Out went Caesar and in came the Conqueror, though I'm sure something happened in between...

A case study in professional thinking

Michael Fordham examines the evolution of his own practice as an example of how history teachers draw upon collective, professional knowledge constructed by other history teachers in journals, books, conferences and seminars. Fordham explains how a particular Year 7 enquiry examining historical change from the 'fall' of the Roman Empire to the Norman Conquest gradually evolved over time as he reflected on the strengths and weaknesses in his own practice and as he situated that reflection within a wide range of other teachers' published practice and research. The article focuses on three main areas shaping his evolving enquiry: interplay of overview and depth (his device for managing content breadth and complexity), the second-order concept of change and the enquiry question itself. Fordham uses this account to show how his own professional thinking changed over time, with particular emphasis on the interplay between his own professional knowledge and that of others. The article will also be useful to history teachers in England who are interested in understanding some of the deeper factors that led to the success of Fordham's current department in being selected by Ofsted as a 'case study' of excellence in scholarly rigour.1

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Being professional means being able to draw upon a body of collective professional knowledge. History teachers, as professionals, have just such a body of knowledge available to them. In recent years, history teachers have increasingly not only drawn upon but constructed this collective knowledge, much to the benefit of school pupils across the country.² The pages of this journal and the workshops run at national events, most notably the Historical Association (HA) and Schools History Project (SHP) conferences, are filled with examples of history teachers situating their practice within a wider professional community. When history teachers design new and exciting enquiries, they can draw upon this body of collectively generated knowledge to inform and support the lesson design process.3 It is my intention here to provide a case study of this professional thinking, demonstrating the way that I, as a practising history teacher, called upon this collective knowledge to design an enquiry on Britain in the early Middle Ages.4

The challenge I faced was to construct an enquiry on the history of Britain between the 'fall' of the Roman Empire and the Norman Conquest. Studying the early Middle Ages presents a number of unusual, if not unique, challenges to history teachers. The first of these is scale. The length of time between the 'end' of Roman Britain and the Norman Conquest is around 650 years, equivalent to the time that has passed between the Black Death and the present day. As history teachers such as Jenner have noted, working with such a time-scale makes it more difficult for pupils, and teachers, to access the past through any sense of 'personal' time.5 A second problem is the availability of the source material, with written sources being particularly hard to come by for the period as a whole, and especially before the late ninth century.6 A third problem is that the temporal distance makes it more difficult to negotiate the dichotomy of 'familiarity' and 'strangeness' inherent in any attempt to teach about the past.⁷ The study of the early Middle Ages plays havoc with familiar terms of reference, particularly those related to political, social and cultural constructs. 'British' in this period, for example, is typically used to mean 'Welsh'. The people who became the 'English' were, for much of the period in question, neither politically unified nor culturally homogeneous. Sellar and Yeatman captured the potential confusion facing the student of history in 1066 and all that, shown in Figure 1.8

The scale and complexity of the period is, therefore, imposing. When I first came to teach this period to a class of Year 7 (11–12-year-old) pupils, I was not sure where to begin. I took comfort, however, in the knowledge that the conceptual tools to complete the task were to be found in the professional community of history teachers. Professional theorising about three of these tools was of particular importance to me in designing my scheme of work on early-medieval Britain: the interplay of overview and depth, the second-order concept of change and continuity, and the enquiry question.

Managing overview and depth

Even once you get beyond the folklore of Alfred's cakes, Canute's wet feet or Lady Godiva's grand entrance to Coventry, the Anglo-Saxon era is populated with many rich and entertaining stories. Even the most cautious of approaches to the source material from the period, such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and the West Saxon *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, provides a rich array of characters and stories that cannot fail to captivate the attention of school pupils. As ever, the challenge of designing an enquiry is to balance the microscopic with the macroscopic, to relate the rich detail of the individual stories to a wider understanding of the period.

