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THE FROEBEL MOVEMENT AND STATE SCHOOLING 1880-1914: A STUDY IN EDUCATIONAL IDEOLOGY.

Vol 2.

THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

CENTRE FOR SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

SUBMITTED NOVEMBER 1987
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THE TRAINING OF FROEBELIANS AND THE TRAINING OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS.

1.0 Introduction

If Froebelian efforts to transform the curriculum of the elementary schools had, with the exception of some infant departments, met with little success by the end of the Nineteenth Century, that failure was, to a large extent, compensated for by the achievement of Froebelian hegemony in the field of theories of infant education. The achievement of that position of leadership was a complex process which involved the interaction of a number of determinants. In no sense could it be described as a simple, uninterrupted progression of a set body of theory from obscurity to preeminence. In order to unravel the threads which constitute the tangle of forces which produced that particular outcome it is useful to examine first the principal ways in which Froebelian ideas and practices were reproduced within the Froebel movement. Since training was at the heart of this process that requires a survey of the various institutions which provided training in the methods of the kindergarten. Little has been published about these institutions and even less about the content of the training which they provided. (1) This section will, of necessity, be highly descriptive as it constitutes an attempt at recovering sufficient facts to permit the formulation of some general statements about the specific nature of a Froebel training. The specificity of the Froebel training, it will be argued, accounts to a large extent for the
ascendancy of the Froebelians in the field of training for infant schools as well as in the theory of infant schooling. After having established the main features of the training provided by institutions within or close to the Froebel movement, attention will be focussed upon the ways in which the Froebelian pedagogy, or a version of it modified to take account of the conditions of elementary schooling, was transmitted to teachers in training institutions outside the control of the Froebel movement. This, in turn, will be considered particularly with reference to processes of professionalization. Once again, although there is a greater amount of published material about these voluntary colleges, little attention has been paid to the content of their courses and this aspect of their work, as it related to the formation of infant teachers, will be at the centre of the concerns of this section. An account of the development of conditions which favoured the institutionalization of aspects of the Froebelian pedagogy within the state training colleges will form the final section of this chapter.

2.0 Training In The Kindergarten System.

A training in the kindergarten system could have been acquired in a number of institutions some of which were regulated by the Froebel Society, even if only informally, whereas others were wholly independent of the Froebel movement's apparatus of regulation. As a consequence, what the kindergarten system was held to consist of varied considerably according to where it was being transmitted. In the order of their emergence, and the order in which they will be discussed, the most important institutions for the transmission of Froebelian ideas and practices were: a select group of private kindergartens which made provision for training, the training
college of the Home and Colonial School Society, the women's training colleges of the British and Foreign School Society and the Maria Grey Training College for women secondary teachers. In addition, as was mentioned in chapter 5, training in the kindergarten system was given in the girls' secondary schools of the GPDST and also by the London School Board. The last institution to provide kindergarten training which emerged during the period considered in this study was the Froebel Educational Institute which, due to its importance, will be accorded separate treatment.

2.1 The Private Kindergarten.

In chapter 3 it was argued that in the early period of the Froebel movement's history in England, training assumed many of the characteristics of a religious ordination. It was also stressed that such training served another purpose additional to the need to defend the purity of Froebel's message and that purpose was to gain control of the market for middle class private schooling. In the earliest days of the Froebel movement, attempts to attain these objectives took place solely in the private kindergartens which were the backbone of the system by means of which the Froebelian pedagogy and Froebel trained teachers were reproduced. Typically the training department was an outgrowth of a school or kindergarten (2) and thus was established a self-sustaining system whereby a student could enter the kindergarten as a child, teach in it as a student and, when qualified, become the kindergarten's head or superintendent.(3) A former student at Caroline Bishop's kindergarten at Harborne in Birmingham maintained that this pattern made the staff comparable to an 'enclosed order'.(4) This analogy further confirms the
parallels between the training of Froebelian teachers and that of clerics but this career pattern was, of course, limited by the very small number of institutions which combined a kindergarten with a training department and by their size and staffing requirements. Most of the women who were trained in this way became governesses, taught in other private kindergartens or those of the GPDST schools or, on occasion, opened kindergartens in far flung corners of the Empire. (5)

As far as can be determined, the students who trained in the private kindergartens were from professional social backgrounds. At Bedford, for example, about sixty per cent of the students in the 1880's were the daughters of professional men while the rest were from business or farming backgrounds. (6) Leaving aside the claims of the kindergarten as a method of educating young children, this gave to the Froebel trained teacher a higher social status than those trained in other colleges.

2.2 The Maria Grey Training College.

The social composition of the students at the Maria Grey Training College was similar. The origins of this college, which was established to train women for secondary school teaching, were described in chapter 5. As the category 'secondary', when applied to schools in the Nineteenth Century, was a social and not, as today, an age related one, the Maria Grey Training College trained teachers for the kindergarten departments of secondary schools as well as for their senior departments. In 1894, for example, out of forty eight students at the college twenty four were in the kindergarten division. (7) Of the previous students, none had gone to teach in an elementary school and, in the main, they either entered Maria Grey
from the North London Collegiate School, Notting Hill High School or from the women's university colleges of Girton and Newnham. (8)

The socially exclusive character of the Maria Grey college, as was the case in the private kindergartens, undoubtedly cemented the association between the Froebelian pedagogy and the middle and upper classes. Sensitivity to class divisions permeated the way in which many of the Froebelians thought about teacher training. A striking example of this occurred in the evidence given to the Bryce Commission by Alice Woods, the principal of Maria Grey. Woods, a feminist and educational radical who championed the cause of co-education, (9) displayed an attitude towards the elementary school system and its teachers which fell little short of contempt. In response, for example, to questioning from J.H. Yoxall, the NUT leader, (10) Woods rejected the suggestion that teachers in training for elementary schools should be trained alongside those in training for secondary schools. Her argument was that, 'the course for the more cultivated men and women would hardly be suited for the less cultivated'. (11)

The main importance of the Maria Grey Training College to the Froebel movement only really began when, under the direction of Elsie Riach Murray, it became the main centre for the diffusion of a revisionist Froebelianism connected to the work of the American, philosopher and educationalist, John Dewey (1859-1952). This trend towards revisionism will be considered in chapter 8.
2.3 The Kindergarten in the Training College of the Home and Colonial Society.

The first established training college to provide a kindergarten training was that of the Home and Colonial Society. Founded by a group of Evangelicals in 1836 the Society was concerned principally with encouraging the growth of infant schooling. By the 1840's, its pedagogical theories had lost the stridently Evangelical flavour which they had initially possessed and were now drawn mainly from those of the Rev. Charles Mayo (1792-1846) and his sister, Elizabeth (1793-1865). These two were followers of Pestalozzi and it was mainly through their work that the Society adopted Pestalozzian principles and that most ubiquitous of Nineteenth Century elementary school methods, the object lesson. In the 1850's the Society had two practice schools in the Gray's Inn Road. The one referred to in chapter 5 was for students who intended to work in inspected schools the other was for governesses and private school teachers. In 1857, Professor Hoffman, who was described by Morley in his *Household Words* article as a pupil of Froebel, took charge of the kindergarten training of the private students and lectured to the infant school students. The result was that some kindergarten activities were grafted on to the Pestalozzian pedagogy which was reproduced by the Home and Colonial Society.

When the Froebel Society began its own examinations in 1876 the Society presented private students for them. By the 1880's, all students at the college received some training in the kindergarten. The return of the college presented to the Cross Commission contained a description of how first year students, intending to teach in inspected schools, attended...
lectures on the kindergarten for one and a half hours a week during the first half of the year. Second year students who showed sufficient theoretical and practical knowledge of the kindergarten system were awarded a certificate if successful in an examination. Under examination by the Cross Commission the principal of the college, the Rev. V. Bromilow, described how not all of the ground covered by the kindergarten was taught but, in a telling formulation which indicates the pressures imposed on colleges such as this which trained teachers for the elementary schools, Bromilow added only 'as much as we felt practicable to teach in ordinary infant schools'.

2.4 The Kindergarten and the British and Foreign Society's Colleges.

The British and Foreign School Society's college for women at Stockwell was referred to in chapter 5 as was the role in the Froebel movement of the Society's secretary, the Rev. Alfred Bourne. At Stockwell, all the students taught in the four practising schools, one of which was a kindergarten, whether or not they intended to teach infants. Following the departure of Eleonore Heerwart, lectures on the kindergarten were given by Lydia Kanley, the Mistress of Method, as part of the course on school management. In 1884, the British and Foreign School Society opened another college, at Saffron Walden, for women who wished to become infant teachers.

Together with the Home and Colonial college, the colleges of the British and Foreign Society may be seen to have formed the working class wing of the Froebel movement. Their students were from the respectable layer of the working class and the kindergarten was given an inflection which made it more suited to the conditions existing in working class schools than
the version of the kindergarten transmitted in the private sector. As nearly all the students from the college at Saffron Walden went on to teach in Board schools, lectures on kindergarten methods and principles were said to have been given, "with a special view to their application to the work of elementary schools". (19) Two hours per week there were devoted to lectures and notes on the kindergarten and, in conformity with the domination of the hand and eye faction, an additional hour each week was devoted to "illustrative kindergarten hand work". (20) Although an inspected college, Saffron Walden was the closest in approach to an institution which was regulated by the Froebel movement's own certificating body, the National Froebel Union (NFU). The NFU constituted the main form that regulation took, since the kindergarten colleges were privately owned. However, the NFU legitimated the activities of the private kindergartens which it regulated through the award of certificates to those deemed fit to practice the Froebelian pedagogy.

2.5 The National Froebel Union.

The Froebel Society began conducting examinations in 1876. Among those who took the Society's first examination were Fanny Franks head of the Camden House School, a leading private kindergarten, referred to in chapter 5, and Miss M.F. Sim, the first head of the Bedford kindergarten. (21) The former had been trained at Stockwell, while the latter was trained at the Home and Colonial College; both were key institutions in the dissemination of Froebelian ideas and practices in the movement's early years.

The Froebel Society's examinations proved unable to command the full support of the Froebel movement and thus institutions like the Bedford Kindergarten College issued their own certificates. (22) In order to
rationalize the process of certification, in 1887, the Froebel Society, together with the Manchester Kindergarten Association, formed a joint examination board which was known as the National Froebel Union (NFU). In 1888, the Bedford Kindergarten Company joined the NFU and it was followed by the Home and Colonial Society in 1893. In 1889, however, the Kather Training College—formerly the Manchester Kindergarten Training College—seceded from the NFU for reasons which are not clear. Despite this secession, the NFU survived through the 1890's largely with the support of the Bedford College.

The NFU issued two grades of certificate: the Elementary and the Higher. Candidates for both were expected to have received a general education but the elementary one was intended mainly for women who wished to become nursery governesses or kindergarten assistants and it took a year to obtain. The Higher Certificate was designed for those women who wished to supervise kindergartens and the course for this Certificate lasted for two years.

The syllabus of the NFU differed little from that of the Froebel Society in that the use of the kindergarten gifts and occupations was central and it contained only those subjects, such as geometry, music and nature study, which had been ordained by Froebel. As the body which licensed kindergartners, the NFU played a key role in defining Froebelian ideas and practices. Until the turn of the Century, that definition was highly conservative. It clung to a literal interpretation of Froebel's work and was marked by its adherence to the gifts and occupations. Criticisms of this approach were made by, among others, Ebenezer Cooke who began examining blackboard drawing for the NFU in 1889. He criticised the
kindergarten drawing which he held to be 'neither natural or Froebelian' and he was responsible for the introduction of chalk and colour work into the NFU syllabus. Another leading critic of the Froebelian drawing of geometrical designs in squares was Miss Penstone, a lecturer at the Home and Colonial Society's college and in 1897 the NFU abandoned its compulsory use. The NFU syllabus underwent other major changes after 1900. These registered the end of the hegemony of the hand and eye faction within the Froebel movement and the ascendancy of a new faction associated with the revisionist stance of John Dewey. These developments will be discussed in chapter 8 but some indication of the new turn may be gathered from the action of the NFU in 1904 when it renamed the gifts and occupations calling them instead gifts and educational handwork. More significantly, in 1906 the gifts were dropped from the syllabus altogether.

2.6 Girls' High Schools.

The formation of the NFU coincided broadly with the spread of high schools for girls; many of which entered candidates for the NFU certificates. Overall, these schools were barely more socially accessible, to students who lacked wealth, than the Maria Grey College. When, after 1902, many secondary schools invited inspection in order to be recognised as efficient and thus gain state support, HMI, as part of the inspection of such schools provided an analysis of their social composition. The results for three girls' schools in London which included a kindergarten department, are summarised below.
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Table 1(34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father's Occupation</th>
<th>Clapham</th>
<th>Putney</th>
<th>Kensington Park</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, Independent etc.</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants &amp; Manufacturers etc.</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Traders</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Managers</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service (domestic &amp; others)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postmen etc. Artisans</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It may easily be seen that there were exceptions to the close identification between the high schools and the middle and upper class. However unlike the schools at Clapham and Putney, which were GPDST schools, the school at Kensington Park was a denominational school run by Roman Catholics. It was also a practising school for the Catholic, St. Mary's Training College at Paddington which was a secondary training college and which, like Maria Grey, offered a kindergarten training course.(35) The high proportion of working class pupils at Kensington Park High School, was due to the attendance of a large number of scholarship holders but that is explained by its situation as a Catholic high school.(36) No mention of any kindergarten training at the school was made by the inspectors presumably because that was run by St. Mary's College. At the Putney High School, on the other hand, where both the mistress for the First form and the kindergarten mistress held the Higher Certificate of the NFU, there was one student in training.(37)
At Clapham High School which, until its metamorphosis into the Philippa Fawcett Training College in 1953, was the high school with perhaps the closest ties with the Froebel movement, the situation was much different. (38) There, in 1903, there were eighteen students in a kindergarten which contained thirty four children. (39) The students in the kindergarten taught or watched lessons for a little over half of their week and for about eight hours a week they did theoretical work in the form of lectures and criticism lessons. (40) From the inspectors' remarks on this school and others which were similar, it appears that the kindergarten departments in the high schools were reliant on the unpaid labour of the students to run them. (41) As the financial situation of many of these schools was frequently precarious, the kindergarten students provided what amounted to a subsidy to the schools.

At Clapham High School, in return for their efforts in the kindergarten, and their money, (42) the students received, a course of three years duration. If the students already held the Elementary Certificate of the NFU or other equivalent certificates, the course lasted for two years. The nature of the course provided is worth describing in some detail so that it might be contrasted with the courses provided for the teachers of the working class. Nine teachers at the school were involved in training, two of whom held the Higher Certificate of the NFU. The course they ran consisted of 'the Theory, History and Practice of Education, practical teaching under supervision' and criticism lessons. (43) In the theoretical course, the most distinctively Froebelian part of the training, lectures were given in:
During the course of the inspection of 1903 a number of lectures were observed. One of these was on the gifts and occupations; 'each student had Gift 5 before her. The use of the Gift and what might be got out of it was carefully explained' recorded the report of the inspection. The report also contained a description of a lecture on Froebel's Principles which had been given before an inspector and it commented that 'a few of the Mutter and Koselieder were explained with much skill and sympathy'.

The girls at the school who took the NFU examinations were said by HMI to find it 'difficult to do the ordinary subjects of the curriculum' and to be of the kind who required 'a special curriculum of a practical character to suit their special ability'. The girls who did not encounter difficulty with the ordinary subjects were formed into a separate group and prepared for university. This association of girls unable to compete for university entrance with kindergarten teaching was, as will be seen in chapter 10, a common one at the turn of the century and it indicates the extent to which educational opportunities for women had expanded since the days when the Froebel Society had been formed and when few middle and upper class women had the chance of attendance at a university.

2.7 The Froebel Educational Institute.

No survey of Froebel training in largely private institutions would be complete without an account of the Froebel Educational Institute. This
originated with Julie Salis Schwabe whose antecedents and political affiliations were discussed in chapter 3. In 1892, she established a fund raising council to raise money for an ambitious project which consisted of an integrated education centre in London which would combine a Froebelian training college with a free kindergarten for poor children. Salis Schwabe's motives and intentions will be examined at greater length in chapter 10, here, only the training aspect of her project is of concern.

The council which Salis Schwabe established was chaired by the Manchester manufacturer William Mather and its honorary treasurer was Claude Montefiore who was by then the honorary secretary of the Froebel Society. Supporters of the project included members of the Rothschild family, Leopold and his wife Maria who, in 1894, lent their house at Piccadilly for an 'at home' to launch the Froebel Educational Institute(48) and among the luminaries present at this gathering was George Kekewich, the Secretary to the Education Department.(49) Construction work began on the Institute in 1893 and lectures were given in temporary buildings while work progressed. In 1895, more legitimacy was granted to the Institute by the visit of the Empress Frederick, a daughter of Queen Victoria and a supporter of the kindergarten and other liberal causes in Germany.(50)

At this point, the lack of sufficient funds caused the original plans to be curtailed and the Institute consisted only of a training college, the library of which was paid for by Montefiore, and a model school and kindergarten at Talgarth Road, West Kensington. Later, in 1899, a practising school and kindergarten were begun at Challoner Street, West Kensington.(51)
In 1900, the Association of Subscribers, which was chaired by Mather, had registered as a company 'not for gain' under the Companies' Acts. The company adopted the title of the Incorporated Froebel Educational Institute and it declared its purposes, in its Articles of Association, to be:

(1) to provide a special training and education for ladies who intend to be Kindergarten teachers and others who desire to study the principles and learn the methods of the system of education known as Froebel; (2) to carry on model Kindergarten and schools in which the principles and methods of Froebel may be fully worked and applied in the education and training of children throughout their school life. (52)

Salis Schwabe secured the services of Madame Michaelis as the Institute's first principal. After leaving Croydon Michaelis had been invited by Emily Lord, one of the translators of Froebel's *Mutter Und Kose-Lieder*, to train students at her, Froebel Training School Of Primary Instruction which was situated in Norland Place at Holland Park.

