Second World War in relation to particular themes in British history, namely the 'danger of invasion' and the 'fight for freedom'. Analysing these multidirectional narratives, Vlies argues, enables researchers to examine how new meanings about past experiences are generated and organised in relation to present events and future expectations.¹³⁵

The representation of war in the curriculum is a particular feature of much of the textbook research in our review, a trend we can expect to continue given that 2014-18 marks the centenary of the First World War. Tomás Irish, for example, uses school textbooks to study how national and international bodies dealt with the cultural legacies of the conflict. In 1924, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP) investigated the teaching of school history in former belligerent states in Europe, and published a volume of its findings. In a spirit of internationalism, the project sought to determine how the history of the war was being taught, and to restart international scholarly exchange across different nations, an aim which was thwarted by a resurgence of wartime nationalist sentiment resulting from the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in January 1923. Irish's study shows that school textbooks are useful sources for examining national attitudes towards the war, as well as the complexities and limits of cultural reconciliation in the aftermath.¹³⁶

Textbooks themselves are often 'battlefields for ideologies', as Betül Açıkgöz emphasises in a study of history textbooks used in the late Ottoman Empire (1908-1918), a neglected period in the historiography. While historians have conventionally regarded this period as one of steady secularisation, Açıkgöz sheds light on the

¹³³ John Issitt, 'Reflections on the Study of Textbooks', *History of Education* 33 (2004): 683-696.

¹³⁴ Tina van der Vlies, 'Multidirectional War Narratives in History Textbooks', *Paedagogica Historica* 52 (2016): 300-14, quoted at 313.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

¹³⁶ Tomás Irish, 'Peace through History? The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Inquiry into European Schoolbooks, 1921-1924', *History of Education* 45 (2016): 38-56.

ongoing ideological and intellectual diversity of knowledge within school history textbooks. As authors attempted to navigate the epistemological divergences between Islamic and scientific knowledge, conflicting educational ideas became embedded in the curriculum, contributing to the continuity of religious discourse within modern Turkish pedagogy.¹³⁷ Janaki Nair similarly discusses conflicting ideas about the past in a study of recent public debates around school history textbooks in India. The controversies of the early twentieth-century ‘history wars’, disputes about historical knowledge among different groups, such as Hindus and Muslims, or lower and upper castes, continue to shape history textbooks, and raise important questions about the relationship between academic and public history.¹³⁸ Contested ideas about the past have also affected other areas of the curriculum: Rolf Petri, for instance, has explored the influence of Enlightenment philosophy of history on classical geography, arguing that the idea of a ‘greater Mediterranean’ in early geopolitical writing has recurred in later key texts on the same maritime space over the past 200 years.¹³⁹ However, it is notable that the study of textbooks tends to focus on those that were concerned with history and politics: other areas of the curriculum are less widely covered by historians.

Concluding remarks

The periodical literature reviewed in this survey demonstrates that history of education is, in many respects, a thriving sub-discipline – and this is evidenced both in the range and quality of research in specialist journals such as this one, and in the treatment of educational topics in other history journals. There are 315 articles in Exe Libris for 2016, more than in any previous year. Ten years earlier, in 2006, there were 176, and ten years before that, in 1996, there were just 78. In 1986 there were 68 articles. The growth reflects the expansion of specialist journals themselves – *History of Education* went from four issues and 486 pages a year in 1999 to six issues and 570 pages the following year, and in 2016 had 861 pages in its six issues – and the gradual spread of the history of education into other journals focusing on other areas of history, most notably perhaps the *International Journal of the History of Sport*, which appears seven times in Exe Libris for 2016, and *History of Science*, with eight entries.¹⁴⁰ The areas of historical research represented by these two journals are also flourishing, and where they intersect with the history of education some interesting and valuable work can be found. Moreover, there has been something of a return of educational topics in the general history journals: *Past and Present*, for example, carried seven articles on the history of education in 2016, and the *English Historical Review* five. Peter Mandler’s third presidential address to the Royal Historical Society, on education and social mobility, published in the Society’s *Transactions*, is another example of high-profile attention being given to the history

¹³⁷ Betül Açıkgöz, ‘The Transformation of School Knowledge in the late Ottoman Empire: Conflicting Histories’, *History of Education* 45 (2016): 547-69.

¹³⁸ Janaki Nair, ‘Textbook Controversies and the Demand for a Past: Public Lives of Indian History’, *History Workshop Journal* 82 (2016): 235-54.