For my purposes, I could have designed an enquiry that focused on a narrower period, such as the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons in the sixth and seventh centuries, or the collapse of most Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the face of Viking invasion and settlement in the ninth century. Alternatively, rather than narrow the focus temporally, I could have picked out a particular thematic focus, such as religious change across the period or the changing nature of kingship. Decisions such as these need to be both pedagogically defensible and historically meaningful (in so far as these criteria can be seen as separate at all). It would be challenging, for example, to explain the changing nature of Anglo-Saxon kingship without some understanding of the importance of Christianity in the period, nor is it easy to explain the growth of West Saxon authority in the tenth century without substantive knowledge of the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the eighth century and the changes that occurred in these kingdoms under Danish influence in the ninth century. All those engaged in the study of history have to accept the complexity of the past and its resistance to explanation. As historians and history teachers, however, we are required to cut the Gordian knot and find ways to give structure, and therefore give meaning, to the past.

The most important task for history teachers in achieving this Herculean (or should that be Alexandrian?) feat is careful management of the interplay of overview and depth. When it comes to diverse notions of and variants of 'overview' and 'depth', there is a wealth of published teacher practice and various forms of research on which to draw. In particular, it was necessary for me to think about what framework pupils would use to come to understand the period. In making this decision, I drew on Shemilt and Howson's distinctive notion of 'framework' which is one that enables pupils 'to organise material as instantiations of or exceptions to high-level generalisations.'9 Relating particular events to

Figure 1: 1066 and All That lives on: the continuing confusions history teachers have to avoid

The Scots (originally Irish, but by now Scotch) were at this time inhabiting Ireland, having driven the Irish (Picts) out of Scotland; while the Picts (original Scots) were now Irish (living in brackets) and *vice versa*. It is essential to keep these distinctions clearly in mind (and *verce visa*).

W.C. Sellar and R.J. Yeatman (1930) 1066 and All That, London: Methuen.

high-level generalisations about a period is complex, and history teachers need to help pupils in this. Banham took the then unorthodox route of doing it backwards. Fourteen years ago, using the example of King John and the Middle Ages, Banham, then a history teacher working in Suffolk, demonstrated how an in-depth focus on one particular aspect of the medieval period, the reign of King John, could be used to provide pupils with the substantive knowledge and conceptual tools required to make accessing a broader structural 'overview' possible (in his case the chronology of medieval monarchs and patterns of their changing kingship).10 In other words, it is possible, in the words of Banham, to find 'the overview lurking in the depth'. In Banham's understanding, a particular phenomenon or story is chosen because of its scope for revealing something about a wider period and because of its power in making pupils' subsequent assimilation of that wider picture both more efficient and palatable. That 'something' might be anything that the small story furnishes - be it sense of period, grasp of social structure or an understanding of contemporary political meanings emerging from the intrigue of a political story. This idea of Banham's was particularly useful in the construction of my enquiry, for it allowed me to think about how I could design my enquiry to include the rich stories that populate the period but within a framework that made the period meaningful, and, in particular, to reflect on how the former might create access to, rather than detract from, the latter.

The justification for using depth studies as a means of helping pupils come to 'high-level generalisations' has been further exemplified in recent years through other practitioner research. Jenner, for example, was interested in how he could situate the story of Thomas Becket's murder in 1170 within a wider understanding of the period. Jenner recognised that many pupils struggled with finding meaning in and across longer periods of time, and he therefore focused explicitly on how small, personal stories can be used to provide access to wider, more complex issues. For Jenner, it was easier to get pupils 'interested in the messy and complex nature of historical change when examining the ebb and

Figure 2: Some enquiry questions on change and continuity from the Cottenham Key Stage 3 schemes of work

How far did England change after the Norman Conquest?

What did the candle in Morebath Church see?

(change and continuity during the English Reformation, based on the work of Steve Mastin)

How revolutionary was the French Revolution?

How far did the face of British politics change over the nineteenth century?