Emily Lord was one of the Froebelians who, through marriage, became part of that network of professionals which Annan termed, the 'intellectual aristocracy'. (53) Following her marriage to Walter Ward, she became connected to Agnes Ward, formerly a principal of Maria Grey; to Mrs Humphrey Ward, the novelist and also to Matthew Arnold. Mrs Walter Ward, as Emily Lord became known, organized The Norland Institute for the Training of Ladies as Children's Nurses for Young Children which opened in 1892. The founding of the Norland Institute may be seen as another instance of the attempted professionalization of child-care, utilising...
Froebelian methods and also as one which was organized specifically for middle class women not thought capable of passing the NFU examinations. (54)

2.8 The Inspection Of 1902.

When the Norland Institute was begun, the remaining kindergarten students at Norland Place, sixty six in all, were transferred with Madame Michaelis to the Froebel Educational Institute. When this Institute was inspected in 1902, as a result of its Committee having applied for recognition 'as a place for the purpose of training secondary teachers', the number of students in the 'excellent' training college buildings had fallen slightly to sixty four. In the opinion of the inspectors the accommodation at the Froebel Educational Institute was 'sufficient' but 'not much more for the present number'. (55)

The staff, under the new principal, Miss Esther Lawrence who had succeeded Madame Michaelis in 1900, were all said by the inspectors to be well qualified. All the permanent members of staff possessed:

- recognised diplomas or certificates of a general education; and all are "trained" teachers holding certificates of either the National Froebel Union or the Cambridge Teachers' Syndicate. (56)

The full significance of this high level of qualification will be discussed below in connection with state policy towards teacher trainers at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. For the present, suffice it to note that, the level of qualification among the staff at the Institute was relatively high compared to that of the staff of inspected training colleges. The extent to which certification had come to dominate the
schooling of middle class women by the end of the Nineteenth Century may be further determined by the entry level demanded by the Institute. For the Junior Division, which prepared students of seventeen years and older for the Elementary Certificate of the NFU, the students were required to possess a certificate of general education such as that which was awarded for passes in the local examinations of Oxford, Cambridge or the Scottish Universities; the first or second class examinations of the College of Preceptors, or the lower preliminary examination of the NFU.\(^{(57)}\) The existence of these examinations reflected the expansion which had occurred in the schooling of middle and upper class girls since the beginning of the 1880's and the desire of those who had fought for the expansion of girls' secondary schools to demonstrate the success of their venture through certification. Such had been the expansion that at the Bedford Kindergarten Training College, for example, in the 1880's, only two per cent of its students arrived with any such qualification.\(^{(58)}\) However, this changed considerably during the 1890's.\(^{(59)}\) Corresponding evidence of 'a sound general education' was also required by the Senior Division of the Froebel Educational Institute which prepared students of eighteen years and over for the Higher Certificate of the NFU.

2.9 The Theoretical Element in the Institute's Training.

These entry requirements, it was thought, permitted the Institute to dispense with the need to provide its students with a general education and concentrate instead upon the professional training of its students. To this end, the course followed the conventional Froebelian pattern of being divided into the Theory of Education, The History of Education and The Practice of Education. The theoretical work done, according to the report
Chapter 7

of the inspectors, was excellent. This consisted of Psychology, Logic and Ethics which were taught, it was said, in such a way as to 'bring out their educational importance and aspects and to bring the students to see what assistance they can get from these sciences for their own school work'.(60) Special stress in the theoretical work was placed on the life and works of Froebel as well as instruction on the gifts and occupations but in the History of Education attention was also paid to the works of Comenius, Rousseau and Pestalozzi. The conclusion of the inspectors' remarks with respect to the training at the Froebel Educational Institute showed that contemporary thought in education had not gone unnoticed either:

The instruction as a whole is given excellently, Froebel's principles were ably expounded and translated into modern psychological language. His ideas were compared with Herbart's and constant references were made to the modern works of Professors James, Stout, Sully and others.(61)

Ironically, even after the compilation of a report which, for the most part, was, as the extract above indicates, very positive in its evaluation of the training provided at the Institute, the Board of Education rejected the Institute's request for recognition on the grounds that the entry requirement was not high enough.(62) This was a serious set-back for the Froebel Educational Institute as recognition would have entailed a degree of state support. Such support was urgently needed as, in the words of the inspectors' report, 'the financial position of the undertaking is far from satisfactory and would be very serious indeed, if it were not for the
generosity of friends..." (63) As it was and in order to maintain even a semblance of solvency, the Institute charged higher fees for training than did the schools of the GPDST. (64) This, in turn, whether desired by the Institute or not, made it, even by Froebelian standards, a very elitist institution.

2.10 The Extent Of Approved Froebel Training.

From the year of the foundation of the NFU, the numbers sitting its examinations increased rapidly. Set alongside the total number of teachers in public elementary day schools, however, the number of Froebel certificated teachers was minute. In 1910, for example, there were about 162,000 full-time teachers in elementary schools in England and Wales. (65)

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>2,063</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the reasons, arguably, why so few women obtained an NFU certificate was because of its exclusive middle and upper class associations. Translated into concrete terms, the cost of the training was prohibitively high for all except women of the middle and upper class. The fee for the fourteen students preparing for the Higher Certificate of the NFU at Maria Grey Training College in 1894, for example, was £24 per annum and the course was of two years duration. (66) At Bedford in 1902, kindergarten students were charged £15 15sh 0d per year or £42 0sh 0d if boarding. (67) Queen's scholars in the state regulated training colleges, paid nothing. (68)
No doubt, particularly in the light of Alice Woods' view which was cited above, the high fees were intended as a device to exclude girls from the lower classes but evidence has also been adduced which suggests that Froebel training was an expensive business and the Froebelians lacked the resources of the voluntary societies. As a consequence, the private colleges and kindergartens were beset by problems arising from a lack of money. From the point of view of the Froebel movement such financial problems were unwelcome but even though the foundations were insecure, the Froebel movement had, by the end of the Nineteenth Century, built up a system for the reproduction of its pedagogy and one which was accorded a high status by virtue of its association with the education of women whose families possessed wealth. The main exceptions to this link between a Froebel training and the middle class were the colleges of the two voluntary societies which have been referred to above. Their position was somewhat different to other voluntary colleges, as will be seen below, in that they were specifically concerned with the training of infant teachers. These colleges excepted, the institutions which provided a training in Froebelian methods and which were approved by the NFW was also one which paid great attention to the theory of teaching in an area, which as will be seen, there was little competition.

3.0 The Training of Elementary School Teachers.

For most teachers in inspected schools in the late Nineteenth Century, such training as they had acquired was gained through the pupil teacher system, which had been established by James Kay-Shuttleworth the secretary to the Committee of Council during the 1840's. This method of apprenticeship ensured, among other things, that those who were to
teach in the elementary schools were familiar with the conditions and the
relations of pedagogy which pertained to them. College training was the
preserve of a minority of pupil teachers who had obtained a Queen's
Scholarship. Even so, only about twenty six per cent of those who
successfully completed their apprenticeship went to be trained at
college. (70)
The college course lasted for two years and consisted of teaching
practice, professional training and academic instruction in the subjects of
the elementary school curriculum. This latter element, which provided an
education of a basic secondary type, without of course the classics, had
the most specific weight in the training syllabus which was laid down by
the Education Department. Throughout the 1880's and for much of the
1890's, the little attention that was paid to theories of pedagogy, in the
time left over after the elementary subjects had been dealt with, shared a
space under the heading of 'School Management' with such incidentals as,
'the form of, mode of keeping, and making returns from, school
registers'. (71) The area of school management was the province of the
Master or Mistress of Method who were usually non-graduate, ex-teachers
who 'got up' lectures on educational theory from standard texts which
consisted mainly of tips for teaching. It was under the direction of such
lecturers that students encountered what passed for psychology. But
despite the limited attention paid to theories of education because some
type, however imperfect, occupied a foothold in it, School Management
was the area upon which the supporters of kindergarten methods focussed
their attempts to secure the adoption by the state of courses on the
kindergarten in the training colleges.
3.1 The Women's Training Colleges.

As it was the only system of pedagogy available for infants, courses in Froebelian methods, which were beyond the control of the NFU, were by the 1890's offered by several training colleges for women. These colleges, most of which were controlled by a voluntary society, had as their object the training of teachers for elementary schools but given that infant teaching had, by this time, become thoroughly feminized (72) many of these colleges ran courses for those who wished to obtain the Education Department's special certificate for infant teachers. In the 1880's, these courses covered such things as methods of teaching infants and of conducting an infant school as well as object lessons. (73) While the earliest kindergarten training courses in colleges had been offered in the training colleges of the Home and Colonial and the British and Foreign Societies, bodies that is which were, in varying degrees, outside the control of the Church of England, by the late 1890's, Church controlled training colleges were providing kindergarten courses. Among these were St. Katharine's Training College at Tottenham. There, the kindergarten was taught by the mistress of method and the mistress of the infant school to all first year students and those students who wished to become infant teachers were required to take an examination in the theory and practice of kindergarten methods. The successful students were awarded the college's own kindergarten certificate. (74)

At other women's colleges, according to the returns presented to the Cross Commission, training in the kindergarten during the 1880's was less systematic. At Warrington, for example, on Friday evenings between 7.15 pm and 8.10 pm second year students were given a choice of kindergarten
methods or learning poetry. Taking into account these variations in what was offered as kindergarten training, the position in the late 1880's was not a promising one from the Froebel movement's point of view. In 1888 there were twenty five women's colleges under inspection out of which only nine mentioned kindergarten training in their returns to the Cross Commission and these included the colleges of the Home and Colonial and the British and Foreign Societies. In the 1890's, this position began to change due to a shift in the attitude of the Education Department and due to demands made by the larger school boards.

3.2 The Education Department and Kindergarten Training.

In the Code of 1892, the Education Department allowed the holders of either the Elementary or the Advanced Certificate of the NFU to rank as assistant teachers in, but not become heads of, the infant schools which it inspected. The Education Department, which was to be subsumed under the Board of Education in 1899, refused to accept the certificates of the NFU as equivalent to its own certificate. The grounds for its stance are unclear as the NFU certificates differed from that of the Education Department only, for the most part, by not including an examination in the tonic sol-fa system of singing and an examination in needlework. But, in addition, the NFU certificate was also said by the Rev. E. Hobson, principal of St Katherine's Training College, to leave out a great deal and have a very limited coverage of history and geography. The most likely explanation, though not one for which any irrefutable evidence was found, was that the Education Department did not want to encourage any rival certificating bodies to itself. In this way it could retain complete control of the means of licensing teachers. This was not
simply a question of recognising the possession of the necessary technical competence. It also had to do, to a large extent, with the recognition and certification of the moral fitness of a teacher. In turn, moral fitness had a wider range of meaning than simply that the qualified teacher would resist any temptation to filch the school pence, assault the children, falsify the register or arrive in school drunk. For all these misdemeanours teachers could, and were, declared unfit but beyond this there was an expectation that the trained teacher, who was by training and selection, morally fit, would act as an NCO in the massed ranks of the untrained teachers who, in turn, were to discipline and lead the recalcitrant as well as the conforming children of the working class. In this respect, Runciman, whose views were discussed in chapter 4, may be regarded as the authentic voice of the morally fit, trained and qualified, mainly male, teacher. (79) This notion of fitness, then, included the ability to control large classes of often hostile pupils, a task which because of their social class and their pattern of training, few holders of the NFU certificates had experience of. In addition, the fitness to teach, which was registered by the possession of a teachers' certificate, signified the ability of a teacher to handle all the standards and not simply the infants. It appears that the Education Department did not consider the holders of NFU certificates to be fully fit, in this sense, to teach. Thus, it only granted to the holder of the NFU certificates, the same status as those teachers who had failed their Queen's scholarship examination.

There seems to have been a certain ambivalence in the attitude of the Education Department regarding this issue for, in part, this recognition
of the Froebelian qualifications was due to the stated desire of the Department to promote kindergarten methods. (80) A Circular to inspectors in 1896, for example, contained the following statement:

My Lords do not consider that any Training College for Women is complete which does not give to students opportunities for practical acquaintance with Kindergarten methods, and, indeed, they think it desirable that even in Colleges for Men visits to schools or classes engaged in Kindergarten exercises or in Varied Occupations, made under the direction of the Master of Method, should form part of the experience of every student. (81)

This support for an element of kindergarten training was a logical step given the Education Department's backing for kindergarten methods in Circular 322. However, it is almost certain that the influx of infants into the schools following the abolition of fees was the most important factor behind the Department's decision. (82)

As with the Circulars discussed in the previous chapter, there was, moreover, a large gap between what the Department appeared to intend and what happened in practice. In the following year, for example, the staff at Saffron Walden were reported to have complained, in the view of Chief Inspector Oakley, 'not unreasonably', that insufficient weight was given to the kindergarten in the Education Department's syllabus. (83) This instance of the lack of coherence in the policy of the Department was only one aspect of the gulf between its stated intention and the practice of schools. Much of this may be explained by the way that the Education
Department attempted to implement innovation in schools and colleges solely by decree. Without the staff in the colleges who understood the principles of the kindergarten the Department's Circular was little more than a pious hope. Even when the colleges put training in the kindergarten on their time-tables the Department's intentions were often frustrated. W. Scott Coward, one of the two Chief Inspectors of Training Colleges and an inspector who was in sympathy with Froebelian principles,(84) said of the kindergarten training in the Colleges at this time that it was often 'a mere affectation' with 'the honoured name' being given 'to "romps" and "fancy" articles'.(85) Where the kindergarten was not dealt with in this fashion, he continued, it was 'taught by rote as a system' and 'not enjoined and inculcated as a principle'.(86) Coward also complained that in many colleges it was believed that 'some fore-ordained propriety is supposed to lie in the "gifts" and the order of their use, whereas the means of kindergarten teaching are [...] various'.(87) While the value of this judgement, to an extent, hinges upon the continuing debate about what the kindergarten actually was or ought to be, Scott Coward's remarks do indicate an uneveness in the training in the kindergarten provided by the colleges.

3.3 School Board Pressures On The Colleges.

As was seen in the previous chapter, many of the large school boards led the Education Department in the drive to modernize elementary schooling. They were also able to exert pressure on the training colleges to provide the kinds of teachers that they wanted; subject to the necessary courses falling within the provisions of the Code. In 1896, the London School Board made the possession of a kindergarten certificate a necessary
condition of employment as an infant teacher but it vacillated between insisting that the certificate should be its own, that of a training college or that of the NFU. The issue was resolved by the Board when it stipulated the content of the certificates that it would recognize and made the possession of its own certificate a requirement for the continued employment of teachers already in post. In both cases, that of what it would accept and that of the content of its certificate, the London School Board adopted much from the NFU.

The women's training colleges often resented the school boards demanding certificates for specific areas, such as kindergarten, which were not included in the syllabus for the Education Department's teaching certificate. The resentment of the colleges was based not upon hostility to the kindergarten but upon the fact that in order to satisfy the demands of the school boards on this issue, they had to make time available, from that which was allocated to the certificate course, to teach students kindergarten methods. Nevertheless, this many did because, as the Principal of St. Katherine's Training College, Tottenham told the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System, the Boards were 'in the position of purchasers and [they] have the right to insist upon whatever qualifications they think proper.' Not all college principals were as pliant. Miss S. J. Hale, the principal of the undenominational, Edge Hill Training College in Liverpool, related how a delegation from 'one of the important boards in the north' had asked if the college had a class in 'eye-and-hand training'. She told the delegation that the college had no such class and that she felt that such
training was really an adjunct and that Froebel's principles should come first. (93)

In addition to resentment based on these grounds, the colleges were also concerned with the problem of the recognition of their kindergarten certificates. For the Women's Training Colleges that gave evidence to the Departmental Committee, the solution to the problem of recognition lay in the inclusion of a section on the kindergarten in the teachers' certificate. The Committee agreed and recommended that 'the theory and practice of Froebel's teaching' be made an optional subject in the Education Department's syllabus for the teachers' certificate. (94)

By the end of the 1890's, the situation with regard to the provision of training in the methods of the kindergarten in the state regulated colleges appeared to be favourable from the Froebelian point of view. The Education Department had granted to such training its approval because it wished to modernize the schooling of infants and it was, under Acland's direction, sympathetic to the general Froebelian position. It granted limited recognition to the certificates of the NFU, despite their more extensive theoretical component than its own, as a response to the increase in the attendance of infants following the abolition of fees. The Department turned its face against granting parity to the NFU certificates but, as the century ended, due to the pressure of demand from the larger school boards and the women's colleges, a Departmental Committee had recommended the incorporation of training in the kindergarten into the Department's own certificate.
4.0 The Composition of the Teaching Force.

The most arresting feature of the elementary school teaching force in the 1890's was that it contained a very high proportion of teachers who were untrained and unqualified. In the fifteen years which had elapsed since schooling was made compulsory, the number of pupils in school had increased by thirty six per cent but the system for training teachers was totally incapable of keeping pace with that rate of increase. (95) The ratio of those qualified to attend training college to the places available in 1898, for example, was in excess of three to one. (96) At the same time, the number of apprentice or pupil teachers, especially male ones, began to fall in line with the expansion of clerical work and other alternative lower middle class occupations. (97) The gap left by the decline in the number of pupil teachers, particularly in the rural infant schools and infant departments, was filled by the Supplementary or Article 68 teachers. These were women who were over eighteen, were vaccinated and who could satisfy an inspector that they could teach. (98) By 1895, if pupil teachers are included, some seventy six per cent of all elementary teachers were untrained and/or unqualified. (99)

What effects this had on the actual teaching that took place is difficult to assess. It is perhaps unwise to assume that, in all cases, a lack of qualifications and training was synonymous with incompetence. The most extensive source of information on such teachers is that of the inspectors' reports and as the inspectorate was in the vanguard of those seeking to professionalize the teachers who worked in state regulated schools, their views towards the untrained, but towards the Article 68's in particular, were generally hostile. Edmond Holmes, for example, thought
that the Article 68's were 'very poor teachers' (100) but he had a very low opinion of elementary teachers generally; a view which was to lead indirectly to the downfall of Morant as far as education was concerned. (101) In the view of HMI Scott Coward, the Article 68's lacked the 'necessary skill' to teach infants and for HMI Allington the 'infectious restlessness' of the babies, who had 'swarmed' into the schools following the abolition of fees, was the 'despair of the untrained teacher'. (102) However the Article 68's commended themselves to the managers of voluntary schools and to the rural school boards because they were cheap (103) and also because it was thought, in the rural areas, that 'any young woman from the village' would do to amuse infants. (104)

Clearly, the debate between HMI and the school managers over whether the Article 68's were efficient teachers or not depended on what definition of efficient teaching was being employed. That used by the managers of rural schools, which prioritized economy, was, in many cases, not the definition held by the central state educational apparatus. Many of the shire counties under the direction of the 'aristocracy' were, until the end of the Second World War, bastions of educational reaction. Countless examples may be adduced to demonstrate how the decentralised system which regulates schooling in England and Wales, despite the centralising trends present in the settlement of 1902, was unable to modernize large tracts of the school system which lay in the shires. Often the Church was in the vanguard of resistance to change. At Ditton Priors in Shropshire in 1922, for example, when the head of the village school fell ill, the local authority sent a certificated woman teacher to take over, but the vicar, who was the manager of the school barred her way and refused to allow her to enter...
the school. His explanation to the LEA was that he wanted a master for the school and 'one that is a good disciplinarian'. (105) Such examples of opposition to modernization are numerous and they suggest that when HMI criticised the benighted state of rural schooling and the unsuitability of the Article 68's, their remarks were frequently something more than their regular expression of disdain for their social inferiors, the teachers in the elementary schools. The 'disciplinary' state might have been accompanied by what many regard as objectionable features but that which it sought to replace was, arguably, far worse.

