Where's the other 'c'?

Year 9 examine continuity in the treatment of mental health through time

Helen Murray, Rachel Burney and Andrew Stacey-Chapman show how they strengthened three goals of their practice – secure knowledge, narrative shapes and conceptual analysis – by securing strong connection between them. The curricular focus that drew all this together was 'historical continuity', a property crucial to narrative, but often underplayed in history teacher writing. Murray, Burney and Stacey-Chapman elaborate the ways in which continuity both enabled students to assimilate new knowledge efficiently and sharpened their thinking. They raise questions, too, about future ways in which a focus on continuity might secure even greater chronological fluency in students. Another theme of the article is departmental leadership through academic teamwork. Key to all this, the authors argue, is history teachers' thirst for reading different types of scholarship, and the use of departmental meeting time to debate it in scholarly ways.

Helen Murray, Rachel Burney and Andrew Stacey-Chapman
Helen Murray is currently a Lead Practitioner for Teaching and Learning, Rachel Burney is acting Head of History and Andrew Stacey-Chapman was formerly a PGCE trainee teacher at Stanground Academy (11-18 comprehensive), Peterborough.

In his Apology *(1533) More tells us about a man who, after falling into a frenzy, was taken into Bethlem, where, through beating and correction, he eventually came to his senses. Set at liberty, however, he began to succumb to madness once again, and took to wandering into church during Mass and causing a disturbance. The worst manifestation of this came during the Elevation of the Host. If he saw a woman kneeling before the altar rail, lost in her prayers, he would creep up behind her and tip her skirts over her head. This must have been particularly disconcerting, given that knickers had yet to be invented. The perpetrator was given short shrift for his anti-social behaviour: he was taken by the constables and tied to a tree in the street, where he was beaten with rods in front of the entire town, a treatment which, according to Sir Thomas, effectively cured him of his madness.*[1]

It all started with a recommendation from one history teacher to another and a visit to a good bookshop. It ended with another teacher exclaiming after a meeting, 'that was the best CPD I've had for a long time'.

In our history department, teachers create enquiries based on second-order concepts, such as causation or change and continuity. These enquiries are mapped out across Years 7 to 9 (11–14-year-olds) in an attempt to secure progression not only in knowledge but also in pupils' conceptual thinking. We achieve this by revisiting the same types of enquiry (cause, change and so on) in different forms, over three years, and thus the pupils learn the different kinds of analysis that each second-order concept commands. The enquiries are also constructed and ordered to support the pupils' security with chronology, moving from medieval to modern across the three years. Knowledge is central in this approach: the substantive knowledge that is selected for an enquiry gives the pupils frames of reference as they move from one enquiry to another. The second-order or structural aspects of the discipline and the substantive knowledge are thus mutually dependent. Unlike a skills-based approach, a conceptual approach helps to create a deep engagement with the actual subject content, strengthening knowledge growth and retention.

This article will focus on four interlinked issues. First, it suggests possibilities for the oft-forgotten second 'c' in the twin second-order concept of 'change and continuity'. Continuity-focused enquiries encourage pupils to keep searching for patterns and new questions across temporal dimensions. Second, it emphasises the importance of a history department keeping up to date with the current scholarship for their subject. Third, the article shows how new knowledge creates an ever-expanding frame of reference. The article links these three issues through a fourth: a story of collaborative professional development.

The setting was a large, busy, urban, 11-18 comprehensive going through the upheavals of becoming an academy and the start of a new school year. The history department was a mix of professionals with a range of development needs: two experienced history teachers eager to spend more time on historical scholarship; an NQT wanting more of a curricular, disciplinary focus, so that her professional development was not entirely about the challenges of being an NQT; a PGCE trainee, only a few weeks into his first placement; and a head of history wanting to push the department's conceptual thinking in collaborative ways. A collaborative approach would help all these teachers to engage with a wider history-teaching community by reflecting together and experimenting with ideas that they would actually see in reality in their classrooms, as opposed to a detached, one-off discussion or an uncritical borrowing of an approach. This article is written by three members of that team: Helen (head of department at the time), Rachel (experienced history teacher) and Andrew (trainee teacher). It moves between their voices, showing how individual contributions, collaborative work and departmental management each played their part in shaping a shared departmental

Figure 1: a summary of the preceding units focusing on change and continuity

	Enquiry question	Substantive knowledge	Brief overview	Outcome activity
Year 7 (a 4-week enquiry, summer term)	How far was Peterborough religiously reformed in comparison with Morebath?	The Reformation – its national narrative and local divergences	Comparison of the changes and continuities brought about by the Reformation using a comparative depth study of Peterborough and Morebath*	A formal, extended piece of writing (magazine article for *BBC History Magazine*) comparing the two places, in terms of type of change.
Year 8 (a 4-week enquiry, autumn term)	What change have the pillars seen in the Cordoba mosque?	Cordoba, as changing microcosm of (a) Spain from eighth to sixteenth century; (b) wider narrative of Islamic civilisations	Overview of changes to the mosque in Cordoba through the study of three themes: the building of the mosque, the growth of learning and knowledge in Andalusia and relationships between Muslims and non-Muslims	Drawing and annotation of change graphs for each theme to show and explain the extent and speed of change. Use of 'hopes, fears and sorrows' activity from Counsell to assess nature of change.* Introduction of 'change' words to open up conceptual understanding.
			*Our Morebath study draws on our reading of Duffy, E. (2001) *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*, New Haven: Yale University Press.	*Counsell, C. (2011) 'What do we want students to do with historical change and continuity?', in Davies, I. (ed.), *Debates in History Teaching*, London: Routledge.

journey. Helen led and co-ordinated the writing but, in parts of the article, stands back to bring forth distinctive voices and contributions from within the team. We begin with Rachel. It all began with her discovery.