> flow of a personal relationship between two men than when wrestling with a broad sweep of time such as the industrial revolution.'12 In a similar way, Jones argued that introducing pupils to personal stories can serve as a means by which those pupils can access 'meta-narratives', most importantly the more complex and abstract notion of change over time.¹³ Jones' enquiry was explicitly focused on change and continuity. Jenner, in contrast, was interested in how a small change enquiry could give pupils a greater understanding of a causal question. In both cases, it is interesting to note a fundamental relationship between the second-order concept in question and the *type* of overview that pupils were being asked to construct.

Change and continuity

The conceptual focus for this enquiry was change and continuity. Second-order concepts are useful because they powerfully describe types of thinking that are historical.14 Throughout the Key Stage 3 enquiries in our department, we have given pupils the opportunity to think about change and continuity in a range of contexts, as illustrated in Figure 2. A brief glance will demonstrate that for a student to answer each of these questions, they must think about the extent of change (how far had things changed?), the pace of change (how quickly did things change?) and the nature of change. 15 In designing this enquiry, I had decided that I wanted pupils to think about the nature of change, finding ways to describe the phenomenon in question,

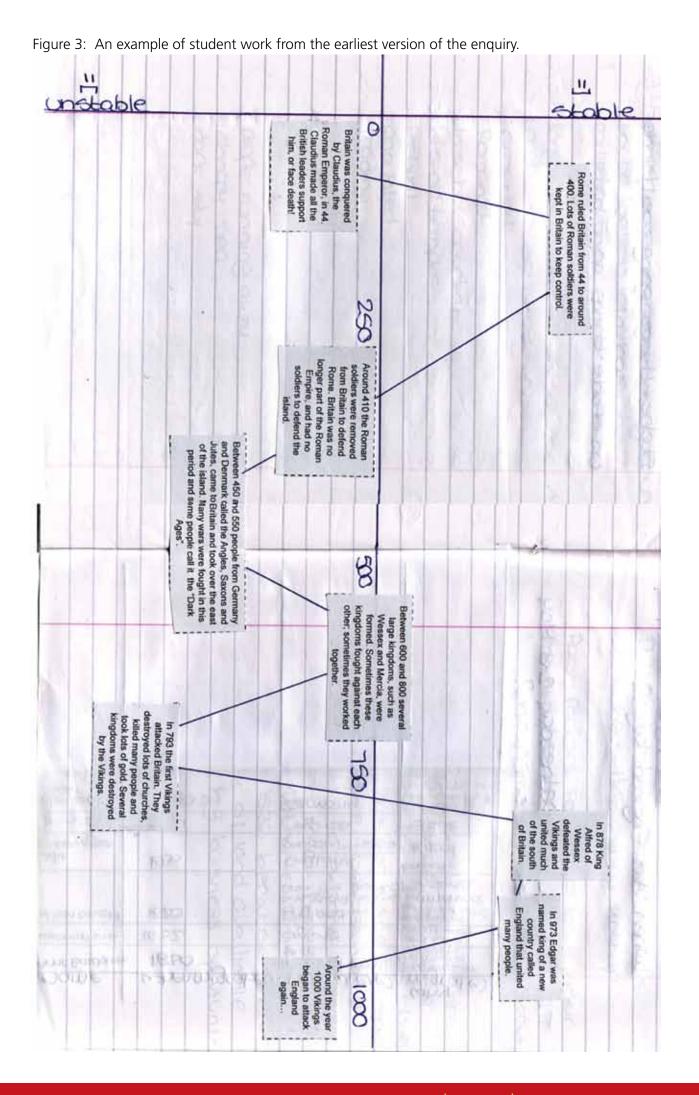
rather than focusing on its speed or extent. Experience has shown me that a teacher's reflection on the mode of thinking about change is vital if pupils are to become fully engaged in the puzzle, rather than confused and directionless because of the enquiry question's lack of conceptual focus.