Nevertheless, despite their opposition to the Article 68's, it was thought by many of the inspectors, including those who argued for more trained teachers, that the successful infant teacher was a woman, 'who is perhaps less intellectual but is more motherly in manner and disposition'. (106)

4.1 Better Teachers.

Most of the debates about teacher training in the 1890's hinged upon the social class background of the recruits into teaching. The principal objective of those demanding reforms was the production of teachers who possessed more 'culture' than had been the case in the past. This elusive commodity, which the President of the NUT in 1901, James F. Blacker, declared was what the 'organised thousands' of the NUT aspired towards, (107) had several meanings in educational discourse during this period. On the one hand, the need for more 'cultured teachers' was a coded phrase which deciphered meant that it was felt that more middle class teachers were needed in the elementary schools. Cultured teachers did not need to be coerced but would grasp eagerly the autonomy granted to them. They were most unlike those who Holmes complained about who, after 'the
old examination stimulus' of payment by results had been withdrawn, were not able 'to make the best possible use of the liberty that has been given them'.(108) All this had implications for the Froebelians for they, as has been demonstrated, were amply endowed with 'culture' and they had a system for the production of cultured teachers already in place. Moreover, the field in which they claimed a monopoly of competence, that of the education of infants, was one that, as has been seen, was the least professionalised.

In addition, in parallel with the Education Department's embrace, in Circular 322, of the principle of a clearly differentiated stage of infant schooling, voices were being raised to distinguish the training of infant teachers from that of the rest of the elementary school range. The Principal of St Katharine's Training College, for example, advanced the view that infant school teaching had become so technical that teachers of infants required special training.(109) For HM V. Scott Coward, that special training was synonymous with a training in kindergarten methods. In his Report for 1900 he wrote that:

There ought to be a few colleges specially organised to train infant teachers, which should have fully equipped kindergarten schools and above all teachers who understand the principles and practice of the kindergarten methods.(110)

4.2 The Demise of the Pupil Teacher System.

Other aspects of this debate over teacher training, enhanced the role of educational theory in the training of teachers. From this, the Froebel movement benefitted as it alone possessed a theory of infant education. In
order to situate adequately, the institutional changes arising from these debates it is necessary to return to the deliberations of the Cross Commission. Faced with widespread dissatisfaction with the training and the supply of teachers for elementary schools the Commission produced two different responses. With regard to the pupil teacher system, the Cross Majority called for improvements in the education of the pupil teachers but felt that the system ought to be upheld. The Minority, on the other hand, described the pupil teacher system as 'the weakest part of our educational machinery' and declared that if it were to continue then great changes in it were needed.

In 1896, the Committee of Council set up a Departmental Committee, chaired by the Rev. T. W. Sharpe, HM Senior Inspector of Schools, to inquire into the workings of the pupil teacher system. Significantly, the Froebelian, Lydia Manley, who by then was Principal of Stockwell Training College, was a member of this Committee; the first of her many subsequent appearances as educational expert on bodies connected with the state.

This Committee concluded that:

We are agreed in thinking that, for the present, the system is established so firmly in the economy of national education that it would be impossible, even if it were admitted to be desirable, to sweep it away or to make any violent and revolutionary changes.

Of more long term significance both to the pattern of teacher training and to the Froebel movement, was the Committee's conclusion that it would be extremely desirable, 'that all intending teachers should pass through a secondary school for the completion of their ordinary education'.
setting up local authorities with the power to supply secondary schooling, the Education Act of 1902 hastened the attainment of this objective and with it the demise of the pupil teacher system. According to Morant's biographer, this was one of the main objectives that Morant strove for in framing the Act of 1902. In view of his preoccupation with questions relating to the relations between leaders and the led, an interest he shared with his allies the Webbs, such a judgement is plausible. For Morant dealt in the same language as that which was the currency of the Report of the Departmental Committee which declared that, 'a proper supply of fit material', was not forthcoming from the pupil teacher system. Primary school traditions, it continued, were too narrow; they lacked spontaneity and the 'crude methods and imperfect discipline' to which the pupil teachers subjected their classes was held to be 'a real danger to national education'. Against this image of the working class, pupil teacher held fast in the values and methods of the bureaucratised elementary school system was set the better methods, the 'greater spontaneity, wider outlook and social influences' of the teacher who had acquired a 'liberal education' in a middle class secondary school.

Behind these images lay the limits set by a rigid class structure. The recruits to teaching from the working class were held to be deficient in culture and unsuitable for their function of leadership. The view of one of the witnesses before the Cross Commission, a college principal, was typical. She said that, compared to middle class women students, the working class students who were formerly pupil teachers were, 'less receptive' and she added:
We cannot do so much with them; they go out very nearly as they came in, beyond having learnt a little more by cram. (121)

4.3 Raising the Tone: the Employment of Middle Class Teachers in Elementary Schools.

Even in the 1880's, there was abroad a perception of declining standards. Lydia Manley told the Cross Commission, for example, that lower class girls were being attracted to teaching in greater numbers due to, 'the lucrative nature of the job'. (122) For those, like Manley, who were pursuing a project of professionalization, the solution was to either 'refine' such students or draw into elementary school teaching, 'girls of a different social position' such as girls from 'good secondary middle class schools' like those of the GPDST. (123)

The latter strategy appealed to many of those who were connected with the struggle to expand the sphere of middle class women's employment during the late Nineteenth Century. (124) One woman involved in this fight was Miss F.Trevor, the Principal of Bishop Otter Training College at Chichester. Under the direction of Miss Trevor, the college catered mainly for students who had not been pupil teachers but who were the daughters of professional men or poor gentlemen. (125) Her intention was, she informed the Cross Commission, to, 'raise the tone of the teaching in our elementary schools' (126) while, simultaneously, providing help for the 'orphans of clergymen'. (127) The college was one of those which provided some training in the methods of the kindergarten (128) and, according to Miss Trevor, the students were trained to manage a school, 'without any punishment of any description'. (129)
This combination of well bred 'ladies' and unorthodox ideas about elementary schooling did not appeal much to the mistresses of board schools to whom they applied for posts. One of these teachers was reported as saying, 'we don't want ladies here'. Consequently, the Bishop Otter students encountered difficulties in securing employment in board schools. As was the case when Alice Woods appeared before the Bryce Commission, several of the Cross Commissioners, who questioned Miss Trevor, focussed on the issue of classroom control and discipline implying in their interrogation that 'ladies' could not control school board pupils. Such scepticism was also rife in the NUT which, in 1897 when the Cheltenham Ladies College opened a Department to train teachers for public elementary schools, commented scathingly on the teaching abilities of 'the young lady of gentlebirth'.

The NUT's view was not entirely without foundation. The recorded experiences of some of the few middle class teachers who attempted to teach in working class settings show that the experience was a far from happy one. Some, like Margaret McMillan were Socialists who were committed to the transformation of the culture of the urban poor. Her first attempts at teaching working class young women met with failure. She tried to teach them singing but, as she put it, 'I talked to them while they jeered at me'. The health of the Fabian, Katherine St John Conway, whose pamphlet on education for the Independent Labour Party expressed many Froebelian themes, broke down while she struggled to teach a class of seventy infants in the working class district of St Phillips in Bristol. Ill health also caused Eglantyne Jebb, the founder of 'Save the Children Fund' who had trained at Stockwell, to
abandon elementary school teaching after only a year. (137) The experience of such women was presented in fictional form by D.H. Lawrence, himself an elementary school teacher, in his novel, The Rainbow. (138) This contains material similar to that recorded by his friend Helen Corke who was also an elementary school teacher. (139) Lawrence's account was also corroborated by the Froebelian, Clara Grant who recalled how the conditions in which elementary schooling was conducted, 'tended to crush out any one with refined manners or a soul'. (140) The class antagonism which many of these women encountered from both teachers and pupils was not all one way. Lawrence, for example, has one of his characters in The Rainbow describe elementary school children as 'dirty, board-school brats', in the course of an attempt to dissuade his daughter from a career in elementary teaching. (141) Miss Hale, the Principal of Edge Hill training college told the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System that her governess was amazed when her parents allowed her to 'go and teach dirty little children'. (142) In view of this kind of class prejudice and the bad experiences of many middle class women, experiences which were shaped by the divisions of class and gender, any prospect of recruiting, through the existing system, large numbers of women, from the middle classes to be teachers in the elementary schools was bound to be slight. There were exceptions; the salary provided by the large urban boards, particularly that of London, was evidently sufficient recompense for the indignities faced by middle class women in a number of instances. (143) The Higher Grade schools also offered more congenial work. Two former students of Bishop Otter found posts in 8d per week Higher Grade schools but as the number of girls'
secondary schools grew and teaching opportunities expanded with them, the more futile were rendered the attempts to enlist large numbers of middle class women into the elementary school army. (144)

5.0 The Rise of the Day Training Colleges.

Concern that the quality of much elementary teaching was low and the desire that persons in possession of a more liberal culture should enter the elementary schools also lay behind the proposals for the establishment of day training colleges. These were colleges for the purpose of training teachers which were to be attached to the growing number of new universities and university colleges which were founded towards the end of the Nineteenth Century. Writing in 1900, HMI W. Scott Coward, provided an explanation of the main motives of the supporters of these colleges. Working class students, it was thought, by associating in a university college 'with students of different social strata', would lose their 'narrowness of view' and 'caste feeling'. (145)

In his detailed account of the origin and growth of the Day Training colleges, Sadler outlined how the proposals for these colleges were embroiled in the 'religious question'. (146) Among their first proponents were the Birmingham School Board Radicals who were anxious to break the grip of the Established Church on the training colleges. Consequently, the Cross Majority, while recommending experiments with day training colleges, declared that, 'the existing system of residential colleges is the best'. (147) The Minority, which in this instance divided into two, as may have been predicted, supported the provision of day training colleges. (148)
Among the most significant differences between the day training college and the previously existing ones was the fact that the former could not be organized and run as, to use Goffman's concept, 'total institutions'.

This was recognized by Fitch, among others, who told the Cross Commission that with their broader and more liberal training they would 'provide a very valuable class of teachers'. Nevertheless, such colleges, he opined, would be:

...defective, no doubt, in the discipline and in some of the moral influences which belong now to the training colleges...

In 1890, the Education Department altered the definition of a training college in order that the day training colleges could open. In the Code of 1889, a training college had been defined as 'an institution for boarding, lodging and instructing students who are preparing to become certificated teachers in elementary schools'. From 1890, another group was added to the definition and this consisted of colleges which were, 'attached to some University or College of University rank'. Following this alteration in the regulations, seven university colleges were permitted to open day training colleges.

5.1 The Day Colleges and Professionalization.

This episode in the development of teacher training was in step with the shift from coercive relations between the state and its teachers to relations in which the consent of teachers to policy changes was actively sought. This change in the form of the way teachers were regulated was signalled in the previous chapter. There, it was held to have had consequences for teacher professionalization. Concretely, the form and the
content of teacher professionalism, it may be argued, was not simply a question of the volition of elementary teachers; a choice between trade union or professional strategies, because the very meaning of professionalism was constituted by the state. The state monopolised the market for elementary schooling so that it could not be controlled by the elementary teachers in the way that the older professions controlled their market. Any move towards the formation of a profession based upon a monopoly of competence could only have been made with the involvement of the state. Thus, the state, through a series of measures such as those which permitted the growth of day colleges, entered into the process of elementary school, teacher professionalization.

As has been argued above, the main objective of the modernizers who supported the liberalisation of teacher training was the reconstruction of the relationship between the working class and the state. Instead of agents of coercion, the elementary teachers were to be active winners of consent. But the relaxation of control over the formation of teachers was not universal. Hence, the Board of Education, in its Report for 1913, stressed that the relaxation, which had occurred since the 1890's, of state control over aspects of training college organization, had been accompanied by 'greater stringency in others'. (155) It also referred to what was described as 'a momentous change of policy, which can be traced in almost every branch of educational administration'. (156) The state, continued the Report, has:

abandoned the attempt to direct education by prescribing
in detail the subjects and methods of instruction for
individual students. For control exercised mainly through
formal examinations, it has substituted gradually, control of the conditions under which alone success in examinations can be an index of true education. It leaves teachers free to attack, each in his own way the detailed problems of curriculum and method but it tries to secure that the students are properly prepared to receive the proposed course of instruction and lecturers properly qualified to give it.(157)

At one level this was simply official rhetoric; as those teachers who tested the rather narrow boundaries of their freedom soon discovered. (158) Nevertheless it was an accurate description of the intention of the state educational apparatus as proclaimed in numerous documents from the 1890's onwards.

It was, moreover, an intention that appealed to the, mainly certificated and mainly male, teachers of the NUT as it held out the prospect of enhanced salaries, enhanced conditions of service and most importantly, the prospect of higher social status.(159) This yearning for higher status, to be accepted as socially equal by other professionals but particularly by secondary teachers,(160) which lay behind Blacker's call for 'culture', was also evident in the union's memorial to the Cross Commission which called for teacher training to be brought 'into connexion with and under the influence of the Universities'.(161) This the NUT hoped, along with other measures, would bring the education of elementary teachers 'into closer connexion with the intellectual life of the nation'.(162)
In the organized teachers' view, a professional strategy depended very much on changing the knowledge thought appropriate for teachers in training and having that knowledge legitimated by a university. It is in this respect that the day training colleges were so important because as Rich, the author of a seminal history of teacher training in the Nineteenth Century, put it, 'the training college was never likely to produce an organised body of educational theory or history'.

The day training college, on the other hand, was the institutional framework within which developed educational theory and into that framework, in so far as the theory related to young children, there poured the Froebelian pedagogy.

5.2 Educating The Educators

In his Report for 1893 on 'Training Colleges For Schoolmistresses', Joshua Fitch noted that there had been an improvement in the level of qualifications possessed by recently appointed 'governesses', the term used for the staff of the women's colleges. Fitch went on to insist that:

It is essential that the staff of teachers in a training college should not only possess such attainments as will command the respect of the students, but also such personal qualities as will enable them to raise the tone of thinking and of manners, and to convey to the students, by example as well as by precept, a higher ideal of their profession and its claims.

In similar vein, HMI Scott Coward surmised, in his Report for 1895, that:

if the training colleges are to turn out true teachers, and not mere routinists, it is of the highest importance to secure that the persons to whom professional and
technical training of the students is entrusted shall be, in the first place, generally well educated and then that they shall possess a wide and sound knowledge of the science of education. (166)

Concretely, this meant that the direction of the colleges should be put in the hands of experts not clerical amateurs. In the case of the women's colleges, this meant not just laicisation but also taking the hitherto unusual step of appointing a woman as principal. In setting forth his case in 1893, it was significant that virtually all the successful colleges with women principals that were cited by Fitch were ones with strong connections with the Froebel movement. (167)

Secondly, raising the quality of the college staff meant appointing graduates. Of those colleges referred to in the Report of the Committee of Council for 1895, the year when W. Scott Coward reported that the tide was running in favour of appointing to colleges 'teachers of higher intellectual qualifications', (168) few in fact had such staff. The men's college at Borough Road was an exception. There, all the staff, with the exception of the assistant Master of Method, had degrees whereas at the women's college at Bishop Stortford, more typically, only the male principal did. (169)

5.3 The Entry of Froebelians into the Colleges.

Nevertheless, the situation, as Scott Coward had observed, was changing and changing in a way that directly benefitted individual Froebelians. At Homerton College in Cambridge, for example, the first Froebel trained lecturer was appointed in 1905. She had a degree in Mental and Moral Sciences and the Higher Certificate of the NFU. Between then and 1978, a
total of fifteen Froebel trained lecturers were appointed to the college. (170) Froebelians were not only cultured or middle class but they were also qualified and able to claim expertise in the area of infant schooling. For many, a Froebel training alone was sufficient to secure a post in the colleges and they followed the route taken first by Lydia Manley who, in 1883, without ever having taught in any school other than the one attached to the Bishopgate College, (Maria Grey) where she was trained, became Mistress of Method at Stockwell. (171) One of these Froebelians was Miss Sim, who prior to taking over the Bedford Kindergarten and Training College in 1895 had been trained at Croydon by Madame Michaelis and, after teaching in the kindergarten of a GPDST school, lectured on the kindergarten at the University of Sheffield's Day Training College. (172) Another example is provided by the career of Henrietta Brown Smith who trained at Maria Grey and after gaining the Higher Certificate of the KFU was Mistress of Method at Saffron Walden and subsequently, Goldsmiths' College. In 1921, she became an HMI for infant and nursery schools and later for training colleges. (173) During the time Brown Smith was at Goldsmiths, Nancy Catty, (1873-1960) a graduate of Bedford College London and the LSE was appointed as a lecturer. Catty, a prominent Froebelian, through her writing came to dominate the theory of Junior School education. (174)

Examples of Froebelians who obtained posts in either the residential or the day training colleges at this time are numerous. From their pens, in the 1920's and 30's poured forth a veritable torrent of books on infant and junior schooling. (175) As they secured their posts, the amateurs in the movement's leadership were gradually replaced by these experts on the
schooling of young children who had left the private sphere and now practised in the training institutions which were regulated by the state. Throughout the three decades which followed the raising of the demand for better qualified college staff, and the Board of Education's regulation of 1904 making the appointment of graduates to a proportion of the college posts, a requirement, women in the colleges with a Froebelian background were at the centre of all the main debates and campaigns around the schooling of the young. The specific combination of their social class position, the negative effects of their gender which channeled them into the schooling of the young and little else, together with the demand for more effective teachers trained by better qualified college staff, was a highly fortuitous one for such women. It was also fortuitous for the Froebel movement as it gave to it an institutional base within the state system. However, it was also a combination which ensured that most of those who trained teachers and wrote the theory of infant and junior schooling had little or no first hand experience of working class schooling. A not altogether unimportant factor in the production of the gap between theories of schooling and its practice.