Rachel:

Rachel's discovery … and ensuing problem

Perhaps the most valuable lesson I learnt during my Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE), four years ago, was the importance of regularly engaging with historical scholarship both in order to keep in touch with the history community and in order to think deeply about the nature of history.[2] This lesson stays with me. It often leads me to peruse the shelves of a library or bookshop in the hope of discovering a work which will not only inspire me, but engage even the most apathetic of my pupils. Catherine Arnold's *Bedlam* is one such book.[3] An arresting and thought-provoking account of the many incarnations of Bethlehem Hospital, it examines not only the changing building but also developments in the often bizarre treatments and in attitudes towards madness. Arnold's opening sentence gripped me immediately: 'The mad, like the poor, have always been with us'.[4] Arnold describes the building where the mentally ill were treated as a 'ramshackle hovel' in the medieval period, later transformed into a 'palace beautiful' in the late seventeenth century.[5] Yet the transformation in setting was not an upward trend of improvement and sometimes hid continuing cruelties. The people to whom Arnold introduces the reader range from royalty to suspected witches to the unfortunate man that Sir Thomas More described in the extract above. I quickly began to consider how I might use Arnold's rich anecdotes and detail with my Year 9 pupils.

The department has a tradition of one teacher creating each enquiry, with each enquiry based on one second-order concept. The enquiry is then taught by the rest of the department and collaboratively evaluated for further development. Because these enquiries are built on across three years, by the time my pupils had reached Year 9 they had already tackled change and continuity in Year 7 and Year 8 (see Figure 1 for an overview of our change enquiries). After my initial glance at Arnold's *Bedlam* I recognised the potential for a Year 9 enquiry which would allow pupils to analyse the extent and nature of change and continuity in attitudes towards mental health, using Bethlehem Hospital as a central, but not sole, case study across nearly 800 years of history and building substantive knowledge about medical and associated social, economic and cultural change. One challenge, therefore, was that of ruthless selection. The bigger challenge, however, was how to formulate an 'enquiry question' which would enable pupils to construct their own, informed narrative and analysis, not simply a question which would grip their imaginations.[6]

Having been immediately gripped by Arnold's own narrative, it seemed prudent to base the enquiry question on her opening words. I therefore settled on the question, 'The mad have always been with us: How have attitudes towards mental illness changed over time?'[7] Each lesson focused on a different incarnation of Bethlehem Hospital from its origins in 1247 as a hovel-cum-hostel to its establishment as a facility to treat shell shock during the First World War. The lessons used a variety of visual and sometimes lengthy written material. These included both contemporary sources and extracts from Arnold's work. Pupils thus saw both Arnold's writing as historian and the sources that she worked with. For example, in Figure 2, Arnold uses a contemporary account by William Hood, the doctor in charge of the hospital from 1853, to inform her account of the change that Hood brought about. Pupils used such resources both to understand the treatments for those with mental disorders and to infer possible change or continuity within attitudes.

Even during the process of developing these lessons, however, I remained unsure as to how best assess the pupils' understanding of the treatments and attitudes towards the mentally ill. I struggled to find the right concluding activity

for the final lesson. I wanted an activity that would allow students to draw together all their knowledge and thinking in a direct answer to the enquiry question.[8] I wanted them to go beyond the narrative, analysing the extent and nature of change more explicitly than a narrative would allow. In particular, I wanted them to discern the continuities, as well as change. But an appropriate outcome activity continued to elude me.

Helen:

Rachel's struggle to find that 'outcome activity' soon became a productive opportunity for us all. As a department we felt this was an ideal opportunity to read more history education literature in order to think about *what* we really wanted to assess. An outcome activity, the moment of answering the enquiry question, is a profound assessment opportunity. It allows students to bring together and demonstrate both their new knowledge and their thinking from the whole enquiry. But what, exactly, did we want to assess? Andrew, our trainee teacher in his first placement, needed to start a mini-research project for his PGCE, one that focused on historical learning. The two professional needs – our department's and our trainee's – dovetailed perfectly.

With Rachel's doubts about how to create the final outcome activity that would do the enquiry question justice, it was time that we read, as a department, about what other professionals had been thinking. I selected a range of literature on change and continuity from the community of history teachers and asked each member of the department to read a given piece. I considered the area that each might find most useful. For myself, I wanted to reflect more on how this enquiry could move pupils' understanding of change and continuity forward from their earlier learning in similar enquiries in Year 7 and Year 8. I therefore considered what Counsell argued we could get pupils to *do* with this second-order concept and Lee's thoughts on change as a process and as a series of events.[9] One of the experienced history teachers was also creating an enquiry to do with the substantive knowledge surrounding King Henry II and Thomas Becket, so she was given Jenner[10] whereas our NQT wanted more time to reflect on Foster's road-map analogy.[11] This literature was analysed for how it might help inform a discussion about the design of a final 'outcome activity' for our Bedlam enquiry.

The discussion, shaped by each teacher's perceptions of their reading, also contributed significantly to our trainee's learning.

Figure 2: One of the lengthy extracts from Arnold's book that pupils used to judge how far attitudes had stayed the same during the mid-nineteenth century

"Hood's mission was to create a hospitable, rather than a hospital, environment, the appearance of a loving home where patients were cared for with compassion and dignity. One of Hood's first tasks was to:

> *abolish all those gloomy appendages which characterised of old the external appearance of the madhouse, and which diffused gloom and despondence through the interior of the building. The massive iron bars, which now darken and disfigure the bedroom windows of this Hospital, will be removed and replaced by windows of a lighter and more cheerful appearance, similar in construction to those recently introduced in the front windows of the ground floor.*

To his contemporaries, Hood's achievements appeared magical: wooden bedsteads replaced straw in the non-acute wards; pictures materialised on the walls, carpets rolled down freshly painted corridors; birds sang in their cages while books and magazines fluttered in the newly opened library. Every Sunday, patients sang their hearts out in the chapel, beneath Smirke's gleaming glass dome. The moral treatments also included a good diet, wine with dinner and a nightly dose of morphine, making this a humane and progressive regime. Outside, a new airing ground was developed, with gravel walks, grass , flower-beds and a bowling green... Despite the fact that comfort, kindness and relaxation were now the rule in well-conducted asylums, in place of the horrible old regime of whips, gags, manacles, straitjackets, chains, straw bars, dark cells, revolving chairs and violent shower-baths, and although padded cells were disappearing for all but the most suicidal and hysterical, [one contemporary] believed that such hospitals still had a somewhat gloomy aspect. Decorate the place with pictures and busts as you may, furnish the wards with books and journals, with chess and draught boards, with embroidery frames and artists' materials, it is impossible to banish that pervading melancholy, that lonely distress, that indefinable sense of deprivation and bereavement."