Once I had identified a particular aspect of historical thinking, in this case the nature of change, I had to reflect on what I wanted pupils to do with that concept. 16 One does not have to go far to find examples of where this has been achieved in practice. Foster, for example, encouraged her pupils to use the metaphor of a 'road map' to represent their thinking about the pace, extent, nature and direction of change.¹⁷ The idea of using metaphors to make meaning out of a concept has been used elsewhere, as with Chapman's use of the 'breaking of the camel's back' to represent a causal argument.¹⁸ A visual metaphor is, of course, a non-linguistic method of making an abstract concept meaningful. Linguistic approaches to this task are also widespread in history education literature, with Woodcock's work on the language of causation being particularly influential.¹⁹ Drawing on the ideas of real-language philosophy, Woodcock demonstrated the relationship between language and concept, showing how pupils' understanding of the nature of causes developed in a close relationship with their ability to use language to describe those causes. This would prove to be a particularly useful piece of thinking in the evolution of my enquiry. The idea has also been developed, in relation to the concept of change, by Jarman.²⁰

The enquiry question

Designing an enquiry is a complex intellectual act, the creative process by which a history teacher structures a 'learning journey' that will provide pupils with the substantive and conceptual knowledge they need to achieve a meaningful outcome piece of work.²¹ Deciding upon an enquiry question requires careful professional thought and discussion. As Riley highlighted, an enquiry question has to serve multiple purposes, including capturing the imagination of pupils, placing the emphasis on the types of historical thinking identified above, and giving pupils the opportunity to complete an 'outcome activity' that allows them to give a genuine answer to a historical question.²² The collaborative nature of this planning was taken even further by Byrom and Riley, who demonstrated the importance of making historical and pedagogical decisions as part of the planning process.²³ Designing an enquiry question, selecting content and deciding upon an outcome activity requires history teachers at all stages of the planning process to make judgements both about the past and about the way their pupils are going to engage with it. On this argument, designing an enquiry is an act of historical thought, just like writing an essay or participating in a seminar.

The challenges I faced in designing an enquiry on Britain in the first millennium are encapsulated in the difficulties I had in forming an enquiry question. That enquiry question, which had to be the nexus where historical thought and pedagogical forward-thinking were entwined, was revised over time, and the transition in my use from one enquiry question to another reveals the manner in which my thinking about this period and how it might be taught to pupils developed. It is useful, therefore, to consider how my enquiry evolved over time as an insight into how my professional thinking changed.



First attempts

I first attempted to construct an enquiry on Anglo-Saxon England when I was a newly qualified teacher, working in an 11-18 comprehensive school. I had only a few lessons in which to teach my enquiry and, although my PGCE course had prepared me very thoroughly for thinking about overview and depth, change and continuity and the enquiry question, my ideas about these had not yet been sufficiently tempered in the crucible of practice. Pupils had to answer the question 'When was Britain most dangerous in the first millennium?'

Inspired (in some ways) by Plato's Republic, I used the analogy of a ship at sea to introduce my pupils to the ideas 'stable' and 'unstable'. Using Thomas Cole's paintings as a prompt to establish the idea of 'decline and fall', my pupils wrote down their thoughts about what political stability and instability might entail for a state. With initial ideas forming about these ideas, pupils then completed the crucial activity in this enquiry: the creation of a graph where pupils had to position 'event' cards on a timeline, and then translate these on the y-axis based on their judgement about how 'stable' or 'unstable' life in Britain was at the time. An example of student work can be seen in Figure 3. This was, of course, the 'framework' that would allow them to relate particular events to a 'bigger picture'. I was initially quite pleased with how my pupils managed the task: their graphs were completed as I expected, and this then proved the basis of a fruitful discussion of how political stability in Britain in the first millennium changed over time. Pupils were able to draw upon language such as 'fluctuation' to describe stability across the period, demonstrating that they were engaging with the concept of change and continuity. Mission accomplished.