¹³⁹ Rolf Petri, ‘The Mediterranean Metaphor in Early Geopolitical Writings’, *History* 101 (2016): 671-91.

¹⁴⁰ Richardson, ‘British Historiography of Education’, 591, identified the *International Journal of the History of Sport* as one of five key UK-based journals in which articles on the history of education were published.

of education in the wider historical discipline.¹⁴¹ There have also been a number of articles on education in *Cultural and Social History*, the journal of the Social History Society, which is not yet covered by Exe Libris.¹⁴² With its links to social and economic history, as well as to intellectual history, the history of education has regained some of its former strength in this respect. This is reflected in the breadth of material that now appears in Exe Libris: a much wider range of issues are now the province of historians of education than was once the case. Two caveats, however, should be added to the optimistic portrait presented here. First, there is still a relative dearth of historical topics in the general education journals published in the UK. Only one of these, the *British Journal of Educational Studies*, is included in Exe Libris, and it published no historical articles in 2016. There are only occasional historical articles in the *Oxford Review of Education* and *British Educational Research Journal*, which probably reflects a gradual decline in the status of history within educational faculties in British universities. On the evidence of this review, however, the history of education, at least for the period since c.1750, is a strong field, with a growing international reach and an encouraging diversity of subject-matter.

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Alice Kirke completed her PhD at the UCL Institute of Education in December 2016. Her thesis, 'Education in Interwar Rural England: Community, Schooling, and Voluntarism', examines the relationships between formal and informal educational initiatives in the countryside following the First World War. She has taught on the BA

¹⁴¹ Peter Mandler, 'Educating the Nation: III. Social Mobility', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 26 (2016): 1-23. Mandler's first address, in 2014, dealt with schools, and his second, in 2015, with universities. His focus is on the later twentieth century.

¹⁴² Two examples are Heather Ellis, 'Foppish Masculinity, Generational Identity and the University Authorities in Eighteenth-Century Cambridge', *Cultural and Social History* 11 (2014): 367-84; Laura Carter, "'Experimental" Secondary Modern Education in Britain 1948-1958', *Cultural and Social History* 13 (2016): 23-41.

(Hons) Education Studies programme at UCL, and is book reviews editor for the *History of Education Researcher*.

Table 1: Chronological distribution of articles included in the Exe Libris database, 1960-2016

	1960-9		1970-9		1980-9		1990-4		1995-9		2000-4		2005-9		2010-14		2015		2016	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ancient	10	2.2	10	1.3	5	0.6	4	0.9	4	0.9	1	0.2	5	0.6	8	0.9	4	1.3	4	1.3
Medieval	10	2.2	18	2.4	17	2.2	6	1.3	7	1.6	0	0.0	19	2.2	10	1.2	3	1.0	4	1.3
1500-1750	51	11.5	61	8.0	45	5.7	36	7.8	21	4.8	29	4.9	45	5.1	42	4.8	17	5.7	18	5.7
1750-1868	171	38.4	249	32.7	223	28.3	136	29.4	89	20.3	122	20.6	148	16.8	138	15.9	31	10.4	42	13.3
1869-1910	74	16.6	200	26.3	235	29.8	128	27.6	115	26.2	138	23.3	216	24.6	198	22.8	69	23.2	72	22.9
1911-1963	51	11.5	98	12.9	153	19.4	88	19.0	131	29.8	176	29.7	265	30.1	333	38.4	135	45.3	124	39.4
1964-present	6	1.3	10	1.3	17	2.2	14	3.0	25	5.7	27	4.6	71	8.1	232	26.8	99	33.2	95	30.2
Bibliography	45	10.1	67	8.8	23	2.9	9	1.9	5	1.1	6	1.0	3	0.3	2	0.2	2	0.7	0	0.0
Historiography	32	7.2	53	7.0	78	9.9	43	9.3	48	10.9	99	16.7	107	12.2	33	3.8	30	10.1	36	11.4
General histories	3	0.7	4	0.5	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.2	2	0.2	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total number published	445		761		788		463		439		592		879		867		298		315	

Notes

Ancient = pre-500

Medieval = 500-1500

Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be placed in more than one chronological category.

There is scope for articles to be recategorised on Exe Libris. This breakdown reflects the state of the database on 10 July 2017.

The database includes articles published as early as 1952, but these are not covered in this table.