From Arnold, C. (2008) *Bedlam London and Its Mad*, London: Simon and Schuster, pp.207-209

As part of his PGCE course, Andrew, our trainee, had already read this literature but was now learning from experienced teachers' reflections on the same works. At the same time, Andrew contributed to the department's learning by drawing together his thoughts on the whole department's reading and reflection. An extract from Andrew's later literature review, for his assignment, illustrates our collective reasoning:

Andrew:

Learning from literature

In our thinking about how to develop the enquiry, issues raised by Jarman were particularly helpful. When teaching change and continuity to Year 7 pupils, Jarman asked questions about the prominence that conceptual work should have in relation to substantive content: 'how to try and focus on change and continuity as processes that deserve consideration more explicitly and discretely'.[12] As our department worked on the Bedlam enquiry, achieving an optimal balance between the substantive content of mental health treatment in Britain and conceptual thinking about change and continuity became key. We therefore turned to the literature for ideas from other practitioners.

Fordham explored the possibilities of using both visual metaphors and linguistic approaches in helping pupils to think about change and continuity. Inspired by the visual approaches of teachers such as Foster and Chapman, and by Woodcock who sought to unlock his pupils' conceptual thinking through language, Fordham developed his own thinking about teaching change and continuity using powerful visual imagery.[13] For us, it seemed that an important advantage of using a visual metaphor lay in unlocking more meaningful thinking about change and continuity in those pupils who struggled to verbalise their ideas; yet at the same time, we wanted to help all our pupils improve their language for analysing the past. Our departmental discourse thus became a journey of trying to balance and interrelate these two approaches – linguistic and visual.

In particular, we were inspired by the potential of the 'road map' that Foster designed to help her Year 9 pupils analyse Civil Rights campaigns.[14] In Foster's work, the combined simplicity and flexibility of her visual metaphor was essential to its success. Foster's 'road map' activity had the potential to allow pupils not only to use change as a tool for thinking about the past, but also to use historical continuity in the same way. Although Foster did not explicitly address the potential of the road map for thinking about continuity, its potential was evident to us from the work of her pupil – 'Michael' – who puzzled over how to depict the *temporal* quality of the threat of white violence – the fact that it was a constant, rather than a one-off obstacle or threat:

> *He initially decided to block the road with burning crosses, but then decided that this did not reflect the fact that 'the threat of white violence was always in the background, even if it didn't happen'. After experimenting with different ideas, he came up with the idea of showing white violence as a speed camera, spreading them liberally along his route.*[15]

On reflection, however, we felt that the 'road map' analogy would encourage the pupil creator to home in on the perceptible aspects of change and continuity, rather than those that were more subtle. The continuities in the attitudes towards mental health are not easily perceptible. We felt that we needed an analogy that would allow pupils to show both surface change, obvious to the people at the time, and imperceptible continuities that people at the time did not remark upon or recognise and that require probing and reflection by historians to establish.

On the other hand, as Counsell commented, 'the study of change cannot, surely, be left only at the abstract, distanced level of states of affairs'; pupils also need to make generalisations about change and continuity 'at the level of human experience *at the time*'.[16] This led to an interesting consideration for our enquiry design. How could the outcome activity help our pupils to generalise about contemporaries' awareness of change in attitudes towards mental health? This consideration came together with a separate and complex problem that the department had previously noticed in pupils' responses to any material associated with health and medicine. Pupils often bring discussions back to the modern day and want to find continuities with today, some of which can profoundly confuse (one pupil compared the image in Figure 3 with the very different context of modern torture by 'water-boarding'). If we were to 'help students explore the temporal, subjective qualities of change and continuity' we needed an outcome activity that situated pupils' analysis firmly in the historical past. At the same time we did not want to remove all possibilities of connecting it with the modern day, provided such comparison was appropriate and illuminating.[17] Pupils were analysing an attitude towards an illness that, as Arnold reminded us, is not unique to the past.[18]

All these considerations gave rise to further reflection on the strengths and weaknesses of Foster's use of metaphor. As well as recognising that changes in treatments did occur, we also wanted pupils to perceive continuity in the reasoning behind these treatments and the overlapping relationship between treatment and attitude. A metaphor could also be powerful in ensuring that all pupils create some historical distance especially within a knowledge focus that carried the risk of tempting pupils into unhistorical, presentist thinking. At the same time, however, the use of metaphor carried the potential limitation that we might struggle to unpick pupils' thinking about continuity should they choose to portray it only implicitly.

Helen:

In search of the final outcome activity: bringing continuity into view

During the department meeting where we all reflected on the wider community's thoughts, I was keen that we did not think about change and continuity in isolation. This is neither the first nor the last enquiry in which our 11–14-year-old pupils wrestle with change. By the end of Year 8 we are confident in our pupils' analysis in this area (see Figure 1). In our Year 8 enquiry on medieval Islam in Spain pupils use change graphs to examine the nature, extent and rate of change. Using the setting of the mosque in Cordoba, southern Spain, pupils track change and continuity for the communities living in

Figure 3: A picture, used in Lesson 1, depicting the medieval practice of exorcism

that region from c.784 until the sixteenth century (Figure 4 shows one of three graphs from our Cordoba enquiry). Pupils consider the mosque itself as a physical place of change. They also analyse change and continuity in the learning and knowledge that arose in Cordoba and in relationships and encounters between Muslims and non-Muslims. Using both graphs and written analyses, pupils show how each of these three themes (the mosque, the development of Cordobans' learning and knowledge, and encounters between Muslims and non-Muslims) ebb and flow across the period. Some pupils also begin directly to compare these three themes, thus seeing connections and relationships between these different aspects of Andalusia across eight centuries. Our Year 8 pupils are therefore already seeing change as process rather than as event.[19] As head of department, I was conscious that in Year 9 we needed to move them on, and especially in terms of thinking about continuity. We also needed to assess their knowledge in a format suited to the Bedlam topic and to check that their overview of the chronology was absolutely secure.