I taught this enquiry, more or less in the same form, for several years. Each time, however, I became more and more uncomfortable with the enquiry, my sense of unease driven by my assessment of what my pupils were taking as an outcome. Benefiting considerably from research that was published while I was teaching this enquiry, some of which is identified above, I began to realise that I had not reflected sufficiently on what I wanted my pupils to take from the enquiry. I wondered what, in 30 years time, these pupils would respond to the journalist who asked 'what did you learn in history at school?' In short, I was not being sufficiently clear about what substantive and conceptual outcomes I wanted pupils to achieve.

Revising the enquiry

With these concerns in mind, I set to the task of revising my enquiry. In my analysis of pupils' work, I found that they frequently lacked sufficient substantive knowledge to draw meaningful conclusions from the enquiry. The challenge, therefore, was to give pupils sufficient contextual knowledge of the whole period to be able to make meaningful judgements about the nature of change in Anglo-Saxon society. I was increasingly conscious of the fact that in aiming to get pupils to reflect on the period as a whole I had deprived them of the rich stories that help to populate the period with real people. I thus decided, drawing in particular on Jones' and Jenner's development of Banham's thinking on

overview and depth, to build the enquiry around the way in which individual, rich stories can serve as the key to making meaning out of a wider chronological framework.

My desire to place a notion of 'story' at the heart of this change enquiry led me to adopt a new enquiry question: 'What stories can be told of early-medieval Britain?' This question appealed to me for three reasons. First, the idea of 'what stories can be told' manages to capture the more tentative nature of generalisations about the early-medieval period as a consequence of the paucity of source material. Second, although there is a less explicit focus on change in the question, it nevertheless forces pupils to engage with change and continuity as central concepts in the process of narrative construction. It would be impossible to answer that question meaningfully without finding a way to characterise change and continuity across the period. Finally, this question directed pupils towards a clear outcome where they would have to construct their own narrative of early-medieval Britain.

To reach a stage where this outcome was possible, pupils had to go through a process of selection. Some examples of the information cards that I developed for this purpose can be seen in Figure 4. This 'card sort' activity had changed significantly from the previous enquiry. Each card contains sufficient detail to be, in its own right, an interesting story. The specificity of these cards is important. Rather than ask my pupils to put all of the cards on to a spectrum, I instead asked them to find 'a story worth telling' among the cards. This did, of course, require quite careful modelling, demonstrating how particular cards could be joined together to form a story. In my modelling, I used the example of 'the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons', speaking my thoughts aloud as I selected some of the cards and rejected others.

The next stage in modelling the task was to give pupils a few stories to 'search' for among the information cards. I set them to searching for 'the unification of England' and 'the Viking invasion and settlement. Pupils did, inevitably, access this on a number of levels. The beauty of the task is its open-ended nature. Those groups of pupils who were able to 'find' the stories I had set for them were now ready to look for their own stories. Weaker pupils spent more time reflecting on the stories with which I had provided them, making judgements about which of the event cards formed parts of those stories.

It was at this point in the enquiry that I asked pupils to draw explicitly upon language as a means of access to conceptual understanding. I gave pupils the list of words to describe change and continuity outlined in Figure 5 on p.44. Pupils had to select a word from that list which they thought best described what kind of change was happening in the story that they had constructed. The list of words becomes more complex and subtle the further down you read, and this allowed weaker pupils to select terms such as 'violent' with which to characterise the type of change taking place in their story. More able pupils seized the opportunity to adopt a more complex vocabulary for describing change.

The final stage in this enquiry was based around the problem of what the pupils would take away with them. I do not expect that in 20 years time these pupils will remember all of the

Figure 4: The re-designed cards, developed after reflection on and revision of the first enquiry. Pupils had to 'search for the story' within these cards.

c.450-500 - Anglo-Saxon migration

At some point in the fifth century a large number of Germanic people moved from northern Europe to Britain. According to Bede, these were the Angles, Saxons and Jutes. It is highly likely that there were some Germans living in Britain under Roman rule, but the number must have increased significantly after Roman rule came to an end. Again, this is a matter of much debate with little evidence. What does seem likely is that these 'Anglo-Saxons' pushed the Celtic Britons westwards towards modern-day Cornwall, Wales and Cumbria.