The Morant era saw the position of the Froebelians in the teacher training system further consolidated. The establishment of local authority training colleges widened the field for the transmission of Froebelian ideas and practices. Of more immediate importance however, was the concession of the demand which the Froebelians had raised consistently throughout the 1890's, namely the provision of an optional syllabus which permitted some study of the work of Froebel for the teachers certificate. In the regulations for the training of teachers for 1905, three alternative
courses were permitted under the head of Principles of Teaching. One of these, syllabus number two, was framed with the purpose of training teachers of girls and infants and this one contained a section on the kindergarten, Froebel's gifts and later developments of the kindergarten. Another section was on the life and work of Froebel or Pestalozzi or Herbart. (176) Paradoxically, students who intended to enter the area of schooling which was the least professionalized were offered what was arguably the most theoretically advanced, optional syllabus.

6.0 Conclusion.

In the event of any movement towards the professionalization of infant schooling taking place after 1900, the Froebelians were well placed to take advantage of it. Outside the state regulated system of teacher training, the Froebelians had a theoretically strong, if a financially insecure, base in the colleges and kindergartens which prepared students for the certificates of the NFU. These institutions were patronised by women of high social status and in the case of colleges such as the Froebel Educational Institute the training that they gave was, compared to any other training institution, rigorous and abreast of developments within the theory of education. Theories of education, and psychology in particular, performed a similar function in these colleges and kindergartens to classics in the private sector. They were both a badge signifying class position and they excluded the lower class college trained teachers.

Within the state regulated sector also, in the colleges of the Home and Colonial and the British and Foreign Societies, the Froebelians dominated the field of infant training. These as has been shown were unique in that
they prepared students specifically for infant teaching. A training in the kindergarten was also required by the most progressive school boards which applied pressure to other women's colleges to provide it. Furthermore, the growing desire of the Education Department to raise the standard of training among elementary teachers and its desire to encourage women from the middle class into elementary school teaching, were both policies which favoured the Froebelians as was the Department's desire to raise the level of qualification of teacher trainers and the status of educational theory. On all these counts, within the field of infant schooling, the Froebel movement was dominant. There was simply nothing else that challenged its hold on the field so that when the day training colleges were established and, later, the local authority training colleges, the Froebelians were able to take possession of a more secure institutional base than they had access to before.

Nevertheless, not all the signs at the turn of the century were favourable as the Education Department refused to accept the NFU certificates as equivalent to its own. The bad experiences of many middle class women in elementary schools may have been a factor in this decision as may have been the tendency for many heads to question the suitability of such women for elementary school teaching. Also working against the Froebelians was the vast army of unqualified women who were hired to teach infants by, mostly rural, school boards with an eye to keeping down the rates. While many HMI deplored this practice many also clung to the view which the rural school boards and school managers held, namely that any motherly girl could look after infants. As previously, the most intractable part of
the apparatus of schooling were its school practices whereas educational theory, the subject of the following chapter, was much more open to change.
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FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES.

1). Exceptions include Lilley (1981) op. cit. and Smart, R. op. cit. but as they both deal with colleges they add nothing to what is known about other Froebelian training institutions. Last op. cit. is a valuable source for information about a private kindergarten which trained students.


4). Last. op. cit. p. 90. The teachers, she wrote, were 'of necessity, former students'.


6). Smart op. cit. p. 29.


8). ibid. Qs. 12,149, 12,210 and 12,269.


10). PP. 1895. XLV. Qs. 12,229-12,252.


14). Among them was Miss Sim who became the principal at Bedford Kindergarten Training College. ibid. p. 49.


17). ibid. 'The evidence of Miss Lydia Manley'. Q. 13,045.

18). PP. 1888. XXXVI. op. cit. p. 180. Miss Katherine Phillips, who also worked in the Kindergarten Department of Maria Grey (Murray op. cit. p. 73), gave 'illustrations of the special methods of the kindergarten' at 'intervals' through the Stockwell course. ibid. Phillips later became an Inspector of Method with the LCC. Child Life Vol. VI. No. 23. 1904. p. 165.

19). PP. 1888. XXXVI. op. cit. p. 161. The college was opened to train infant teachers in 1884

20). ibid.

21). Woodham Smith. (1952) op. cit. p. 49.


23). ibid. Murray. op. cit. p. 88. Woodham Smith. (1952) op. cit. p. 66. The person appointed to the chair of the NFU, a post which he held for about twenty years, was H. Courthope Bowen (See also note 71, chapter 3 and note 76 chapter 5) formerly principal of the ill-fated Finsbury Training College and a founding member, along with Miss Buss, of the Teachers'


25). ibid. p. 31. The Manchester Kindergarten Training College (which was renamed the Mather Training College) continued, until 1925, to present candidates for examination by the NFU. Woodham Smith. (1952) op. cit. p. 66.

26). Smart. op. cit. p. 31.


28). ibid.

29). Smart. op. cit. p. 32.


32). ibid. Miss M. M. Penstone (d. 1911) taught at the Home and Colonial College 1882-1886. She was elected to the Board of Governors of the NFU in 1894 and from 1905 to 1910 was a Practical Examiner for the NFU. Child Life Vol. XII. No. 62. pp. 37-8.


36). The assumption being that there were not enough fee paying pupils to make the school viable. PRO ED 109/3846 op. cit.

37). PRO ED 109/4057 op. cit.


40). ibid.

41). ibid. HMI commented: 'The kindergarten is really run with the assistance of the students' who were, in their opinion, doing 'too much'.

42). £5 10sh 0d per term. ibid.

43). ibid.

44). ibid.

45). ibid.

46). ibid.


49). Five years later Kekewich told a conference of the Froebel Society that he wanted to 'express the extreme sympathy of the Education Department for the Froebel Society and its work, and for the Froebelian system'. *Child Life*. Vol. 1. No. 3. 1899. p. 163. Opening a new wing of the Froebel Educational Institute in 1900 Kekewich declared himself to be a 'disciple of Froebel' and argued that to teach young children with methods designed for older ones, 'is to inflict upon the child something little short of cruelty'. *Child Life*. Vol. 2. No. 5. p. 58.

50). She was welcomed by Arthur Acland who, as Vice-President of the Committee of Council, by so doing blurred the distinction between public and private schooling. *Child Life*. Vol. VII. No. 25. 1905. p. 43. and on another occasion see: *Child Life*. Vol 1. No. 2. On the liberal credentials of the empress see Allen. op. cit. p. 332.


52). ibid.


56). ibid.

57). ibid.

58). Smart. op. cit. p. 29.

59). ibid.

60). PRO ED 109/3755 op. cit.

61). ibid.
62). ibid.
63). ibid.
64). ibid. They were in a range from £8 8sh Od to £10 10sh Od.
65). Mitchell and Jones. op. cit. p. 213.
66). PP. 1895. XLV. op. cit. Q. 12,108. The sources for Table 2 are: Murray. op. cit. p. 92. and Journal of Education. Vol. XXIV. Jan. 1902. p. 25. Although small in overall terms, the numbers for 1901 and 1910 were roughly 16% of the number of students in colleges training to be elementary school teachers. Board of Education (1924) op. cit. p. 45.
73). See, for example, the Education Department's 'Syllabus for Female Candidates' for First Year students, section 4 of the 'School Management' section Report of the Committee of Council on Education 1880-81. p. 454.
76). ibid. p. 132 and p. 161 respectively.


78). PP. 1898. XXVI. op. cit. Qs. 1074-1077.


80). In Circular 322.


82). A consequence of this was, as recorded in Circular 322, the creation of the conditions for a four year stage of infant schooling differentiated from the following stages of elementary schooling. As with the London School Board in the 1870's, the Froebelians were the only educationalists who had a comprehensive 'system' for infant schools.


86). ibid.

87). ibid.


90). PP. 1898. XXVI. op. cit. 'Evidence of Rev. W. J. Frere Principal Bishop's Stortford Training College'. Qs. 8057 and 8086.

91). ibid.

92). ibid. Q. 1005.

93). ibid. Q. 12,834. The Leeds Board required all of its teachers to undergo a course of hand and eye training but Miss Hale deprecated this...
approach preferring to teach Froebel's principles in conjunction with the
elements of psychology a course which, like Lydia Manley at Stockwell,
she taught herself. ibid. Qs. 12,765-12,778. Frere of Bishop's Stortford
also lectured to the second year on Froebel and Pestalozzi ibid. Q. 8058
which is further evidence that Froebel's 'principles' along with
psychology were regarded as 'high status knowledge' in these colleges.

94). ibid. p. 16 and Appendix II 'Proposed Syllabus for Candidates for
Teachers' Certificates'. p. 45. The theme of producing a differentiated
training for infant teachers was common in the evidence of most of
those who advocated the state recognition of training in 'Froebel's
system'. According to Hobson, Lydia Manley, who was on the Committee,
avovated it herself (Q. 1086) as did the Rev. M. Stevenson, Principal of
Warrington Training College. Q. 6480. Miss Hale, on the other hand,
wanted kindergarten training for all teachers. Q. 12,710.

95). Based upon Sadler and Edwards op. cit. p. 48. During the same period the
number of places in training colleges grew by only '10.7%. ibid. p. 47 and
London, HMSO. p. 5.


99). Based upon Sadler and Edwards op. cit. p. 46.

100). PP. 1898. XXVI. op. cit. Q. 4196.

101). In his memorandum which became known as the Holmes-Morant circular,
Holmes said of elementary school teachers in 1910 that they were 'as a
rule, uncultured and imperfectly educated' and that many were 'creatures


103). Holmes told the Departmental Committee on pupil teachers that they could be had in his district for £30 p. a. PP. 1898. XXVI. op. cit. Q. 4212. The average salary of all women teachers two years earlier was £81 p. a. and for men was £122 p. a. Sadler and Edwards op. cit. p. 47.

104). PP. 1898. XXVI. op. cit. Q. 4212.


106). PP. 1898. XXVI. Q. 1087. HMI Sharpe, the Senior Chief Inspector for the Metropolitan Division said of the infant schools in 1897, 'we need more free spontaneous action; children play too much to order' and they


114). PP. 1898. XXVI. p. 4.


117). ibid. pp. 125-126 for Morant's reflections on government by experts. After a period of collaboration which lasted for about sixteen years, Beatrice Webb wrote of Morant:


121). PP. 1886. XXV. op. cit. Q. 13,557.
122). PP. 1886. XXV. op. cit. Q. 13,118.
123). ibid. Q. 13,298.
129). PP. 1886. XXV. op. cit. Q. 13,504.
130). ibid. Q. 13,568.
131). ibid. Q. 13,524.
132). ibid. Q. 13,575. The question was put by Heller the representative of the NUT.


139). Corke, H. (1975) In Our Infancy. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. Corke wrote of her part-time training course at the polytechnic at South Norwood in 1904 that it included, 'the educational theories of Froebel and Pestalozzi but there is little evidence that their ideas have reached the staff of Dering Place School'. p. 143.

140). Grant. op. cit. pp. 34-35.


142). PP. 1898. XXVI. Q. 12,637. See also the evidence of Miss Gee. Q. 5,740.

143). PP. 1886. XXV. op. cit. Q. 13,523.


145). Board of Education (1900) Report of the Board of Education for 1899. p. 4

146). Sadler, M. E. (1911c) 'University Day Training Colleges: Their Origin, Growth and Influence in English Education' in The Department of
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**Education in the University of Manchester 1890-1911.** Manchester, Sherratt and Hughes. pp. 9-54.


148). ibid. p. 35.


150). PP. 1887. XXX. op. cit. Q. 56,735.

151). ibid.

152). Sadler (1911c) op. cit. p. 36.

153). ibid.

154). ibid.


157). ibid.

158). The Board requested the discontinuation of violin lessons at Waterloo Road Council School in Smethwick, French at the Guild Street Council School at Burton-on Trent and ballroom dancing at Staincliffe Church of England School, Batley. All these experiments took place between 1908 and 1910. PRO ED 11 246 'Elementary Curriculum'.


160). A desire that was most evident during the teachers' registration issue. See: Gosden (1972) op. cit. pp. 244-256.


162). ibid.


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165). ibid.


171). PP. 1886. XXV. op. cit. Qs. 13,328-13,331.

172). Smart, R. op. cit. p. 44.


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176). Board of Education (1905) Regulations for the Training of Teachers and for the Examinations of Students in Training Colleges, p. 45 and p. 47.
In the last chapter attention was given to attempts at the end of the Nineteenth Century to raise the quality of the teaching force by altering the nature of college training and by the establishment of day training colleges. Alongside these instances of state sponsored professionalism, there occurred an upsurge of interest in educational theory and a new emphasis on its importance during the 1890's. Prior to that, according to the mental tester and handwork propagandist, Philip Boswood Ballard, (1865-1950) the realm of educational theory had been 'comparatively stable and tranquil'. (1) The surge of interest in theory was both an effect of the need for a body of knowledge upon which to base claims to professional status and of the production of new knowledges to do with education, particularly in the United States and Germany. In this and the following chapter, the relationship between the new knowledges and that carried by the Froebel movement will be examined. Although in many instances Froebelian notions were incorporated in the new knowledges and performed important functions within them the perspective adopted here is mainly one which treats the new knowledges as external forces combining to bring about changes in the Froebelian pedagogy. The question of power is important here as these new knowledges became institutionalised within the day training colleges which were connected to the Universities. It was they rather than the private colleges of the Froebelians or the voluntary training colleges which set the new rules and parameters of discourse on education. In order to be admitted into the 'academy', the
university centres in which, from the 1890's onwards, educational theory was mainly produced, the tenets of the Froebel movement had to conform to the tests and rules constructed by the academy. In this sense, the focus on what effects this had on the Froebel movement rather than the converse, is defensible.

Among the uncomfortable results of this upsurge, for the Froebelians, was the attrition of support for the faculty psychology which played such an important role in the legitimation of hand and eye training and also, ironically, in the legitimation of the classical curriculum. This was due partly to the emergence of the 'New Psychology' and partly to an upsurge of interest in the thought of Johann Friedrich Herbart, which, in the United States and Germany from whence it emanated, was closely associated with new methods of training teachers. The confrontation between the followers of Herbart and those of Froebel induced in the latter a revised view of the organization of school knowledge. Revisionist tendencies within the Froebel movement were also encouraged by the by the work of John Dewey who, after an initial attraction to the Herbartians recanted his Herbartianism and produced what was, in many respects, a pedagogy which was a synthesis of Herbart and Froebel. When it had emerged from this period, in the years immediately prior to the First World War, much of the Froebel movement had shed its adherence to the gifts and occupations and other aspects of the orthodox position. In Weberian terms its faith had become more rational and its appeal less particularistic and more universal and diffuse.
Chapter 8

2.0 The Decline of Faculty Psychology.

In 1882, the Rev. T. W. Sharpe, introduced into the syllabus for the teachers certificate a section on 'mental science'.(2) Explaining the thinking behind this, on the occasion of the opening of Edge Hill Training College in 1885, Joshua Fitch observed that:

there is some form of science and philosophy underlying every trade, and the understanding of it makes all the difference between the skilled and the unskilled workman.(3)

For Fitch, as was shown in chapter 5, a good deal of this professional knowledge was reliant upon the faculty psychology. Typical of his position was his claim that armed with the 'simple facts of mental philosophy', the 'skilled teacher' would regard arithmetic not as 'doing sums' but as an instrument of mental discipline'. (4) Future teachers, in the opinion of Fitch, ought to know of the 'science of the mind', 'the elementary laws of reasoning, and [...] the sequence and operation of various mental faculties'. They also ought to know how to make best use of the 'faculty of remembering' and they ought to be able to:

inquire into the best mode of bracing the senses, and the kind and class of subjects best fitted to call out the several powers of sensation, of observation, and of reflection.(5)

In this address, as in his popular college text, Lectures On Teaching, which in the sixteen years to 1897 went through fifteen reprints, Fitch expounded the principles of the faculty psychology and the transfer of training argument which was discussed in chapter 6.
Despite being attacked by Philosophic Radicals like James Mill, who pressed the rival claims of associationism, the faculty psychology remained dominant in the field of educational theory until the last decade of the Nineteenth Century. In the training colleges, the faculty psychology was not only sustained by Fitch but also by Alexander Bain (1818-1903), Professor of Logic at Aberdeen and, in his early work, at least by James Sully (1842-1923), who, for a brief period had lectured on the theory of education at the Maria Grey Training College. (6)

2.1 The Critique of the Faculty Psychology by Philosophical Psychologists.

Recurrent attacks on the faculty psychology, during the late Nineteenth Century, were made by the very small community of philosophical psychologists. A leading representative of this grouping, James Ward (1843-1925), commented, in 1880, that:

> it is humiliating to reflect that this defunct doctrine of faculties, having first retarded the progress of psychology itself should now be revived to darken knowledge under the guise of psychology applied to education. (7)

G. F. Stout, (1860-1944) a student of Ward, also attacked the faculty psychology. In his *Manual Of Psychology*, which according to Hearnshaw, became the most used psychology text in British Universities, Stout labelled the faculty psychology, a 'fallacy'. (8) Another leading opponent of the faculty doctrine was the American psychologist, William James who attacked it in his *Principles Of Psychology* and in his popular, *Talks To Teachers*. (9)
2.2 The Critique of the Experimental Psychologists.

While the approach of the philosophical psychologists did some damage to the notions of faculty psychology it was the experimental psychologists who did it most harm; if not in the pedagogic community as a whole then in, at least, the expanding, university baseed, academic part of it. Beginning in 1901, a student of James, the connectionist, Edward L. Thorndike (1874-1949) together with Robert S. Woodworth, conducted a series of experiments, to try to test the validity of the notion of transfer of training. The conclusion that they reached was that prevailing views about transfer were most misleading. (10)

This work stimulated a host of similar investigative experiments (11) the results of which were far from conclusive but whether or not the truth claims of the faculty psychology were sustainable the outcome of this work was to undermine confidence in it so that it no longer had the prestige within the pedagogic community that it once had. The fact that the findings of Thorndike and Woodworth were used in the United States by those attempting to dethrone the classics and substitute for them, in the schools, knowledge of a more practical kind, also suggests that the utility of those findings to modernizers of the practical education persuasion was more important than their truth claims.