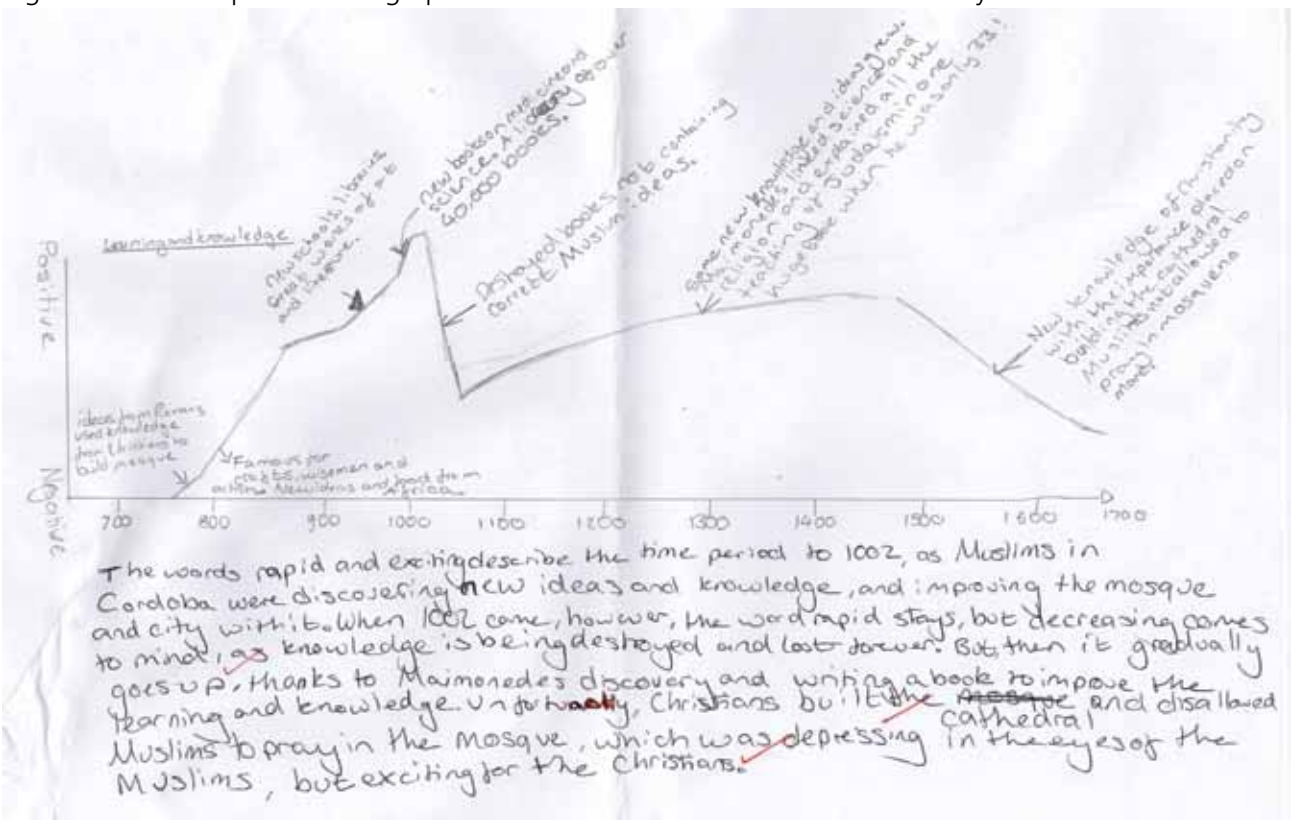
The Bedlam enquiry, with its focus on attitudes to mental illness, struck me as an opportunity to explore the nature of continuity. Reflection on change and continuity involves foregrounding the temporal dimension in historical analysis. Time is always a theme in any kind of analysis, but when historians or students of history answer questions about change or continuity, there is some special way in which temporality becomes much more salient. Moreover, the more you look at it, the more complexities emerge. This is because change in history is heterogeneous, multi-levelled and variable in rate.[20] It quickly becomes clear that one needs sub-categories such as rate, nature or extent if the category of 'change' is to be adequate to the analysis and that contrasting themes in any change 'narrative' need to be set against each other to see deep patterning.

Sometimes it is the contrasts in rate of change that make continuity come into view. For example, in the history of medicine, it is the striking persistence of certain ideas that one starts to notice when quite different treatments or attitudes are compared diachronically. Arnold herself wonders what the founder of the mental hospital in 1247 would think of his legacy:

> *[he] would have recognised some modern approaches: fringe treatments and complementary therapies such as herbal remedies and horoscopes were as familiar in the Middle Ages as they are today.*[21]

Gradually, the narrative becomes analysis, as different things are compared across time and continuities loom larger in our analytic gaze. For example, in 1796, an institution known as 'the Retreat' was created, in York, for more moral treatment. According to Arnold, this 'was to set new standards for the

Figure 4: An example of a line graph from the Year 8 Cordoba outcome activity



care and treatment of the insane'.[22] Might this not, however, still carry continuities from the medieval practices of forcing some 'mad' people into isolation? Similarly, while the types of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century treatment at the Retreat were certainly kinder than medieval flogging, nonetheless, were the *reasons* for these treatments similar? What about continuities revealed when comparing the exorcisms in medieval times with the amulets worn to ward off spirits, a practice prevalent from the medieval period to the eighteenth century? When continuity of attitude is searched for, rather than change, the belief that the illness was caused by something *that could not be seen* rises to the surface. As we start to see continuities coming into view, we also ask different questions about change. We look for different things.

Thus, the possible continuities within the history of treatment of mental illness started to surface but we did not yet know how to translate these into a final, knowledge-transforming activity. Our reading of works from the history education community prompted us to examine what *continuity* could mean. How did this other 'c' manifest itself in our thinking, planning and teaching? From our reading, of Foster and Counsell in particular, we wanted the final outcome activity to avoid merely focusing on different treatments as a series of markers in time. Armed with secure knowledge of events, they needed then to get beyond 'events' and to join them up into narratives, so that more about change and continuity could be revealed.[23] In earlier enquiries on change and continuity in Years 7 and 8, our final, knowledge-transforming activities often allow pupils to reflect on continuity but we realised that we rarely focus on it explicitly. In the Year 8 Cordoba work, the line graph suggests continuity, but only implicitly (Figure 4). We were now wrestling with how to create this final outcome activity in a way that would capture the thinking on continuity that we now believed could be achieved.