Table 2: Geographical coverage of articles included in the Exe Libris database, 1952-2016: selected categories

	1960-9		1970-9		1980-9		1990-4		1995-9		2000-4		2005-9		2010-14		2015		2016	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
England and Great Britain	116	26.1	297	39.0	346	43.9	144	31.1	149	33.9	157	26.5	227	25.8	188	21.7	56	18.8	81	25.7
Wales/Scotland/Ireland	11	2.5	12	1.6	18	2.3	28	6.0	40	9.1	37	6.3	60	6.8	37	4.3	11	3.7	11	3.5
Empire, colonies, Commonwealth	21	4.7	105	13.8	91	11.5	54	11.7	64	14.6	83	14.0	113	12.9	81	9.3	21	7.1	31	9.8
Other countries	214	48.1	216	28.4	186	23.6	142	30.7	112	25.5	175	29.6	336	38.2	369	42.6	136	45.6	131	41.6
Comparative and international	23	5.2	43	5.7	83	10.5	47	10.2	55	12.5	98	16.6	145	16.5	101	11.6	34	11.4	42	13.3
Total number published	445		761		788		463		439		592		879		867		298		315	

Notes

Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be placed in more than one category and because some are not allocated to any geographical category.

The numbers for the period 2005-9 are inflated because of slightly different practices of assigning secondary categories in Exe Libris for those years

This table is based on the raw data behind Exe Libris, and cannot be replicated using Exe Libris itself.

There is scope for articles to be recategorised on Exe Libris. This breakdown reflects the state of the raw data on 11 September 2017.

The database includes articles published as early as 1952, but these are not covered in this table.

With the exception of 'Wales/Scotland/Ireland', the categories in the table are amalgamations of categories used in Exe Libris. For example, 'England and Great Britain' combines 'England', 'England and Great Britain', 'England: general' and 'England: specialist studies'.

The data for 2015 and 2016 is provisional and not, at the time of writing, fully reflected in the online version of the database.

Table 3: Articles on selected subject areas in the Exe Libris database, 1960-2016

	1960-9		1970-9		1980-9		1990-4		1995-9		2000-4		2005-9		2010-14		2015		2016	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	No.	%	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Childhood and youth	4	0.9	6	0.8	7	0.9	12	2.6	6	1.4	13	2.2	20	2.3	27	3.1	27	9.1	38	12.1
Churches/religions and education	22	4.9	25	3.3	50	6.3	27	5.8	24	5.5	33	5.6	46	5.2	81	9.3	37	12.4	30	9.5
Gender	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	0.6	8	1.8	27	4.6	31	3.5	33	3.8	7	2.3	3	1.0
Local administration	4	0.9	22	2.9	27	3.4	13	2.8	14	3.1	8	4.6	17	1.9	8	0.9	4	1.3	0	0.0
Policy	3	0.7	9	1.2	15	1.9	5	1.1	13	3.0	20	3.4	21	2.4	81	9.3	49	16.4	51	16.2
Private and 'public' schools	2	0.4	15	2.0	27	3.4	12	2.6	7	1.6	11	1.9	11	1.3	20	2.3	4	1.3	4	1.3
Race/ethnicity	8	1.8	15	2.0	25	3.2	12	2.6	15	3.4	36	6.1	28	3.2	44	5.1	20	6.7	19	6.0
Role and status of teachers	3	0.7	14	1.8	20	2.5	24	5.2	15	3.4	28	4.7	48	5.5	35	4.0	22	7.4	21	6.7
Textbooks	9	2.0	8	1.1	4	0.5	5	1.1	5	1.1	15	2.5	16	1.8	15	1.7	6	2.0	9	2.9
Universities	47	10.6	56	7.4	80	10.2	33	7.1	50	11.4	48	8.1	142	16.2	146	16.8	63	21.1	79	25.1
Women and girls' education	3	0.7	28	3.7	44	5.6	28	6.0	20	4.6	30	5.1	46	5.2	63	7.3	18	6.0	26	8.3
Youth movements	1	0.2	1	0.1	0	0.0	2	0.4	2	0.5	1	0.2	9	1.0	3	0.3	13	4.4	12	3.8
Total number published	445		761		788		463		439		592		879		867		298		315	

Notes

Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be placed in more than one category and only selected categories are included here. There is scope for articles to be reclassified on Exe Libris. This breakdown reflects the state of the database on 10 July 2017. The database includes articles published as early as 1952, but these are not covered in this table.

'Gender' is the category 'Genders in education'. There is another small category, 'Genders compared', which is not included in this table.

'Local administration' is the category 'Local administration, school boards, LEAs'.

'Policy' is the category 'The state, policies, planning, administration'. There is an overlapping category, 'Policy and administration: general', which is not included in this table.