In England, the critique of the faculty psychology was taken up by Thomas Raymont (1864-1953), who was to play a major role in the Froebel movement during the 1920's and 30's. (12) After a period at Borough Road Training College and some secondary school teaching, Raymont became, first of all, Master of Method and then later, Professor of Education at the day training college at University College Cardiff. (13) While at Cardiff, he
published his much used text, *The Principles Of Education*.\(^{(14)}\) In it, he adopted Ward's description of the faculty psychology but added that he thought it 'scotched rather than killed'.\(^{(15)}\) Raymont's description of the use of the faculty psychology in legitimating the object lesson may have had a particular significance for Froebelians as the practices he attacked were ones much favoured by them. 'Nowhere', he wrote, has the:

> idea of a formal training of the faculties workeds [sic] more mischief than in the instruction of small children. Under the influence of that idea teachers have dosed the children with commonplaces about natural objects, in order to train the faculty of observation; and they have dosed them with an excess of myths, fairy tales, and startling fabrications about the sayings and doings of inanimate objects, in order to train the imagination.\(^{(16)}\)

Instead of trying to train imagination, argued Raymont, teachers should look on some activities as relaxations and not as educational pursuits. As well as that written by Raymont, another text widely used in the training colleges was *Principles And Methods Of Teaching* which was written by James Welton, Professor of Education at the University of Leeds.\(^{(17)}\) In this work, Welton also added his voice to those ranged against the faculty psychology.\(^{(18)}\)

Nevertheless, at the day training college at Kings College London, for example, alongside the texts of Raymont and Welton there were used more traditional ones such as Collar and Crook's *School Management And Methods Of Instruction*.\(^{(19)}\) This text, argued the mental tester, P. B. Ballard, by supporting the faculty psychology, 'tried to harness an obsolete
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psychology to an obsolete pedagogy'. (20) Another book much used in the colleges was *Teaching And Organization*, which was edited by the Chief Inspector of Training Colleges, P. A. Barnett. Like the work of Collar and Crook, this also contained a defence of the faculty psychology. Significantly, however, this text referred to secondary schooling where school knowledge was regarded with more reverence than in the elementary schools and where the task of justifying the selection of school knowledge on the grounds of utility alone was much less easy. (21)

Despite these examples of the faculty psychology's stubborn refusal to die, the criticisms of it which have been summarized here, together with those of the Herbartians which will be considered presently, had effects on the Froebelians. The most concrete manifestation of these was the publication of Elsie Murray's book, *Froebel as a Pioneer in Modern Psychology*. (22) In it, she revised Froebel's work so that it accorded more closely to the developments in psychology which had taken place around the turn of the century. In particular, she tried to defend Froebel from the charge that his was a faculty psychology. (23)

3.0 The Moment of Herbart.

For reasons which will soon be apparent, many of the authors of the texts for trainee teachers which were written by incumbent's of the day training colleges adopted positions derived from the work of Herbart. One of these positions was a rejection of the faculty psychology. As Selleck demonstrates, the growth of interest in Herbart in England in the 1890's among educationalists was explosive. (24) Not only were college based figures like John Adams (1857-1934), the principal of the London day training college, involved in the popularisation of Herbart's work at this
time (25) but so were HMI like T. G. Rooper. (26) Other less well known inspectors were also involved in relaying the interpretations of the college based Herbartians to teachers. (27)

The term 'cult', with its connotations of religious worship, was often used in descriptions of the Herbartians in England. (28) As was indicated in chapter 3, analogies were also sometimes drawn between religious formations and the Froebel movement. However, unlike those who called themselves Froebelians, the Herbartians did not attain the status of an educational movement in the sense that it has been used here. They formed no Society; they had no journal or examining and certificating body and they established no schools or colleges. It was, overall, a rather fleeting and unstable phenomenon the signs and traces of which consist only of the texts written mainly by lecturers at the day training colleges.

The first of the Herbartian texts were English translations of Herbart's writing which began to appear in the early 1890's. Much of this work was done by the Felkins, who as was noted in chapter 5 were associates and friends of A. J. Mundella. In 1892, the Journal Of Education carried two articles on Herbart which were written by Emmie Felkin and later in the same year Herbart's, The Science Of Education appeared in a translation made by the Felkins. (29) This, immediately was made a text book at the Cambridge University day training college, the director of which was Oscar Browning. (30) Other translations and works of exegesis followed rapidly (31) but the one which was perhaps best known was The Herbartian Psychology Applied To Education. This was written by John Adams who, in addition to his post with the London day training college was also Professor of Education at the University of London.
text, Adams' book was innovative. It was an accessible exposition of selected areas of Herbart's thought as well as a humorous, subtle and persuasive critique of the object lesson and its theoretical prop, the faculty psychology. (32)

3.1 The Appropriation of Herbart by The Academy.

Edmond Holmes, when stung by the Herbartians criticism of him for using the term 'faculty' in his manifesto, *What Is And What Might Be*, the founding text of inter-war progressive education, responded by calling the Herbartians:

an influential coterie in virtue of their partial control of the Training Colleges and the educational press. (33)

Holmes incurred the displeasure of the Herbartians when he had expounded in *What Is And What Might Be* the view, which was not unconnected with that of Froebel, (34) that the function of education is to foster growth. As will be seen, the Herbartians were hostile to this position and they sharply criticised Holmes for it. But underlying this dispute was a deeper conflict between amateurs in education and the newly founded 'academy' or the experts on educational theory who resided in the day training colleges. Holmes was basically an amateur who, on his retirement from the service of the state, became an instigator and leader of an educational movement (35) but the Herbartians were nearly all professional experts who practised their expertise in the day training colleges. Hence Holmes' populist disparagement of those he called 'educationists' and hence also his equally populist, as well as misleading, description of himself as a 'plain, unsophisticated person' speaking to 'plain, unsophisticated persons'. (36)
Of the four Herbartians identified by Selleck as the 'most prominent', three were academics. One of them, Adams has been referred to already, the other two were John Joseph Findlay (1860-1940) and Catherine Isabella Dodd (1860-1932). Findlay was, between 1903 and 1925, Sarah Fielden Professor of Education at the University of Manchester and Dodd, before she became Principal of Cherwell Hall at Oxford in 1900, was Mistress of Method at the Manchester day training college for women. Both were Socialists, which might have been significant given the Herbartian belief in the power of education to form the intellect and the character (38) and both had studied at the Herbartian 'shrine' at Jena. (39) The fourth of Selleck's prominent Herbartians was Frank H. Hayward, who became an inspector with the London County Council after having worked in a Pupil Teacher Centre and having studied Herbartianism in Germany. (40)

Further evidence to support Holmes' contention that the Herbartians were based principally in the colleges may be gathered from the texts written by the Masters and Mistresses of Method at the day training colleges to replace the largely atheoretical, school management texts such as that by Collar and Crook which was cited above. (41) Many of these, such as that of Welton were critical of Herbart or Herbartianism but overall they tended to rely heavily on Herbartian ideas and practices. (42) One of those which was more favourable was that edited in 1907 by John W. Adamson (1857-1947) and entitled *The Practice Of Instruction*. (43) Adamson, formerly Master of Method at Kings College day training department, was, from 1903 until 1924, Professor of Education at Kings College. (44)
Even among the ranks of the committed enthusiasts, there were those whose whole hearted identification with Herbartianism was short lived. In the United States, where Herbartians also occupied posts in the newly formed university departments of education and where, to those attempting to formulate a science of education, the appeal of Herbartian theories was strong, a National Herbart Society was formed in 1892.(45) By 1902, owing to the critique of Dewey and other former Herbartians, the Society had become the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education and Herbartianism had become largely discredited.(46) In England, following a similar route, J.J. Findlay switched his allegiance from Herbart to Dewey (47) and in Adams' later work, the "Herbartian jargon" was 'quietly dropped'.(48)

3.2 The Appeal Of The Herbartian Form.

In order to explain the appeal of the Herbartian position to the academy and to identify what the academy required from a theory of education it is not only necessary to describe briefly its content but also its form. With regard to the latter it had the advantage that, as Adams observed, it was 'like so much else that is well worth having [...] made in Germany'.(49) The Froebelian pedagogy was also, 'of course, but unlike the work of Froebel, which was discouraged by the state in Germany, the work of Herbart did manage to occupy a space in one or two universities which had practising schools attached to them. As a result, these universities became centres for the production of theories of pedagogy whereas in England, pedagogy had been largely the province of the practitioners in the training colleges .(50) These German centres, because of their university status and because they had produced passable theories of
pedagogy, provided a model for the English teacher trainers in the day training colleges, who were seeking theories of their own to transmit. In this respect, it could be argued that the idea did not create the academy but the academy the idea.

Another aspect of the form of the Herbartian theory which made it attractive to the seekers after a science of education was that Herbart had provided a systematic psychology of learning and a method of teaching. His work had an aura of scientificity which was appealing during a period when 'science' was increasingly been seen as a necessary component of solutions to social problems and the mark of professionalism. In this respect, as Peterson has noted, the Herbartian system came as a godsend to the day training colleges because, as he put it, even Herbart's vices were 'scientific'.

3.3 The Role Of Findlay.

J. J. Findlay played a pivotal role both in the general debates over theory which this chapter is concerned with and in the introduction of the Herbartian doctrines to England. Findlay, the son of a Wesleyan Minister, attended the Methodist, Kingswood school at Bath. After graduating from Wadham College, Oxford he taught at Bath College and for two brief periods at Rugby. From 1885, Findlay was head of two Wesleyan Proprietary schools until, in 1891, he went to study in Germany. Before he left for Germany, he had published a book and an article on the desirability of training male, secondary school teachers, which at the time was virtually an unthinkable proposition.

In Germany he attended the two main centres for the production of educational theory which were both dominated by Herbartians. He went first
to Jena to study under Professor Wilhelm Rein, a leading Herbartian and a member of the liberal, National Socialist Party. Findlay was later to claim that he was attracted to Jena by the news that Rein, alone among German professors, maintained a demonstration school 'in which his staff displayed their faith by works'. After Jena, Findlay went to Leipzig where Tuiskon Ziller (1817-1882) had established a pedagogical seminary. From Leipzig, Findlay obtained a Ph.D. for a thesis on the training of secondary school masters.

On his return to England, Findlay became something of a state expert on teacher training. He collected evidence for, and presented a memorandum to, the Bryce Commission and he wrote an article entitled 'On The Study Of Education', which appeared in one of the Education Department's series of Special Reports which were produced by the office led by Michael Sadler. Between 1895 and 1898, Findlay lectured on Education for the College of Preceptors which, in 1894, had established a short-lived training college for secondary teachers with him as principal. He also, in his words, 'had some share in framing' the Resolutions on training secondary school teachers which appeared in the Report of the Training of Teachers Joint Committee of 1897.

The subsequent development of Findlay's work will be discussed below but it is clear from the foregoing that while he subsequently became involved in training elementary school teachers Findlay's experience and interest were in the training of secondary school teachers and in some respects that was fitting as the Herbartian theories were more suited to older pupils than to those of elementary school age. It is also evident that Findlay was less interested in Herbart than in the Herbartianism which
Ziller and Rein had constructed. This, Findlay described, approvingly, as a 'correlated set of doctrines embracing the whole field' of educational theory and practice. (59)

3.4 The Appeal Of The Content Of Herbartianism.
Herbart's psychology was associationist, meaning that he held that the mind of the child at birth was not active as the faculty psychology proposed but passive and entirely without content. In his view, it was not the mind but ideas that were active and they constantly sought ingress into the mind which was then built up by these ideas which formed associated groups called apperception masses. This led Adams rightly to conclude that:

unlike most Psychologies, Herbart's has an obvious and immediate bearing upon education. The soul is in the teacher's hands, inasmuch as the apperception masses can be made and modified by the teacher. (60)

For the Herbartian, the teacher, by controlling the ideas which were presented to the mind of the pupil, was in the position of a man-maker (61) and the kind of 'man' whom Herbart wished to make was, above all, a moral man. (62) Thus as Dewey put it, the Herbartian system was, essentially a 'pedagogues view of life' (63) and one which was, according to Adams, 'a perfect antidote' to evolutionary theories which had depressed educators and made them 'full of the conviction of how little education can really effect'. (64)

3.5 The Five Steps.
Of all the elements of the Herbartian system, the one which, judging by the number of texts in which it was cited, commended itself most to the
academy was that of the five steps. These originated in Herbart's attempt to provide a systematic form of instruction. The steps, which in the hands of Ziller and Rein underwent a number of transformations, were said by the Felkins to be, 'simply the division and development of every lesson the child receives, according to the psychical process which takes place in his mind'.

In the terminology of Rein, the steps were labelled, Preparation, Presentation, Association, Generalization and Application. The content of these steps is of little relevance to this discussion as it was their form which appealed most to the academy. In the training colleges and in the manuals of the Masters and Mistresses of Method the five steps rapidly replaced the traditional headings of Matter, Method and Illustrations under which lesson notes had been formerly arranged by students. The impact of this attempt to rationalize the practice of teaching was sudden, although as it was concerned with the teaching of older children it tended to pass the Froebelians by. As Findlay observed, five years after Oscar Browning had set Mrs Felkin's translation of Herbart's Aesthetische Darstellung as a set book for the Cambridge Teachers' Examination, 'all students of Education were stepping to the Tune of the Five Steps'.

3.6 Culture Epochs And The Curriculum.

In addition to providing the academy with a systematic approach to teaching method, the Herbartian system also met another of its needs; that of providing a comprehensive theory which legitimated the selection of appropriate school knowledge. As Frank Hayward noted, 'curriculum forming' was 'the chief interest of the Herbartians' and the chief Herbartian theorist of the curriculum, was Ziller. Holding to the precept
that 'the mental development of the child corresponds in general to the chief phases in the development of his people or of mankind', (71) Ziller proposed that the school curriculum should correspond to eight 'culture epochs'. The first of these, which corresponded to the pupil's first year in school, was that of 'epic fairy tales' and the last was the 'history of the Reformation'. (72)

As the pupil's mental development was best nourished, according to Ziller, by 'the general development of culture, as it is found in literature and history', then the so called, humanistic subjects were accorded the greatest worth in the curriculum organized according to the principles contained in the culture epochs. (73) This did not mean that science, or in the Herbartian terminology, 'instruction in things', should be excluded but that it should be subordinated to humanistic subjects in the formulation of the curriculum or in the 'concentration centre'. This latter phrase referred to the organization of subjects and subject matter around a particular theme. In his book, Principles Of Class Teaching, Findlay provided an illustration of concentration drawn from the teaching of his wife at the Demonstration School attached to the Training Department of University College Cardiff. There, the curriculum of her pupils aged seven to nine years was concentrated around the theme of Robinson Crusoe, which was Ziller's culture epoch for pupils in their second year at school. Thus, work in Geography, Nature Study, Songs, Art and Manual Work all revolved around the theme of Robinson Crusoe. (74)

The reception of the notion of culture epochs by the academy was less enthusiastic than that accorded to the five steps. Among its critics were Raymont (75) and Adamson (76) and even Findlay was impelled to state
that the culture epoch theory was 'not a statement of scientific fact'. (77) Nevertheless, like the faculty psychology, the culture epoch theory became, to adopt a phrase of Findlay's, 'largely a matter of popular vocabulary'. (78)

One index of its embeddness in educational discourse is the fact that Cyril Burt found it necessary to refute it in his appendix to the Report of the Consultative Committee which was published in 1931. (79) As was seen in Chapter 6, however, race recapitulation and associated notions were not the exclusive property of the Herbartians. Hand and eye training aside, the Froebelians did not draw upon it much until the revisionists introduced Dewey's version of recapitulation into Froebelian circles. Nevertheless, their passive support for race recapitulation no doubt contributed to its pervasiveness in discourse on the content of education. Moreover, the choice by Ziller of fairy tales as the concentration material for the youngest children stimulated some Froebelians to look beyond the stories in the Mother's Songs and utilise, what they called, stories from 'the childhood of the race'. (80)

The other main area of agreement between the Herbartians and the Froebelians was concerned with the organization of school knowledge. The Froebelian equivalent of the Herbartian practice of concentration was the 'centre of interest' which was derived from Froebel's view of connectedness or the unity of all things. In most instances, the centre of interest in the kindergarten was drawn from nature whereas the Herbartian concentration was selected from the 'human story'.

These points of similarity between the Froebelian and Herbartian systems led J. Gunn, the author of a manual entitled The Infant School (81) to
suggest that 'in practice' the Froebelian and the Herbartian might 'not differ very much in their work'. (62) A related point was made by Adams who declared that 'even professed Froebelians do not seem to be quite aware that Herbart, so far from supporting their position, is directly opposed to it'. (83)

4.0 The Herbartian Critique Of Froebel.

Adams was one of the first English Herbartians to attack what he called 'Froebelianism' which in his view had obtained 'such a hold upon our educational system'. (64) But it was not the practices of the Froebelians which drew his disapproval, only the absence of psychology in Froebel's work and the lack of correlation between Froebel's theory and his practice. (85) In order that 'the master' might teach, Adams argued, 'he must know Latin; and he must know John. Not so long ago it was considered enough to know Latin'. (86) Leaving aside the dubious nature of this formulation, (87) Adams attributed the shift in interest from Latin to John to the work of the Froebelians but, he added, that they provided no means of knowing John only the 'plant' metaphor. (88) Adams did admit however, that although this metaphor cast the teacher as 'humble undergardener' with little to do but watch John develop, in practice this left the teacher, 'all the rights of pruning, and grafting, and even transplanting'. (89)

What Adams sought was a more coherent and rigorous theory and practice of education than that of the Froebelians. It might be thought that as far as the overcrowded schools and the underfed children within them were concerned, his pursuit was a gross irrelevance but in the academy, where theory brought with it academic respectability, it was a different matter.
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For the most part, Adams' conclusion regarding Froebel was justified. It was that:

Froebel's system as a practical school method is purely empirical. The fanciful, quasi-philosophical way in which he seeks to explain the relation of angles and sides, of forms of knowledge, of beauty and of life, and of the moral meanings of certain physical phenomena, is charming but amounts to nothing more than a pretty mysticism. (90)

But, as with his charge that the ordinary kindergartner dabbled with the mechanism of idealism without understanding its principles, all Adams was saying, in effect, was that teachers were not philosophers. By so doing, he failed to recognize that the way teachers legitimate their activities is rarely cast in a systematic or coherent form.