We also faced more practical problems. Some groups might be distracted or demotivated by the sheer volume of substantive material. We also needed to think carefully about different types of final outcome activity for our different (streamed) groups. Our final outcome activity needed to be a motivational tool that would enable students to gather interest and momentum across the lesson sequence, not a reductive piece of work that arrived at the end purely because we 'need to assess'.

In the end, we tried out different final outcome activities for our various teaching groups. For the purpose of this article we are going to focus on what we taught to just two groups. We found an analogy that secured a balance between forces of change and forces of continuity. The rest of the article now focuses on this outcome activity.

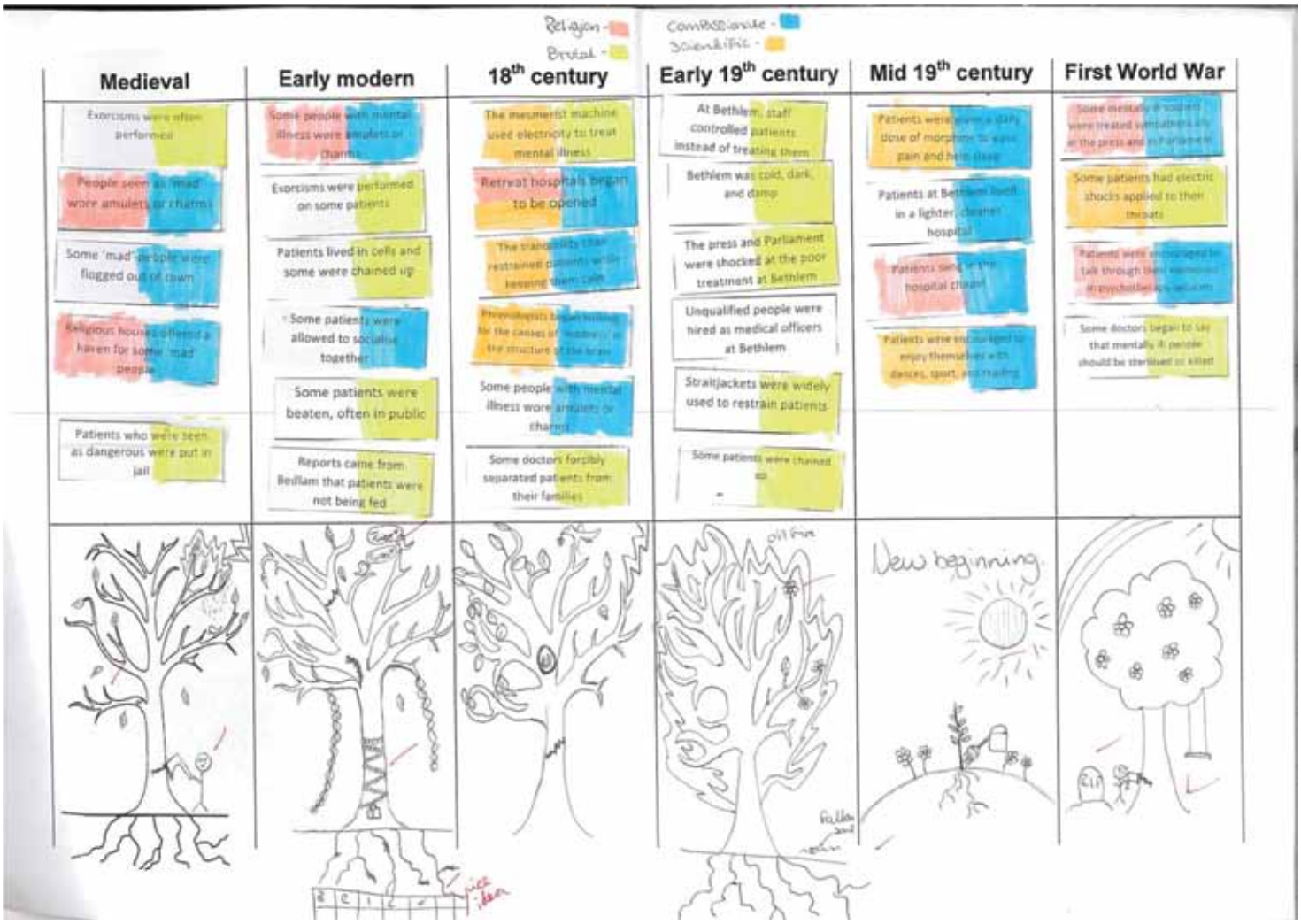
Andrew and Helen:

The final outcome activity: answering the enquiry question

Our challenge now was to decide, first, whether we should focus solely on pupils' analysis of historical continuity or whether change should be retained for concurrent analysis; second, whether pupils' analysis would be best served by visual or linguistic means.

The final outcome assessment that we eventually developed is shown in Figures 5a, 5b and 6. We provided pupils with a basic analogy that they then developed in order to represent change and continuity in mental health. Pupils then wrote sentences comparing different time periods. The analogy was a tree. The tree represented the overall attitudes towards mental illness in a given time period, such as the medieval period or the eighteenth century. The tree was a fixed point of reference designed to give the pupils a clear sense that