664 - The Synod of Whitby

In 664 a meeting was held at Whitby to decide when Easter would be celebrated. The problem emerged because the Celtic Christians (dominant in Ireland, Celtic Britain and some parts of Northumbria) used a different system to the Catholic Church in Rome. The meeting was hosted by King Oswiu of Northumbria who decided that the Roman method of dating be selected, bringing all of Britain in line with Rome.

878 - Battle of Edington

By 874 the kingdom of Mercia had collapsed and been taken over by the Vikings who now turned their attention to Wessex. During 875 and 876 a number of attacks were made on Wessex, most of which were Viking victories. In 878 Alfred of Wessex (remembered by the Victorians as Alfred the Great) won an important victory at Edington. Following the treaty the Vikings, led by Guthrum, accepted a line between London and Chester as the limit of Danish rule. and Guthrum accepted conversion to Christianity.

920 - Edward's conquests

Alfred's son Edward (the Elder) went on the offensive after the death of Alfred in 899. Edward took control of all of the Danish lands south of the Humber, and by 920 all of the peoples of what became England had submitted to Edward, though in reality his power probably stretched only as far as the Humber.

937 - Battle of Brunanburh

King Athelstan, who succeeded his father Edward the Elder, was able to capitalise on his father's successes. This culminated in 937 with his victory at the Battle of Brunanburh where Athelstan defeated a combined army of Danes and Scots. Athelstan was recognised as an 'over-king' by most of the people of Britain, and he had a number of Welsh, Scottish and Danish leaders attending him at court and signing his court papers (charters).

957 - 973 - Reigns of Edwy and Edgar

A political union which might now be called 'England' had developed under the West Saxon kings Alfred, Edward and Athelstan. This union broke up in 957 under King Edwy, but was recreated under King Edgar in 959. Edgar interestingly was crowned a second time in 973 when six or eight Welsh and Scottish kings rowed Edgar up the River Dee in a boat to show their loyalty to him. Edgar controlled England by building up the laws and taking more control from his court. He reformed the coinage to gain more central control.

Figure 5: The language of change

formation	reorganised
division	transformed
unification	evolved
variation	suspended
reshaping	continuity
rearrangement	flow
metamorphosis	residue
transformation	continued
evolution	preserved
revolution	persisted
mutation	remained
fluctuation	lingered
altered	endured
became	prolonged
adapted	sustained
refashioned	

details they have studied in putting together their narratives. If they could, however, remember one particular part of the story that somehow captured the kind of change that was happening in their story, then they would have a sense of depth and overview, an idea of how one particular event revealed something greater about the period in question. This residual knowledge needs a heuristic on which it can hang. It was for this reason that I set pupils a challenge: if their story were to be the subject of a book, which event from their story would they place on the front cover? In making their decision, they had to choose the event which best related the word they had chosen to describe the change happening in their story. For example, one student, who was attempting to tell the story of the Viking invasion and settlement of Britain, chose to put the attack on Lindisfarne on the front of his book, to characterise the 'violent' change that was taking place.