Little of Adams' critique of Froebel and the Froebelians was specifically Herbartian, the same was true of Findlay's criticisms. He concentrated his attack upon Froebelian practices which he disliked, such as 'the tedious and useless' paper folding and upon the 'devotees of faculty-psychology' who believed that 'the knife, Naas pattern would train the faculties'. (91)

4.1 Froebelians and Herbartians: The Case of Moral Instruction.

Ironically, in view of his reservations about the Froebelian system, Findlay himself was attacked by the Herbartian, Frank Hayward. In the pages of the Journal of Education, 1907, the year in which Hayward's attack occurred, was the year of Moral Instruction. This particular curriculum 'fashion', which was brought to prominence by the combined efforts of secularists and diviners of 'morbid symptoms', (92) well
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illustrated the fundamental difference in outlook between the Herbartians and the Froebelians. Hayward was a persistent critic of the notion of original goodness which Froebel took from Rousseau whom Hayward described as the, 'thief, parasite, rogue and voluptuary of Geneva'. (93) He also accused the Froebelians of holding one-sided doctrines which underestimated the power and value of ideas as springs of conduct. (94) Given these positions, it is not altogether surprising that when Findlay rejected the direct moral instruction for pupils below the age of sixteen, Hayward responded. His critique was based upon the not very original assumption that 'soft' pedagogy was inappropriate for working class pupils. Of Findlay, Hayward wrote that:

Professor Findlay's view may represent a truly scientific pedagogy as applied to middle class schools in utopia but, as applied to modern schools, especially in poor districts, it seems to me doctrinaire, contrary to experience, and morally mischievous. (95)

Hayward's principal targets, however, were hereditarians like Karl Pearson and Francis Galton who implied, contrary to the Herbartians, that teaching could not improve upon inherited abilities. Hayward, in typical Herbartian fashion, argued in opposing the hereditarians that moral life was transmitted socially not biologically. (96)

The Froebelians, on the other hand, were not fatalists with regard to heredity nor advocates of a permissive pedagogy. Indeed, Madame Michaelis and Alice Woods both lectured in 1896 and 1897 for the Ethical Union, a body led by Dr Stanton Coit which aimed at the presentation of 'moral ideas and standards upon a rational as distinct from an authoritarian
basis'. (97) In contrast to Hayward and other Herbartian's belief in the necessity of direct moral instruction, (98) the Froebelians advocated indirect moral instruction. The general Froebelian position on this issue was well expressed by the American, conservative Froebelian, Susan Blow, who said that 'although the Kindergarten does not aim at instruction the child learns much'. (99) Nevertheless, just as Froebel failed to resolve the question of whether education should be a teacher directed process or simply one of 'following' the development of the child, the Froebel movement was never able to resolve it either. The effect of this particular confrontation upon the Froebelian's was to strengthen their commitment to the moral objectives of the kindergarten although because of their rhetoric of following the child they still remained vulnerable to attack on this point.

5.0 The Moment of Dewey

In much of the literature on the development of the schooling of young children much credit in permitting the Froebelians to escape from their 'bondage to apparatus' is given to the reading of Froebel made by John Dewey. The modern Froebelian, wrote Alice Woods in 1920:

greatly influenced by the work of Dewey, leads the older child along the lines of primitive man, and no longer limits him to the rigid apparatus of the older Froebelians... (100)

Many other Froebelians also claimed that Dewey had played the role of liberator and that his critique and reworking of Froebel's themes had contributed significantly to the crumbling of the old Froebelian orthodoxies. (101) Dewey's revision of Froebel was carried out during the
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period when he was connected to the Laboratory school in Chicago. This was established by Dewey and his wife to cater for children between the ages of four and thirteen in 1896 and it continued in existence until 1904, when Dewey left Chicago for Columbia. The school was begun, in Dewey's words, in order to test certain questions and problems. (102)

That this was no ordinary elementary school was indicated by the fact that all the teachers there were 'thoroughly educated' and that the children were from 'comparatively wealthy homes'. (103) In addition, the teacher pupil ratio was said to have been uncommonly low. (104) Dewey was not unaware that the conditions in which the Laboratory School existed were not typical of the majority of schools attended by young children but he argued that:

an experiment demands particularly favourable conditions
in order that results may be reached both freely and securely. (105)

To this he added:

We do not expect to have other schools literally imitate what we do. A working model is not something to be copied; it is to afford a demonstration of the feasibility of the principle, and of the methods which make it feasible. (106)

5.1 The Educational Thought of Dewey: The School as a Legatee Institution.

(107)

A consideration of all of Dewey's work at the Laboratory School is beyond the scope and purpose of this account which aims simply to examine those innovations which bore directly on the Froebelian pedagogy. These Dewey
discussed in The School And Society, which first appeared in 1899 and also in a series of monographs entitled The Elementary School Record which were published monthly in 1900.(108)

In The School And Society, Dewey analysed the effects upon education which were wrought by industrialization. (109) The most important of these, for him, was the elimination of 'household and neighbourhood occupations' or, in other words, the decline of the family as a unit of production which accompanied the rise of machinofacture. What were lost in this process, he argued, were:

the factors of discipline and of character-building involved in this kind of life: training in habits of order and of industry, and in the idea of responsibility, of obligation to do something, to produce something in the world.(110)

The loss of the pre-industrial, 'educative forces' was, felt Dewey, the main impetus behind the introduction of manual training which, for him, was the leading characteristic of the 'New Education' in the elementary schools.(111) Distancing himself from the utilitarian arguments of the manual trainers, Dewey proposed that activities involving wood and metal work in school should not be justified solely in vocational terms but in terms of:

their social significance, as types of the processes by which society keeps itself going, as agencies for bringing home to the child some of the primal necessities of community life ...(112)
Thus it followed that the curriculum of the school should be one which was based upon occupations, not merely to produce technical skills but to provide:

... active centres of scientific insight into natural materials and processes, points of departure whence children shall be led into a realisation of the historic development of man.(113)

The lessons that Dewey was anxious to have transmitted to pupils were ones which stressed the necessity of production in the reproduction of society and the social nature of production which he felt was obscured by the technical division of labour. Knowledge of the technical and social processes of production was, for Dewey, 'an indispensable instrument of free and active participation in modern social life'.(114) All, he argued, should realize that their work possessed a social meaning and for those who were employed as 'mere appendages to machines' such knowledge would assist in the location of the source of 'economic evils' and provide the means to deal with them.

However, before the schools could provide this education, their attitude had to be transformed. The dominant liberal conception of education was, argued Dewey, 'highly specialized, one sided, and narrow' and it was an almost entirely 'medieval' one.(115) What was needed was a change in the aim of schooling to one which permitted the introduction of activities which appealed 'to those whose dominant interest' was 'to do and to make'.(116)
5.2 Dewey's Child Centred Case.

To the extent that the foregoing approach may be regarded as 'society centred' it represents that which was left of the Herbartian analysis in Dewey's thought. However, as Dewey was to point out, the theory of formation omitted to take into account the interaction between that which is being formed and that which was doing the forming.\(^{(117)}\) In other words, in addition to the society centred approach to schooling, Dewey attempted to hold onto the Froebelian, 'child centred' case. In his discussion of child centredness in *The School And Society*, Dewey began with a characterization of 'traditional education'. He observed that the physical structure of schools and the arrangement of space within them made not for activity but uniformity of method and listening. Thus, he declared:

> In the old education the center of gravity is outside the child. It is in the teacher, the textbook, any where you please except in the immediate instincts and activities of the child himself.\(^{(118)}\)

Like Froebel, Dewey chose the home as the place where education, which put the child at its centre of gravity, might best take place. Not any home, however, but a middle class home or as he described it:

> an ideal home, where the parent is intelligent enough to recognize what is best for the child, and is able to supply what is needed...\(^{(119)}\)

In such a home, argued Dewey, a child's learning took place through interactions with adults and through participation in household occupations; from which were derived:
habits of industry, order, and regard for the rights and ideas of others, and the fundamental habit of subordinating his activities to the general interest of the household. (120)

For Dewey, the ideal school differed from this idealised home only in so far as its occupations and relationships were, 'specially selected for the growth of the child'. (121) Pedagogy, in Dewey's ideal school, was to be a purposive and conscious activity; not Froebel's 'drawing out' nor Herbart's 'putting in' but rather the giving of direction to pupil's activities. (122) These activities were held to arise from impulses or instincts which could be classified into four groups which were available for guidance in the school. These Dewey labelled, the social instinct; the instinct of making; the instinct of investigation and the expressive impulse. (123)

Direction and guidance could also be given to what Dewey called, child interests. These were said to have 'certain identities' with 'those of primitive life'. Thus Dewey outlined how children's interests in, what he regarded as, the typical activities of primitive peoples - evidenced by play with bows and arrows - could be guided into 'work' on hunting peoples and onwards to peoples in the 'semi-agricultural', 'nomadic' and 'settled agricultural' stages of cultural evolution. (124)

5.3 Dewey's Revision of Froebel

What Dewey had done effectively, in this discussion was to synthesise Froebelian and Herbartian themes to produce a 'modern' elementary school curriculum. But the Froebel he brought to the synthesis was one who had been much revised although the main Froebelian principles were still intact and discernible. In The School And Society, Dewey, although
interrogating his ideas, makes no mention of Froebel. He did however, refer to the kindergarten which he maintained was 'a union of the nursery and of the philosophy of Schelling'.(125) Those elements of the kindergarten which were derived from 'the actual study of child life' were, thought Dewey, 'a life-bringing force in all education' but the 'Schellingesque factors', Froebel's highly romantic and symbolic philosophy, constituted a barrier between the kindergarten and the rest of the school system.(126) In The Elementary School Record, Dewey presented a more extended critique of Froebel.(127) Firstly, he identified three principles which, he claimed, Froebel was the first to consciously propose. These were:

1. That the primary business of the school is to train children in co-operative and mutually helpful living [...]  
2. That the primary root of all educative activity is in the instinctive, impulsive attitudes and activities of the child, and not in the presentation and application of external material [...] and that, accordingly, numberless spontaneous activities of children [...] are capable of educational use; nay, are the foundation stones of educational method.  
3. That these individual tendencies and activities are organized and directed [...] to reproduce on the child's plane the typical doings and occupations of the larger maturer society into which he is finally to go forth; and that it is through production and creative use that valuable knowledge is secured and clinched.(128)
This 'essential' Froebel, it may be argued, was one which had been rationalized in the sense defined by Weber as, 'the absence of all metaphysics and almost all residues of religious anchorage'. (129) Put another way, Dewey's transformation of Froebel was one which appeared to involve the stripping away of that which was ideological or that which was partial and distorted. But, to paraphrase Habermas, what is left of Froebel in Dewey's work, by appearing in the mantle of modern science and as a critique of ideology, obscures the possibility that Dewey's revision is in itself ideological. (130) In other words, the educational 'science' which Dewey was engaged in creating may have been ideological in the sense that by presenting schooling as a rational, value-neutral activity and obscuring the dimension of struggles over the form and content of knowledge he legitimated the continuing domination of the power bloc. It was also ideological in the more specific sense that it was not a thorough rationalization of Froebel or not as scientific as it claimed to be because Dewey's educational science contained within it residues in the form of unexamined assumptions which contaminated the science which emerged from his critique of Froebel. Of these residues, race recapitulation was, for a while, most prominent. (131)

6.0 The Introduction Of Dewey To England.

Dewey's work at the Laboratory School and his reflections on it were made available to English audiences by J.J. Findlay who edited two collections of Dewey's writings. (132) In his Principles Of Class Teaching, Findlay spoke of Dewey's 'remarkable work' but his enthusiasm for Dewey had less to do with the American's revision of Froebel or critique of Herbart, than for the example that Dewey provided of how to construct a science of education.
based upon observation and school practice. (133) It was for this reason that Findlay bracketed together Rein's seminar at Jena and Dewey's Laboratory School and praised them for their attempts to forge a unified theory and practice of education. (134)

By the time that Findlay presented his first collection of Dewey's essays in 1906, his enthusiasm for the Herbartians had waned. Now, for him, Dewey was the 'chief' of a new school which, in his telling phrase, was engaged in a search for, 'new foundations for educational practice'. (135) In the second collection of Dewey's essays which he edited Findlay declared:

> it appears that we have here a system emerging which will catch on, which will secure discipleship, among many perhaps who do not half understand its philosophic foundation. (136)

In Findlay's view, systems of education did not attract support because of the power of their exponents but because they, 'corresponded to sympathies and ideals already at hand' (137). At the same time, the case he made for the correspondence of pragmatism, the half understood philosophic foundation of Dewey's work, to the requirements of the day was unconvincing. However, his point that Dewey's system would catch on whether or not its philosophical foundation was understood lends support to the view that the background assumptions of a 'system' are often more important in determining its career than its explicit propositions. But Findlay evaded the question of whether or not it was important for the success of a 'system' to have a legitimating 'philosophic foundation' which may or may not be understood and he also, by adhering to a positivist
notion of science, misrecognized how these systems worked. This was demonstrated in the distinction which he made in the following appeal:

if education is to be pursued as a science, it must cease to carry banners. How many such "schools", each with its devoted band, have we not known in the last twenty years! Froebelians, Sloydists, Herbartians, Eurekists(?), these are but a few of the sects that have founded a school distinguished equally by the fervency of their faith and the narrow range of their sympathies.(138)

While Findlay recognized that for a system to gain support it must meet a need, his approach to knowledge failed to grasp its social character and in particular, the way in which the career of a system was not only determined by the strength or logic of its appeal but by the power of those to whom it appealed to make use of it.

6.1 A Critical Note.

Another account of Dewey's work at this time was given by H.Thiselton Mark who was Master of Method at the Manchester Day Training Department.(139) This account was published in a Special Report of the Board of Education on schooling in the United States. This was introduced by Fitch, who held that the main benefit a traveller in the United States could gain was help, 'for the contemplation of the future'.(140) At Dewey's school, Thiselton Mark viewed the future of elementary schooling and did not like much of what he saw. The bulk of Thiselton Mark's description of the school's curriculum was taken from the school's own 'Course of Study'. As an experimental school it was, he pronounced, 'of immense value and interest'.(141) It started, he wrote, from an interpretation of the
kindergarten and it indicated how the 'fundamental social principle' of the kindergarten which, rather than the gifts and occupations, was, for him, its 'essence', could be applied in the elementary school. However, Thiselton Mark, who was interested in moral education, found the 'ethical side' of the school most open to criticism. This was because it appeared to him that the school was attempting to encourage its pupils to work out principles of behaviour for themselves. He was unattracted by the proposition that experience was the mother of discipline and declared himself 'nonplussed' by the absence of any attempt to transmit conventional moral standards.

6.2 Dewey and the English Froebelians.

Among the English supporters of Dewey's revision of Froebel the most prominent was Maria Elizabeth Findlay (1855-1912) who was a sister of J.J. Findlay. Maria Findlay's career was typical of the new professional women who came to prominence in the Froebel movement at the turn of the century. She was educated privately and at a Moravian school in Germany before commencing a career as a teacher in girls' high schools. After gaining an external B.A. degree from the University of London, she became head of the Stockton-On-Tees, High School for Girls. This post she held for a number of years until she resigned in order to spend a term studying psychology at Edinburgh. Following this period of study, Maria Findlay spent three years as head of the City High School in Montreal and after that, she spent three years in the United States studying under G. Stanley Hall and at the schools of Colonel Parker and John Dewey.

On her return to England in 1898, she became an instructor at Southlands Training College and a Lecturer and Organizer of Method at the Froebel
Educational Institute. In 1901, she became a member of the Council of the Froebel Society and subsequently, the Governing Body of the NFU. She also contributed an article entitled 'The Training Of Teachers In The United States Of America' to one of the Board of Education's, Special Reports series. In this article, among other things, Maria Findlay presented a case, supported by developments in the United States, for the proposition that the 'reform of school methods based on principles of mental development could be effected only by teachers who understood those principles'. She also included an account of the work of Colonel Parker and John Dewey. She described, for example, how, at Cook County Normal School, Colonel Parker made 'life' the basis of the curriculum. Thus, although in her judgement Parker's philosophy of education was 'most akin to that of Froebel', instead of the gifts and occupations the children at Cook County studied:

Anthropology and the lives of primitive races yet living, natural science and myth, industries and games, civic government and popular song...

Maria Findlay's description of Dewey's school was cast in unmistakably Deweyean terms:

The children are there employed at various industries with a view, not only to form habits of industry and helpfulness, but also to bring them into right relations to society, and to promote rational intellectual development. Knowledge is sought for an answer to the problems which arise in connection with manual work.
Having absorbed the Deweyean critique of Froebel, Maria Findlay began to assail the 'conservative' Froebelians who clung to the idealist and mystical legitimation of their practices. The first of her attacks on the old school of Froebelians occurred in 1900 in an article entitled "Miss Blow on Froebel's Philosophy of Education". (150) The Miss Blow of the title of her article was Susan Blow, a former pupil of the Hegelian, Maria Kraus-Boelte who was a leading figure in the establishment of kindergartens in the United States. (151) As leader of the conservative faction within the International Kindergarten Union, Susan Blow was a strong defender of Froebel's symbolism and of the literal adherence to Froebel's practices. (152) At the Conference of the Froebel Society in 1901, Elizabeth Riach Murray, a lecturer at Maria Grey, also attacked Susan Blow in a paper entitled, 'Kindergarten Games'. (153) Murray argued that the value of kindergarten games lay chiefly in the opportunities which they provided for social training and not in their symbolism. At the following year's conference she returned to the offensive in a paper entitled, 'That Symmetrical Paper Folding and Symmetrical Work with the Gifts are a Waste of Time for Both Students and Children'. (154) and in the same year, Henrietta Brown Smith attacked the kindergarten occupations in the journal Child Life. (155)

These three leaders of the revisionist faction within the Froebel movement were all recent arrivals on the Froebelian national stage and they also represented the new generation of Froebelian leaders who were based in the training colleges. Those Froebelians who clung to the Mother's Songs and the symbolism of the gifts and occupations tended to belong to a former generation whose institutional base was in the private kindergartens.
These Froebelians were locked in a position of isolation which was constituted by the rejection of their pedagogy by the elementary school teachers and which was overlain with their social class location which cut them off from mass schooling. Isolation created a defensive reaction, what J. J. Findlay termed, 'a pedantic adherence to the details of Froebel's methods'. (156)

The revisionists, on the other hand, looked outwards and noted the opportunities presented by the new upsurge in anxieties about the moral and the physical condition of the urban poor which accompanied the discovery of widespread physical incapacity among the working class at the time of the Boer War. (157) These opportunities required a pedagogy which took account of the poor physical condition of the 'slum child' and also, what was seen as, the absence of moral restraint among the children of the urban poor.