Figure 5a: An example of one pupil's 'tree' analogy



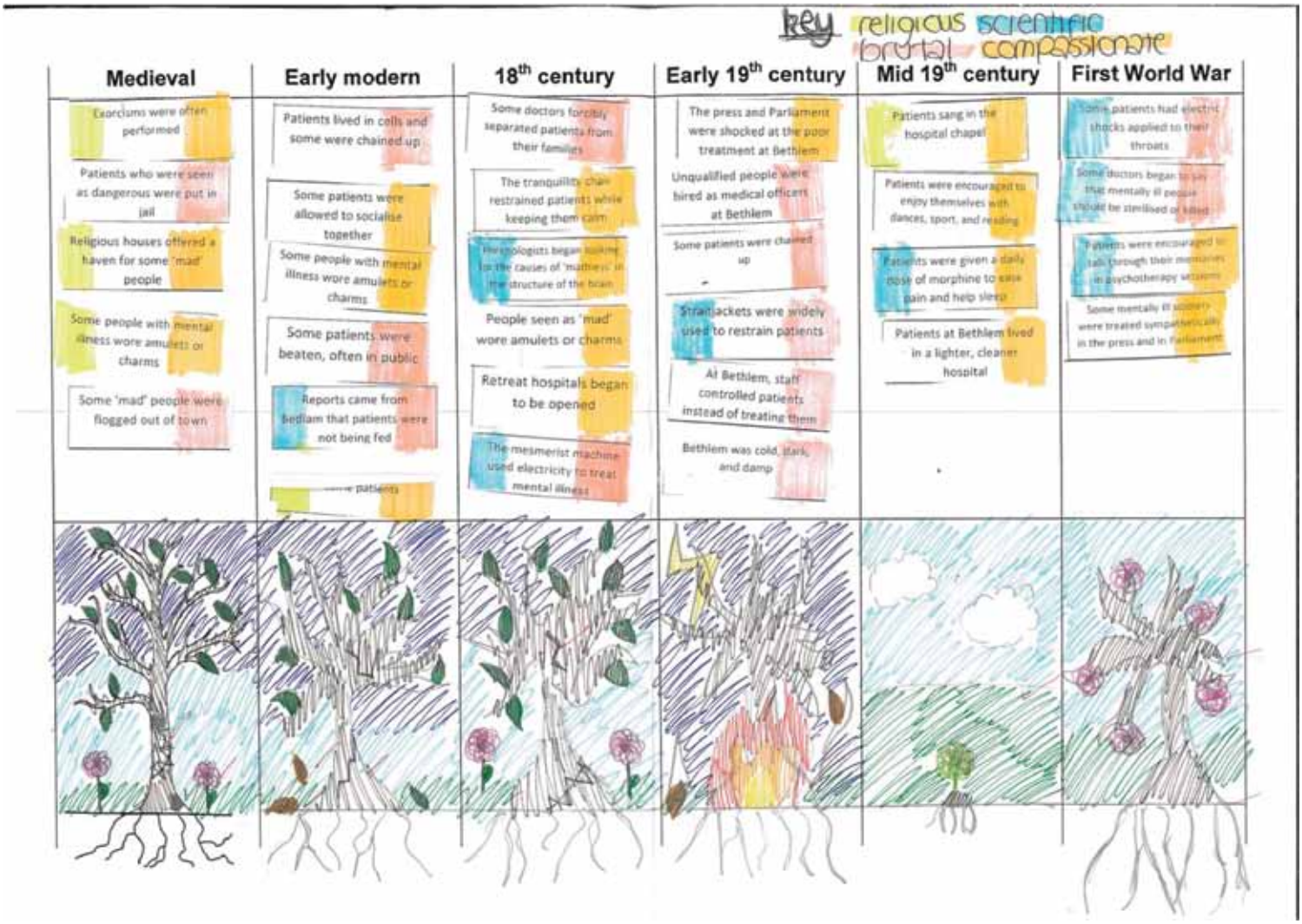
attitudes to mental illness continued to exist but did not always remain the same. For the second stage of the outcome activity pupils were asked to write summary sentences comparing two time periods in such a way as to bring out the continuities and changes in types of treatment and attitudes. Following Woodcock, we used particular phrases to open up other ways of analysing and expressing the continuity and change.[24] Taken as a whole, the final outcome was both visual and linguistic. By giving them different modes of expression, we hoped to elicit evidence of the pupils' best historical thinking.

To prepare for this, pupils carried out preliminary work through a series of linked activities which together formed the whole of the final lesson in the enquiry. These began with a card-sort, with pupils independently arranging types of treatment into time periods. We watched the pupils carefully to establish the quality of their content knowledge and chronological sequencing. Then, and before we revealed the analogy, we moved the pupils into considering the attitudes behind these treatments. In order to apply their ideas about continuity to the story they were being asked to tell, they needed terms of reference for both the type of treatment and the attitude. Pupils were therefore asked to highlight each treatment both in terms of whether it was scientific or religious and whether it represented a compassionate or brutal attitude towards mental illness (see top of Figures 5a and 5b). This allowed pupils to build shape into their story of mental illness over time. They could begin to see from the colours of their cards how treatments, and possibly attitudes, were changing and continuing across the given periods.

The pupils were now ready for the analogy (Figures 5a and 5b). Pupils were given a basic outline drawing of a tree in their medieval column. The tree was to represent attitudes towards mental illness in the period. The task for pupils was to recreate the tree in each of the other periods of time in order to show how those attitudes were changing and continuing. Pupils were to analogise their ideas about the scientific or religious and compassionate or brutal treatments and the attitudes they implied. The result would be a row of trees spanning 800 years. The final part of answering the enquiry question involved pupils using some language of change and continuity that we had been building up during the enquiry. They had to put into words their analysis from the visual activity, in particular about the extent of change and continuity (see Figure 7 on p. 54) between given pairs of historical periods. They were given some words as prompts, with higher-attaining pupils encouraged to move beyond the vocabulary given.

Pupils were given firm instructions for the tree analogy. There had to be a tree in each picture, whatever state it was in. As the tree represented attitudes towards mental illness, it could neither simply disappear nor change into another object. The enforced constancy of the tree was crucial in

Figure 5b: A second example of a pupil's 'tree' analogy



forcing the pupils to analyse historical continuity alongside change – the latter being represented by the differences between the trees in each column. The written task also required pupils explicitly to analyse continuity as well as change.