The current enquiry is shown in Figure 6. This enquiry will, undoubtedly, continue to evolve over the coming years, and already I am beginning to see how the types of thinking engendered in this enquiry might relate to other enquiries I teach. I drew upon, for example, the idea of using a particular event to 'capture' a piece of conceptual thought when teaching an enquiry on the consequences of the American Revolution, where pupils in Year 8 (12-13-year-olds) had to pick an event which best characterised the nature of the consequences. At some point, I intend to think further about how this type of student thinking might relate to the concept of historical significance, for which I would be able to call upon an increasingly large number of publications from within the history education community.²⁴ As my experience of teaching this enquiry shows, my teaching develops through a negotiation between my own practice and a wider tradition, a process in which new meaning and understanding is created.²⁵

Being professional

This article has attempted to tell the story of one history teacher calling upon professional knowledge - both my own, constructed in the crucible of practice, and that of other history teachers, through the published literature in order to construct an enquiry. For me as a practising history teacher, this is what it means to be a professional. It is worth casting your eye over the list of references below: it is long for a reason, which is of course that practising history teachers can and do draw upon a wealth of published work in which they can situate their own practice. This story suggests that the process of structuring historical knowledge across an enquiry is meaningful because it is situated in practice; history as a school subject, it would seem, becomes structured in lessons for pupils through the professional thinking of history teachers. That professional thinking involves grappling with the substantive and disciplinary demands of history, struggling with the construction of an enquiry question and striving to crystallise a sequence of lessons out of this thinking. Designing enquiries most certainly is, in the words of Byrom and Riley, an 'intellectually exhausting' task.26

The practice outlined here was developed predominantly at Hinchingbrooke School in Huntingdon. I am grateful to Geraint Brown and Matthew Stanford at Cottenham Village College for further discussions about the issues raised here.

Figure 6: An outline of the current enquiry		
Lesson	Title	Activities
	When did England become England?	 Introduction: Role-play activity based on Edgar being rowed down the River Dee. Pupils have to speculate about the event and what might be going on. Development: Pupils are given the event cards which they lay out in pairs. They have to search for the event they have just recreated. The teacher then picks out four or five cards that tell the story of how England was united. Pupils then have to reach a judgement about the point at which England became united. Conclusion: Pupils are asked to remove all but three of the cards which they think best capture the story of English unification. Pupils look at two other event cards and decide if these events can be incorporated into the story of English unification.
2	Same events, different stories?	Introduction: Begin with an extract from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describing the arrival of the 'north men' in Britain. Pupils make a sketch in their book of the event. Development: The teacher models the way that events can be selected to make up this new story: the relationship between Britain and Scandinavia. Pupils then have to find other stories to tell with suggestions available from the teacher, such as 'Christianity in Britain'. Conclusion: Pupils look at the different stories they have created and choose one. They then have to tell the story in a limited number of words.
3	How can changes in Britain in the first millennium best be described?	Introduction: Pupils begin by re-reading their story from the previous lesson and are asked to explain what makes their story an interesting one. Development: After getting a language sheet (as in Figure 4) pupils select words which describe the changes and continuities they find in their stories. They then have to explain these selections by re-writing their story using these words. Conclusion: Pupils share their re-written stories with each other, explaining to partners why they chose the words that they did.
	What stories of Britain in the first millennium can be told?	Introduction: Pupils look at a range of covers to books where the publisher has selected an image to put on the cover. This is followed by a discussion in which students record what criteria they would use to select an image. Development: Pupils now return to their story and they have to choose the image they would put on the cover of their book. The image has to be of an event from their story, and it has to 'capture' the change or continuity in their story. Pupils also write a summary of their story on the back, again identifying the main changes and continuities in their story. Conclusion: A display is created on the board of all the front covers. Around these are placed large copies of the original event cards. Pupils are asked to reflect, to finish the enquiry, on the process of selection in the formation of their stories.

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- ²⁴ Space limitations here prevent even the basics of a bibliography on historical significance. A good starting point is Kitson, A. and Husbands, C. (2012) *Teaching and Learning History 11-18: Understanding the Past*, Maidenhead: Open University Press, pp. 84-88.
- 25 This type of process would be familiar to Gadamer. See Gadamer, H.-G. (1976) Philosophical Hermeneutics, translated and edited by Linge, D., Berkeley: University of California Press.
- ²⁶ Byrom and Riley, op. cit., p.8.