The trend towards collectivism in social life was also important in nurturing the revisionist cause. On the surface, the Deweyean critique of Froebel was concerned mainly with the apparatus and the idealist baggage which accompanied it but, at a deeper level, it rejected the exclusively child centred and individualist approach of the conservative Froebelians. As was demonstrated above, Dewey had abolished in his own thought any contradiction between the needs of the individual and the needs of society.

In the Child And The Curriculum, for example, Dewey counselled:

Abandon the notion of subject-matter as something fixed and ready-made in itself, outside the child's experience; cease thinking of the child's experience as also something hard and fast; see it as something fluent,
embryonic, vital; and we realize that the child and the curriculum are simply two limits which define a single process. (158)

In similar vein, Maria Findlay argued that in formulating the general aims of education there was merit in both the child-centred and society-centred positions but what was important was the question of 'the relative emphasis' to be laid on them. (159) With regard to the curriculum, recapitulation theory held, for her, the key to bridging the two approaches. From the point of view of the child, she suggested, its 'natural, spontaneous' interests arose in the order that they emerged in the 'race'. According to her, the first such interest to emerge was 'activity'. This interest, Findlay maintained, could be satisfied only by engaging in industries which met, what she described as, 'the three primary goads driving the savage, of the primitive forest and of our London slums alike': food, clothing and shelter. (160) The image of the working class barbarians at the gate and her celebration of primitivism were a far cry from the sphere and the cube of Froebel's gifts but Findlay soon returned to more familiar ground. The curriculum activities or occupations most suited to satisfying these needs were not, she argued, those of manual training and laundry work but, 'cooking, weaving and constructing'. (161) These activities not only aroused the thinking powers of children who wished to discover easier ways of doing things but they also had 'ethical value' in that they forged close bonds 'between the child and his fellows'. (162) But the stress on socialised labour in Findlay's account was not simply a matter of curriculum construction for its own sake. Like Dewey, Maria Findlay held that the school had a purpose wider.
than that of providing children with the appropriate conditions for
growth. For her, schooling needed to 'counteract the arrestive tendencies
of the monotonous toil' to which people are condemned. (163)

Again, primitivism and the myth of the 'Golden Age' were not far away in
the framing of the notion of 'arrestive tendencies'. Findlay looked back to
a time which predated the division of labour and asked rhetorically:

Must not the savage woman have been necessarily placed
on a higher level than the mass of our people who toil
in factories and workshops at one small piece of work
endlessly repeated. (164)

That Adam Smith had also looked to state education to combat the
deterioration of the great mass of the people due to the division of
labour, was pointed out with heavy irony by Marx. (165) But little is
gained by condemning the revisionist Froebelians for holding an inadequate
analysis of Capitalism. Any social analysis was a rarity and conscious
references to the social purposes of schooling and particularly ones which
were predicated on a critique of the effects of machinofacture are hard to
find in the English Froebelian literature before this time.

6.3 The Demonstration School at Manchester.

The main significance of this revisionist Froebelianism will be discussed
further in chapter 10. This survey of the Hebartian and Deweyean moments
in England will now conclude with an account of an attempt to borrow an
institution, the Demonstration School, from America and Germany and a
consideration of the fate of the Froebelian pedagogy within it.

The project of a School of Demonstration and Practice attached to a
university and similar to that of Rein or Dewey was one which engaged the
attention of J. J. Findlay in the late 1890's. His argument for such a school was based on the view that:

A science can only be properly studied on a basis of practical experience; or, in other words, theory and practice must go hand-in-hand. (166)

When Findlay obtained the Chair of Education at Manchester in 1903, arrangements for teaching practice had already been made by the Herbartian, Mistress of Method Catherine Dodd, who had opened, in the previous year, a primary school and kindergarten for that purpose. (167) This moved in 1908 in order to share the premises of the Fielden Upper School, a practising school which the university had opened in 1905 with the financial assistance of Mrs Sarah Fielden (1819-1910). (168) Whether or not funds were forthcoming from other sources, Findlay intended that, in the best secondary tradition, he would 'keep clear of government grants and the consequent restrictions on the time-table' as he felt that it was 'best for private enterprise to undertake experiments which when proved can be adopted by the state'. (169) Thus it was once again with Mrs Fielden's support, that the schools moved to a house in Victoria Park late in 1908 and became the Fielden Demonstration Schools. These consisted of an upper school, a primary department and a kindergarten and which was managed by a committee presided over by the ubiquitous, Sir William Mather. (170)

In the year that the schools opened in Victoria Park, Findlay brought out the first number of the *The Demonstration Schools Record*, the stated purpose of which was to 'display in as much detail as space will permit the daily programme of the school'. (171) The impress of Dewey was very
much in evidence. The course for seven to nine year olds, for example, was based on primitive occupations after Dewey's description in The School and the Child. (172) The Froebelian presence was also strong as the head of the primary school was Kate Steel who held an NFU certificate as did another Assistant Lecturer and Demonstrator Jeannie P. Slight who, in 1952, wrote a history of the Froebel Movement for the Bulletin of the National Froebel Foundation. (173) Another, and subsequently more important Froebelian was Grace Owen who was a lecturer and demonstrator at the school until 1910. (174) The latter contributed to the first Demonstration Schools Record an article on 'Handwork in History Teaching' which was written in conjunction with Dora Walford and Michael Sadler who was then Professor of the History and Administration of Education at Manchester. (175) His connection with the schools is probably the most likely explanation for an article on correlation at Miss Gilpin's school at Weybridge. (176) Eva Gilpin was formerly a governess who worked for the family of Sadler's first wife. Subsequently, she opened a schoolroom in Sadler's house at Weybridge which in 1897, was transferred to the Weybridge Village Hall. (177) The Village Hall School was run by Eva Gilpin, when it first opened with the assistance of two teachers, one of whom held the Higher Certificate of the NFU. (178) The first HMI report on the school, which was highly encomiastic about Gilpin's teaching abilities, (179) made particular note of the correlation of subjects which was practised there as also did a subsequent report. (180)

Despite this connection with Froebelians and their practices, the Demonstration Schools Record was critical of that which passed for Froebelian pedagogy. In 1913, in an introduction to an article on
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investigations into the Montessori Method, which Findlay had written with Kate Steel, Findlay wrote:

Our kindergarten teachers had already been feeling their way towards reform [...] rebelling almost against the orthodoxy of the Froebelian cult, and now the sudden onslaught of the Montessori Method has stirred everyone to a re-examination of the situation. (181)

In this particular case, the encounter between the Froebelian pedagogy and the academy led to its rejection but that pedagogy was to prove much more durable than Findlay's Demonstration Schools.

7.0 Conclusion

As the analysis of the external forces facilitating the emergence of a revised Froebelianism is incomplete, a fuller conclusion must await the next Chapter. However some concluding remarks concerning the emergence of conditions favourable to a revisionist Froebelinism are possible. Firstly, the growth of the academy, the university linked teacher training institutions, created a demand for theories of education which, unlike the existing theories transmitted in the training colleges were systematic, based upon observation and linked with practice. For these reasons and because they contained an enhanced view of the power of the educator, theories derived from the work of Herbart were the first to be embraced by the academy. One effect of this was to give much more weight to critiques of the faculty psychology, the psychology which most Froebelians had used to grant to their enthusiasms, such as Sloyd, an air of scientificity and hence legitimation.
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With its main theoretical prop, the faculty psychology gone it was evident that the Froebelian pedagogy of the orthodox or conservative Froebelians, like the Baroness Von Marenholtz-Bulow and Eleonore Heerwart would not pass the tests administered by the academy. What was required by the Froebelians was a reconstructed theory and practice which would conform to those tests. From inside the academy, albeit the academy of the United States, came just that in the form of Dewey's theories and his practice at the Laboratory School. The fact that such a vital part of the academy as Mme Hester had, as it were, secured the English rights to Dewey's work gave to that work a high specific weight. Added to this was the advocacy of Dewey's theories by women who were the newly a cendant leaders of the Froebel movement and whose base was not in the private, restricted world of the kindergartens but in the more open, public world of the state regulated colleges. These women were professionals and experts not aristocratic amateurs like the Baroness and her generation of Froebelian leaders.

In addition to being acceptable to the academy, this revised version of Froebel, also contained the possibility that it could be universalised and taken up by the schools attended by the working class in a way which could not be so easily accomplished by the conservative Froebelian pedagogy. Furthermore, the revisionist pedagogy was orientated to social issues at just the moment when collectivist currents were urging that the school should become an instrument of social policy. A fuller consideration of these issues will be provided in chapter 10, while in the following chapter, other forces which were bringing about the transformation of educational discourse at the turn of the century are to be discussed.

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FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES.


3). 'The Edgehill Training College, Inaugural Ceremony'. Liverpool Mercury. 28th Jan. 1885. Fitch suggested that 'the science of the mind' bore the same relation to the work of the teacher as anatomy and physiology did to that of the medical practitioner.

4). ibid.

5). ibid.


7). Quoted in Selleck (1968) op. cit. p. 290.


15). Raymont. (1905) op. cit. p. 20.


17). Welton, J. (1909) Principles and Methods of Teaching. London, University Tutorial Press. (2nd ed.). Ballard (1935) op. cit. pp. 4-5. contains the view that Welton's text was much used in the training colleges.


School Management and Methods of Instruction. London, Macmillan. Collar was the Head of Stockwell Pupil Teachers' Centre.

20). Ballard. (1935) op. cit. p. 5. This judgement was also applied by Ballard to Dexter, T. F. G. and Garlick, A. H. (1898) Psychology in the Schoolroom. London, Longmans, Green. Dexter was the Head of the Finsbury Pupil Teachers' Centre and Garlick, the Head of the Woolwich Pupil Teachers' Centre. As Simon has noted the texts by Collar, Crook, Garlick, Dexter and Landon (another proponent of the faculty psychology) represented an 'indigenous development from within the elementary school system'. See: Simon, B. (1985a) 'Why No Pedagogy in England?'. Simon, B. Does Education Matter?. London, Lawrence and Wishart. p. 85. The question of why the 'practitioners' nostrums were eclipsed by those of the 'scientific educators' is also discussed in: Simon, B. (1985b) 'Education in Theory, Schooling in Practice'. Simon, B. Does Education Matter?. London, Lawrence and Wishart. pp. 32-53. Landon was a lecturer on school management at Saltley Training College. His book on school management, which went through eight editions in fourteen years, was attacked by Raymont (1937) op. cit. p. 249 for its portrayal of the kindergarten. See: Landon, J. (1892) School Management. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.


22). Murray, E. R. (1914) Froebel As a Pioneer in Modern Psychology. London, Philip. This book largely consists of an exegesis of Froebel's writings arranged so as to convey the impression that Froebel anticipated the emergent 'new' psychology. The anonymous reviewer of the book in the
Times Educational Supplement wrote that: 'The stones are from the Froebelian quarry, but the plan of the resulting edifice is Miss Murray's own'. Times Educational Supplement Oct. 6th. 1914.


25). For Adams see Ballard (1935) op. cit.


27). HMI Legard, for example, in his report for 1898 discussed a scheme of lessons extracted from: Dodd, C. I. (1898) Introduction to the Herbartian Principles of Teaching. London, Swan Sonnenschein. From 1892 until 1900 Dodd was Mistress of Method at the Day Training College for Women, Owen's College Manchester. Report of the Committee of Council on Education 1898. pp. 189-190. In the same report, HMI P. A. Barnett, a former Principal of Borough Road Training College, commended Herbartian methods to the lecturers in the training colleges which he inspected. ibid. p. 324.


34). Gordon (1983) op. cit. p. 22 describes Holmes as a 'neo-Froebelian'. This is reasonable considering that this was Holmes' self-description in Holmes (1914) op. cit. p. 52. However, in the same work, Holmes said of Froebel that he 'left too little to Nature and too much to the teacher'. Ibid. p. 2. A criticism which he repeated in Holmes, E. G. A. (1913) The Tragedy of Education. London, Constable. p. 81. Holmes was closer to Froebel's world hypotheses and educational principles than to his principles of pedagogy, particularly after the eruption of interest in Montessori which he did much to facilitate.

p. 141. In 1925 Hawker subsequently became active in the recently formed National Union of Students. Until his death in 1920, Sir William Mather helped finance the New Ideals group.

36). Holmes (1914) op. cit. p. 357. This he coupled with a sharp attack on 'educationists' like John Adams for using 'quasi-scientific jargon' and having little effect upon the people; those who were de facto in control of education. ibid. pp. 309-312. The Froebelians, on the otherhand, attacked Holmes for his embrace of Montessori and his lack of 'knowledge of scientific pedagogy'. Murray, E. R. (1913) 'Educational Pamphlets No. 24'. Child Life Vol. XV. No. 78. pp. 10-15.


41). Such books, according to HMI Barnett, were followed with "...exactness" by the training college students. Report of the Committee on Council on Education 1898, p. 324.

42). See Welton op. cit. pp. 69-72. Welton was Professor of Education at Leeds. A list of texts sympathetic to the Herbartian view appears in Selleck (1968) op. cit. p. 268 note 84.


47). A transition which may readily be seen if the references to Herbart and Dewey are counted in Findlay, J. J. (1902) Principles of Class Teaching. London: Macmillan and in his subsequent major text, Findlay (1911a) op. cit.


49). Adams (1897) p. 43. Quick op. cit. p. viii made a similar point.

50). The chief Herbartian centres in Germany were Leipzig, where Tuisken Ziller (1817-1882) ran a pedagogical seminary, and Jena, where Wilhelm Rein was Professor.

51). Peterson, A. D. C. op. cit. p. 95.
52. Findlay, J. J. (1887) 'The Training of Higher Grade Schoolmasters. What Is the Next Step?'. Journal of Education. Vol. IX. June. pp. 267-268. The occasion of this article was the collapse of the Finsbury Training College the principal of which was the Froebelian, Courthope Bowen (See also chapter 7, note 23). The book was Findlay, J. J. (1888) Teaching As a Career for University Men. London, Rivingtons.


54. Findlay (1910) op. cit. p. 9. This, more than Rein's Herbartianism, was the main reason also given by Findlay for going to Jena in Findlay (1902) op. cit. p. xiv.

55. Its title was, Zur Entwickelung des Höheren Schulwesen's Englands. As well as studying German Findlay was interested in the teaching of modern languages and he ran a summer course for teachers at Jena. Journal of Education. Vol. XV. August. 1893. pp. 421-423.


58. Findlay (1898) op. cit. p. 340. For the committee see Gosden (1972) op. cit. p. 227.
59). Findlay (1898) op. cit. p. 353. This, the Germans called 'System der Pädagogik'.

60). Adams (1897) op. cit. p. 73.


67). Findlay (1902) op. cit. p. 380.

68). Findlay (1911b) op. cit. p. 39.


74). Findlay (1902) op. cit. pp. 413-416. Findlay's wife Charlotte, upon whose teaching experiments he drew freely, was a Froebelian who examined for the National Froebel Union. National Froebel Union op. cit. pp. 1-2. She also was responsible for a series entitled Philips' Systematic Course of Elementary Drawing and Colouring for Kindergarten, School and Home which was published by Geo. Philips.
75). Raymont (1905) op. cit. pp. 172-173.
77). Findlay (1902) op. cit. p. 31.
78). ibid. p. 34.
82). Gunn op. cit. p. 76.
83). Adams (1897) op. cit. p. 45.
84). ibid. p. 43.
85). ibid. pp. 41-42.
86). ibid. p. 16.
87). On this point, the German evolutionist, Ernst Haeckel wrote persuasively that: 'rational pedagogy must have at an early date set itself the task of the theoretical study of gradual development and formative capacity of the young mind that was committed to it for education and formation'. Haeckel, E. (1929) The Riddle of the Universe. London, Watts. p. 85. Such
changes as had occurred he attributed to the adoption of scientific methods.


89). ibid. p. 42.

90). ibid. p. 43.


93). Hayward (1905) op. cit. p. 111.


97). Hilliard op. cit. p. 54.


the will and the affections' were given the greatest stress in the kindergarten.

100). Woods op. cit. p. 43.


104). The teacher pupil ratio was around 1 : 6 in 1902. The ratio of adults to children was 1 : 4.3. Derived from Cremin op. cit. p. 135.


106). ibid.

107). The term 'legatee' is from Cremin op. cit. p. 117.

108). There were nine monographs in total and they recorded the work of the Laboratory School. Cremin op. cit. p. 139. note 3. In England they were edited by J. J. Findlay and they appeared as Findlay, J. J. [1906] (ed.) op. cit.

109). Dewey (1956) op. cit. p. 9. (The School and Society). Dewey's analysis of the 'changed social situation' was very close to that of Sadler.


118). ibid. p. 34. (The School and Society).
119). ibid.
120). ibid. p. 35. The parallel between this and Froebel (1885) op. cit. p. 236 is most striking.
121). Dewey (1956) op. cit. p. 36. (The School and Society).
123). ibid. pp. 43-44.
126). ibid.
129). Weber (1967a) op. cit. p. 293.
131). He later was to criticise the Culture Epoch theory and race recapitulation. See: Dewey, J. (1911) 'The Culture Epoch Theory' in Monroe, P. (ed.) *Cyclopedia of Education*. New York, Macmillan. pp. 240-


137). *ibid.*


139). See: Goode, W. T. (1911) 'The Department of Education in the University of Manchester' in *The Department of Education in the University of Manchester 1890-1911*. Manchester, Sherrat and Hughes. p. 60. Goode thought that Mark was the first student to obtain a doctorate for research on education from a British university.


141). Mark *op. cit.* p. 61.

142). *ibid.*


150). Findlay, M. E. (1900) 'Kiss Blow on Froebel's Philosophy of Education'. Child Life. Vol. II. No. 5. pp. 27-32. See also Findlay, M. E. (1909) 'Educational Issues in the Kindergarten' Child Life Vol. XI. No. 45. pp. 19-22. No. 46. pp. 54-56. No. 47. 77-80. In addition to her writing and teaching, Maria Findlay attempted to express revisionist Froebelianism in practice at Mayland Mill school which was situated in Joseph Fels' land resettlement scheme. The school is described in: Various Writers. School and Life. London, Geo. Philip. pp. 121-186. For a year, from 1908 to 1909, the school was under the reluctant control of the local authority as Morant virtually forced it to open the school. PRO ED 21/5272. 'Mayland Colony Temporary Council School'. Joseph Fels (1854-1914) was an American who subsidised a number of progressive causes. A
'single taxer', a follower of Henry George, he accumulated a large fortune through the manufacture of Fels Naptha Soap.