Evaluating the effectiveness of the final outcome activity

In responses such as that in Figure 5a, pupils demonstrated their discernment that certain features of attitudes towards mental illness remained similar and their reflection on the nature of that continuity. For example, some pupils used the idea of leaves on the tree to represent a compassionate attitude towards mental illness with the associated connotations of growth and life, which they noticed continuing until the early nineteenth century. The highlighting of the types of treatments at the top of the sheet correlated with the trees. The written task gave pupils an opportunity to explain the continuities. For example, one pupil (see Figure 6) explained why there was 'clear continuity' in her tree from the medieval to early modern period because for people at the time the 'only possible cause/reason for this behaviour that was easily understood was religious and Biblical. To them mental illness was spiritual not scientific.' This pupil was drawing upon the categorisation of 'spiritual' or 'scientific' in order to explain her tree analogy, suggesting she was bringing together her visual and linguistic work. It also suggests that, by focusing on the continuity, she was able to provide a new narrative shape to the story of mental illness by grouping together periods of time that shared similar attitudes.

For us as teachers, this multi-tasked outcome proved problematical to analyse. What should we do if a pupil's highlighting seems logical, their images of trees look sensible and their sentences are coherent, but in each of the three tasks he or she has told a different story of change and continuity? In future, we must find a way to overcome this difficulty, either by including steps that involve pupils making an explicit link between the different tasks or by finding a way to bring together the various tasks into a more obviously unified whole.

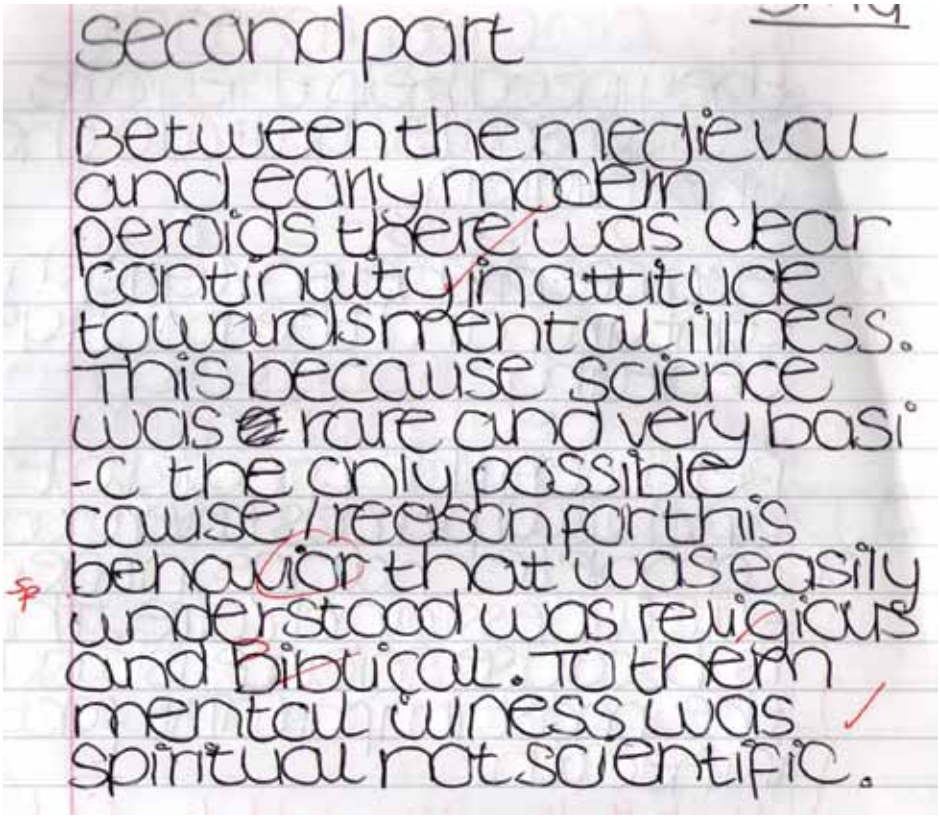
Another challenge was some pupils' failure to use the trees to analogise and instead drawing symbols – amulets or straitjackets – on to their images, thus avoiding the abstract analysis of change and continuity. Perhaps getting pupils more familiar with the process of drawing analogies earlier in the enquiry could have overcome the problem. Even more frustrating were the instances of pupils looking as though they were really trying to tell us something about change and continuity but the implicit nature of the analogy left their thinking unexplicated and unexplained. We needed to ask them '*why* did you draw that?' For example, in Figure 5a the pupil has drawn the tree roots for the early modern period growing in a ground full of bricks. The pupil explained that

this was to show that the tree was unstable – because of negative attitudes – and could come tumbling down. This was developed further through the use of chains wrapped around the tree to stop it growing. Our final outcome, however, created no place to explain the metaphor.

What happens to us, as historians, as we reflect on continuity?

As we reflected on pupils' responses, we found ourselves reflecting, in turn, on how continuities had started to come into view *for us*. We thought about the way in which the hermeneutic reading and thinking process happens for us, as readers of history. One is struck, or seized by a possible continuity, and then one starts searching for more. For example, the continuity between performing exorcisms and the medical use of marijuana in the treatment of mental illness is not obvious at first, but we gradually noticed a similar sentiment behind these different treatments. They represent a felt need to help the mentally ill by using whatever knowledge or belief systems were available.

Figure 6: An extract from one pupil's written comments from the final outcome activity



Arnold remarked, 'we all possess a slightly voyeuristic interest in madness' from the 'jostling crowds who stared and jeered' to 'the concerned but curious commentators who came to watch and learn'.[25] Again, Arnold's observation made us search for pattern. For example, we reflected on the similarity and difference between visiting Bethlem Hospital as a tourist attraction in the seventeenth century and the formal investigation into the treatment of the mentally ill in the Bethlem and the York Retreat hospital, issued by Parliament in 1815. Arnold had made us consider the ways in which people, over time, have continued to be intrigued by, and to remark upon, the mentally ill.

That curiosity, that searching, that emergence of a question is not something that should be turned into a speedy, reductive activity. Somehow, we need to lead pupils gradually into realisations and fascinations. We also now think that the enquiry question posed by Rachel at the start, 'How have attitudes towards mental illness changed over time?' could be tweaked. In future the question will need more obvious focus either on continuity or on the interplay between the two 'c's.

Helen:

Conclusions: the impact on our department

The whole process, from one teacher inspired by a history book, to an enquiry in a topic that none of us had studied, to a revival in the department's joy at reading historical scholarship, has uplifted the department. Our new knowledge brought continuity to the forefront as an analytic tool and this in turn revealed our need to question how to represent or theorise continuity in attitude rather than change in method. Moreover, we saw that continuity itself helped pupils to assimilate more of the content from this study. At points, they were searching for the broader trends and imperceptible continuities that people at the time did not remark upon. It caused them, for example, to *search* for religious undertones or to recognise a shift to scientific discoveries and later to society's rationale for renewed interest through shell shock during the First World War.

In the busy and all-consuming world of day-to-day teaching, we struggle to devote adequate time to developing our own historical knowledge and thinking, both as individuals and as a department. Working collaboratively on a project that was not tidily planned and mapped out has reminded us that this kind of work *can* happen in a big, bustling comprehensive school. It did not need countless meetings because we all had the clear goal of creating an appropriate final outcome. The pre-selected reading of history education articles meant that the workload was shared and collaborative. The meeting to discuss the history education scholarship culminated in just one lunchtime meeting. It really is possible to have 'the best CPD ever', in the busiest of environments. It developed our thinking as a group of professionals at different career stages.

We are going to focus again on continuity in future planning, making it a focus from the outset. We also want to consider the implications for progression into the post-compulsory phase of 14 to 18. The examination board that currently assesses our students in their 16+ examination focuses mainly on causation and evidential understanding.[26] There are few opportunities to examine historical continuity while pupils are asked only why the Second World War happened or why the League of Nations failed. At moments where one could start to argue about change and continuity, the pupils are constrained by mark-schemes to consider only what has changed in a positive and negative way. When answering, 'How far was there intolerance in 1920s America?' pupils are not rewarded for analysing the type, nature or degree of change. Consequently, our current Year 9 students have a better understanding than Years 10 and 11.

Figure 7: A resource to support pupils' concluding analytic writing

considerable change	profound change
noticeable change	slight change
a shift	revolution
no change	monumental change
some continuity	great continuity
no continuity	clear continuity
complete continuity	negligible continuity

What kinds of change and continuity were going on? Examine how much change and continuity you can see between and across the different periods of time. Use your highlighting and tree pictures, together with these words, to help you.

Also, we would like to understand better how pupils might reflect on and assimilate shorter periods of change and continuity. Our current enquiries span large periods of time; both the Year 8 enquiry on Cordoba and the Year 9 Bedlam enquiry span eight centuries. It seems that a study of continuity across centuries helps pupils to relate new knowledge to their previously embedded chronological framework. In this Bedlam enquiry pupils were building on their knowledge of the medieval period studied in Year 7 and were now offered a new window into that time period.[27] Could continuity enquiries help pupils build new chronological frameworks or to move about more easily, with chronological fluency, between one temporal 'place' and another?

We are now much more confident as a department, not because we have all the answers, but because we have a clear strategy for developing ourselves, supportively and together. It marries our own professional needs with the needs of our pupils as they move through the school year and through to the post-compulsory stage. What had begun as a query about how to assess pupils' thinking in an enquiry about mental health led us to crystallise our ideas for how this concept could be taught in the future. It was so much more than just creating a final outcome activity.

REFERENCES

1 Arnold, C. (2008) *Bedlam: London and Its Mad*, London: Simon and Schuster, p.54.
2 The Post Graduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) is one route into secondary subject teaching in the UK. A one-year training course, it takes place largely in schools, in collaboration with a university.
3 Arnold, *op. cit.*
4 *ibid.* p. 1.
5 *ibid.* p. 187.
6 'Enquiry question' here is used in Riley's sense. Riley, M. (2008) 'Into the Key Stage 3 history garden: choosing and planting your enquiry questions' in *Teaching History, 99, Curriculum Planning Edition,* pp.3-8.
7 Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 1.
8 Riley, *op. cit.*
9 Counsell, C. (2011) 'What do we want students to *do* with historical change and continuity?' in Davies, I. (ed.), *Debates in History Teaching,* London: Routledge, pp.109-123; Lee, P.J. (2005) 'Putting Principles into Practice: Understanding History' in M.S. Donovan and J.D. Bransford, *How Students Learn: history in the classroom*, National Academies Press, pp. 43-6.
10 Jenner, T. (2010) 'From human-scale to abstract analysis: Year 7 analyse the changing relationship of Henry II and Becket' in *Teaching History, 139, Analysing History Edition*, pp.4-10.
11 Foster, R. (2008) 'Speed cameras, dead ends, drivers and diversions: Year 9 use a "road map" to problematize change and continuity' in *Teaching History, 131, Assessing Differently Edition*, pp. 4-8.
12 Jarman, B. (2009) 'When were Jews in medieval England most in danger? Exploring change and continuity with Year 7' in *Teaching History, 136, Shaping the Past Edition*, p. 10.
13 Fordham, M. (2012) 'Out went Caesar and in came the Conqueror, though I'm sure something happened in between… A case study in professional thinking', *Teaching History, 147, Curriculum Architecture Edition*, p. 40.
14 Foster, *op. cit.*
15 *ibid*. p.7.
16 Counsell, *op. cit.*, p.116.
17 Counsell, *op. cit.*
18 Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 1.
19 Lee, *op. cit.*
20 White, H. (2002) 'Foreword' in Koselleck, R. *The Practice of Conceptual History: timing history, spacing concepts,* Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
21 Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 275.
22 Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 119.
23 Foster, *op. cit.*; Counsell, *op. cit*.
24 Woodcock, J. (2005) 'Does the linguistic release the conceptual? Helping Year 10 to improve their causal reasoning' in *Teaching History, 119, Language Edition*, pp. 5-14
25 Arnold, *op. cit.* p. 275.
26 Our pupils do their General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) with the OCR awarding body. The specification is: Modern World B, Unit A9721-13.
27 This has elements of similarity with the 'Big History' approach suggested by Howson and Shemilt where continued revisiting of original, provisional factual scaffolds would constantly modify those synoptic frames in the light of new knowledge and new analysis: Howson, J. and Shemilt, D. (2011) 'Frameworks of knowledge: dilemmas and debates', in Davies, I. (ed.) *Debates in History Teaching*, London: Routledge.