153). Journal of Education. Vol. XXIII. Feb. 1901. p. 53. This paper is quoted by Woodham Smith op. cit. p. 64. Murray, who was born in Scotland, lectured firstly at Stockwell. At the age of 33, in 1895, she became a student at Maria Grey and later she returned as the head of its kindergarten and subsequently she became the vice-principal of the college. Lilley (1981) op. cit. p. 41. She claimed in her history of the Froebel movement that Maria Findlay introduced her to the work of Dewey. Murray (1912) op. cit. p. 105.


155). Brown Smith, H. (1903) 'Hindrances in the Training of Kindergarten Students'. Child Life. Vol. V. No. 20. pp. 195-197. Henrietta Brown Smith's career exemplifies the extent to which the Froebel movement had become institutionalised by the turn of the century. A student at Maria Grey she taught for some years and then returned to college. In 1901 she


157). A condition which was highlighted by PP. 1904. XXXII. Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration.

158). Dewey (1956) op. cit. p. 11.


160). Findlay, M. E. (1914) op. cit. p. 36.


166). Findlay, J. J. (1897) op. cit. p. 363.


169). 'The Fielden Demonstration School'. Journal of Education. Vol. XXVI. Dec. 1904. pp. 820-821. This article was published without attribution but the style is similar to that of J. J. Findlay. He made a similar point about the need to be free from 'bureaucratic control' in order to experiment in
Findlay, J. J. (1911) op. cit. p. 39.


171). Demonstration Schools Record. No. 1. 1908.


174). Grace Owen (1873-1965) trained initially at the Blackheath Kindergarten Training College. She left Manchester to lecture at Reading, Leeds and the Nather Training College Manchester. She became principal of the City of Manchester and Nather Training College in 1924 and she was a prominent campaigner in the Nursery Schools Association. Who Was Who?

175). Walford, D. Owen, G. and Sadler, M. E. (1908) 'Handwork in History Teaching'. Demonstration Schools Record. No. 1. Ch. VII.


179). ibid.


181). Demonstration Schools Record. No. II. 1913. p. 45.
Chapter 9

CHILD STUDY, THE SCIENCE OF EDUCATION AND THE REVISIONIST FROEBELIANS.

1.0 Introduction

In the last chapter, the appropriation by the academy of Herbartian and Deweyean discourse on education was discussed together with the effects of those discourses and their appropriation on the Froebel movement. Generally speaking, those discourses were utilised principally for the purposes of curriculum construction; in this chapter discourses having to do specifically with children and with childhood are examined. These arose largely outside the academy but were also selectively appropriated by it. The form of this appropriation will be examined here together with the role that child study, as these discourses were known, played in the attempt to construct a science of education. Child study did not spring fully formed on to the stage of educational theory in the 1890's but arose from two distinct sources: the work of G. Stanley Hall in the United States and the Galtonians and Eugenicists in England. As in the previous chapter, attention will be paid to the current of professionalization and to the consequences of the attempts from within the academy to construct a science of education. Finally, it will be argued, that child study and the pressure for a science built on the observation of children strengthened the revisionist tendency within the Froebel movement which was opposed to the conservative Froebelian faction which clung to the apparatus of the kindergarten. One of its effects which will be taken up in the following chapter and which will also be discussed here was the assimilation by
the Froebellans of new theories of play which further weakened the reliance on Froebel's pedagogic apparatus.

2.0 Why Did Childhood Become Significant?

In a recent analysis of progressive pedagogy, which draws extensively upon Foucauldian concepts, Walkerdine has suggested that the study of children during the nineteenth century was part of an overall project to produce a knowledge of the population which, 'became intimately bound up with the devising of new techniques of population management'.(1) With regard to schooling, she argues that these techniques required that education should follow the nature of the child as revealed by its study and that such an education would be effective as:

It would prevent the threatened rebellion precisely because children who were not coerced would not need to rebel- the lessons would be learned and this time properly. Docile bodies would become a self-disciplined work force.(2)

While there are some elements in this approach which are persuasive, for example, the recognition that shifts in the regulation of schooling and the relations of pedagogy in the nineteenth century can usefully be thought of as a tendency over a long period to substitute for rule by coercion rule by consent, there is much here that is woefully inadequate. Notably there is no reference, for example, to the central question of agency in this approach. Ultimately, the motive power which propels this project of 'normalisation' (3) is not, as in social control explanations, an omniscient, all-powerful, ruling class (4) but reason itself.(5) Neither does this approach attempt to evaluate the extent to which these new
techniques were implemented or whether or not they were successful in attaining the objects ascribed to them. Nevertheless, these criticisms do not deal with an important question raised by Walkerdine and others (6) which has to do with why the child became an object of scientific study at the time that it did.

The answer to that problem requires not an attempt to attach a date to the 'discovery' of childhood but, first of all, a recognition that during the nineteenth century more attention was paid to childhood, in texts at least, than heretofore. This has been amply demonstrated with regard to literature, particularly that written by Romantic poets like Wordsworth and novelists like Dickens, by Coveney. (7) This elevation of childhood into a fitting object of artistic interest was accompanied by a concern for the condition of working class children such as that which accompanied the agitation for the Factory Acts. This concern was never one of unalloyed sentimentality as it was nearly always accompanied by the kind of fears and anxieties discussed in chapter 4. One possible reason for this interest in childhood was the fall in the birth rate among the upper and middle classes, which became noticeable from the 1860's onwards. (8) For Sadler, more important than sympathy for the plight of many working class children in the arousal of interest in childhood was the recognition of 'the importance of infant training' which he attributed to 'the theories of German pedagogy' which arrived in England in the form of 'Froebelism'. (9) Given the limited extent to which, outside some middle and upper class circles, the Froebelian message penetrated this claim exaggerates its importance in promoting interest in childhood. Others like Findlay and Raymont singled out 'the sentiment of democracy' (10) and
a 'general tendency towards a milder and more humane régime' (11) as
decisive factors in bringing about an interest in childhood. The analysis
of Pinchbeck and Hewitt is somewhat similar except that they saw the
growth of children's rights and the growth in their legal protection,
during the nineteenth century as a triumph of reason over ignorance and
over some forms of religious belief. (12) Davin and Dyehouse, on the other
hand, have demonstrated that childhood, at the end of the nineteenth
century, became an important area of investigation because children were
increasingly seen as a national asset in the international struggle for
survival.

While all these accounts contain partial glimpses of the processes at work
they suffer from many of the faults which beset all general theories. For
example, there is no justification for ignoring the divisions of class and
gender or of town and country in order to create an undifferentiated
category of childhood which is somehow either discovered or reconstituted
during the nineteenth century. The conditions produced by such divisions
were so diverse that the category of childhood needs constant
qualification in order to make statements about it which have any more
validity than those contained in common sense. Hence, the processes which
focussed attention on middle class children, such as the practice of
family limitation, were not the same as those which produced an interest
in working class childhood.

The origins of a 'scientific' interest in childhood and the time of its
birth are much more easily accounted for than the generalized increased
attention paid to childhood. The key moment in this process was the
publication of Darwin's theory of evolution which promoted the view that
adults 'evolved' from childhood. While Rousseau urged the readers of his *Emile* to study the child, outside the limited circle of educators who were inspired by Rousseau, few did until Darwin's work on evolution stimulated a series of observational studies, including one of his own, of middle and upper class infants. Among these the best known were by Wilhelm Preyer, Professor of Physiology at Leipzig and James Sully (1843-1923) who became in 1902, Grote Professor of Psychology and Philosophy at London University. These studies had as a unifying explanatory theme, the notion of race recapitulation thus drawing together Anthropology, Biology and Physiology as well as a Psychology not yet emancipated from Philosophy. Among their objects they included the study of mental development and mental evolution which covered the study both of children and of animals. In its more restricted sense, that of genetic psychology, this work concentrated only on children. Genetic psychology, according to the psychologist of children's conceptual development, Jean Piaget, who was one of its leading proponents, was:

a method and a system of ideas capable of providing an account of the development of consciousness and, in particular, of the development of the infantile psyche.

For Piaget, the key to genetic psychology was method and in particular methods involving observation. In his view, Rousseau, had been unable to produce an account of children's mental development which was drawn from observation and experiment. Similarly, while Pestalozzi and Froebel produced accounts of mental development they owed little to, observation and they relied upon the notion of unfoldment to account for
the dynamic of mental development. Others like Alexander Bain, who
aspired, unlike the aforementioned, to found a science of education also
failed the key methodological test set by the founders of the genetic
psychology by not basing his psychology on observation. (19) Compared
to the 'classic' educational thinkers, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Froebel,
the work of Granville Stanley Hall and James Mark Baldwin, (20) based
largely as it was on empirical evidence, constituted what Piaget
described as, 'a radical change of viewpoint'. (21)

3.0 G. Stanley Hall and the Growth of Child Study.

Among the founders of Child Study, Granville Stanley Hall (1844–1924) is
perhaps the best known. A pioneer of observational methods, Stanley Hall
received, what according to Boring was, 'presumably the first doctorate of
philosophy in the new psychology to be granted in America'. (22) A key
figure in the break between the old and new psychology, Stanley Hall,
appropriately was the first American student of the German experimental
psychologist, Wilhelm Wundt, (1832–1920) who is widely regarded as 'the
founder of general psychology'. (23) In addition to his role as a
modernizer in the study of children and psychology, Stanley Hall was also
a political modernizer. A right wing collectivist, he has been credited by
Karier, with somewhat characteristic hyperbole, as having, 'blueprinted
National Socialism at least a decade before it was realised in
Germany.' (24)

As if to demonstrate the often confusing truism that most pedagogies can
be articulated to virtually any political position, Hall described himself
as a 'true disciple of Froebel' and wrote that, 'my orthodoxy is the real
"doxy", which if Froebel could now come to Chicago or Boston he would
He accepted Froebel's contention that 'play was one of the great revealers of the direction of inherent interest and capacity' but he criticised certain aspects of the kindergarten. Of the mother songs he commented, for example, that:

*I am driven to the conclusion that, if they are not positively unwholesome and harmful for the child, and productive of anti-scientific and unphilosophical intellectual habits in the teacher,* they should nevertheless be superseded by the far better things now available.

Hall also attacked what he described as, 'another cardinal error of the kindergarten' which was 'the intensity of its devotion to the gifts and occupations'. These, he said, were 'beneficent for the peasant children in the country' but in the 'interests of the modern city child' they led 'a very pallid unreal life'.

Hall's advocacy of non-directed or free play in the kindergarten brought him supporters in England but his contributions to the field of Child Study are here of more immediate interest. In 1883, he published a monograph entitled 'The Contents of Children's Minds' which was based on data gathered by a questionnaire. In the monograph, Stanley Hall sought to demonstrate that the 'mental contents' of the minds of country children differed from those of town children and he argued that teachers should take account of this in the framing of curriculum and in their pedagogy. Thus, like Froebel, Hall proposed that the content of the curriculum should be determined by what was known of the child's mental
development and by so doing, he also sought to provide the practice of schooling with a scientific basis.

3.1 The Reception of Hall's Work in England.

Ten years later, in 1893 while President of Clark University in Massachusetts, he founded the National Association for the Study of Children and in the same year his work became known to readers of the Journal of Education by way of an article written by Mary Louch entitled 'Educational Progress in America'. Louch, a teacher at the Cheltenham Ladies' College, together with two other British teachers, Miss Crees from London and Miss Clapperton from Edinburgh, visited the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. At the Fair, they attended the Congress of Experimental Psychology. This Congress, which had Child Study as its theme, was presided over by Stanley Hall. On their return to England, the three teachers established Child Study Societies in Edinburgh, London and Cheltenham.

Despite this enthusiasm for Stanley Hall and his methods, the attitude of the Journal of Education was sceptical. An anonymous reviewer of an article of Stanley Hall's which had appeared in Forum observed that, 'We cannot help noting the paucity and poverty of the results compared with the vast amount of material collected'. Nevertheless, the Journal of Education continued to publicize the methods of Child Study. In December 1894, it carried a letter from Stanley Hall which was headed, 'A topical Syllabus for Child Study'. The area which was to be studied was that of anger in children and the readers were advised to carry out a number of observations such as the following:
Describe every vaso-motor symptom, such as flushing, paling about the forehead, cheeks, nose, neck or elsewhere. Is there horripilation...

In description, readers were urged to be, 'photographically objective, exact, minute and copious in detail' and he added that he preferred that any data collected be sent to him but that those who wished could work out their own data and print their own conclusions. Interest in Child Study in England grew rapidly after Hall's work became known and following the publication of more of Hall's syllabus, a reviewer wrote in the *Journal of Education* in 1896 that, 'we are inclined to enter a protest against the extravagancies of child study, which is becoming the rage'.

For the Froebelian, Alice Woods, Child Study offered the possibility that the power of a child's mind could be developed in proportion to, what she described as, the ever-increasing number of new ideas and new subjects which were springing up. James Sully offered a rather different kind of justification for child study when he pointed out that, 'in the study and understanding of the child's mind' England was far behind America. In a move which may be regarded as an attempt to catch up with the foreign competition, Sully, in 1895, ran a course at the College of Preceptors on 'The Characteristics and Development of the Child'.

So prominent was Sully's role in the Child Study movement in England that Cyril Burt gave to him the credit of founding the British Child Study Association. As others have demonstrated, Burt's memory was far from reliable but it may also have been the case that Burt preferred that an expert be given the credit of forming the Association rather than its true founders, Mary Louch and the scientific racist, Dr Langdon Down.
4.0 The Child Study Association

The British Child Study Association was formally established in 1898 (45) and among its Vice-Presidents were Sully, the American Professor, Earl Barnes of Leland Stanford Junior University, Dorothea Beale, the head of Cheltenham Ladies College and an early advocate of a science of education, (46) and Patrick Geddes who was never far from any 'modern' organization during the period.(47) Also closely involved was the advocate of 'hand and eye' training, Henry Holman.(48)

The initial aims of the Child Study Association were printed in its journal, the name of which, The Paidologist, had been coined by G. Stanley Hall, and which was edited by Mary Louch. The aims of the Association as stated in this journal were:

To interest parents, teachers and others in the systematic observation of children and young people, with a view to gaining greater insight into child-nature, and securing more sympathetic and scientific training of the young. (49)

In 1902, these aims were amended in order to widen the constituency of the Association so that it included medical men and had a more explicit link with education. The revised aims now included the unmistakeably Froebelian view that:

it is only by a more precise knowledge of the natural process of unfolding of the human mind, and of the way in which this can be modified by the environment, that further advance can be made in education of the principles of a natural and sound education. (50)
In both sets of aims, there may be detected the desire to base education on scientific knowledge of the mental development of the child. This ambition was shared by many in the academy but their search for scientific legitimacy caused tensions in the child study movement between the experts of the academy and the enthusiastic amateurs who attended its meetings.

Initially, the reaction of the academy to the vogue for child study was quite favourable. Catherine Dodd, the Mistress of Method at Owens College Manchester, was convinced that child study was the way towards the production of a science of education. In 1898, she wrote in the National Review that:

> the time is not far distant when Pedagogics will have a recognised standing in our courses and the systematic observation of children will be part of the training of all who intend to teach children or examine them. (51)

Alice Woods, on the other hand, thought that there were two major difficulties in creating a science from child study. The first difficulty concerned the object of the proposed new science. She held that it was not always easy to understand what a child meant to express in language or art. The second difficulty, identified by Woods, was one which became a familiar refrain and it consisted of the absence of people:

> who possess the trained and restrained powers of observation needed, the insight to discriminate between the relative values of observations made... (52)

This problem, she thought, was exacerbated by the 'American plan' of sowing:
broadcast amongst any and every parent and teacher sets of questions, month by month, one of which would take at least a year of devoted work to produce good results.

(53)

Concern was expressed not only the amount of data produced by child study but also its reliability. Professor Muirhead of Birmingham University observed, in connection with this issue, that, 'the zeal of investigators has sometimes outrun discretion'.(54)

4.1 The Social Composition of the Child Study Movement.

Those who joined the branches of the Child Study Association tended to be those most attached to Froebelian ideas and practices. In one account, the members were said to have been, 'teachers, parents, doctors, school managers, inspectors and social workers'. (55) However, Professor Muirhead related, somewhat regretfully, that, 'in some places the members consist, [...] almost entirely of school teachers, and among these of the teachers of young children'.(56)

The branch activities of the Child Study Association consisted mainly of lectures given by 'authorities', both on child study and education, which were followed by discussion. Studies using questionnaires were undertaken and as in the Froebel Society there were social activities and visits organized by the branches. (57) The following extract from the programme of the Birmingham branch in 1904, was typical. At its November meeting the branch was addressed by Miss Woodward of the Edgbaston Froebel School who spoke on 'Music for Little Children'. In December, the Chief Librarian of the Birmingham Free Libraries gave a paper on
'Children's Books' and at the following meeting, Miss Grimwood of Brighton spoke on the 'Intellectual Development of Deaf Mutes'. (58)

The Froebelian presence was almost inevitable in any organization concerned with young children. In London also, the branch of the Child Study Association provided a platform for Froebelian speakers. Kate Phillips, the Froebelian Superintendent of Method for Infant Schools for the London County Council was a frequent speaker as was Kate Stevens and Evelyn Lawrence, the principal of the Froebel Educational Institute. Another speaker, much in demand, was Margaret McMillan who was, at the time, a member of the Froebel Society's 'Propaganda Committee' and a member of the Society's Council. (59) Joint meetings between the Froebel Society and the Child Study Association were not uncommon particularly in Manchester where the President of the Manchester branch of the Child Study Association was the Froebel movement's benefactor, Sir William Mather. (60)

It was not the case however, that the Froebelians captured the Child Study Association although they were undoubtedly an important element within it. The interaction between the Froebel and the Child Study movements produced effects in the other direction also with the Froebelian journal, Child Life devoting space to accounts of child study investigations particularly those of Earl Barnes. (61) In one of these, Barnes compared the writing of children in a public elementary school to that of children of Froebelians and the difference between them he ascribed to, 'the greater variety of incident, conversation, and general experience that surrounds the well-to-do child'. (62) This kind of nurturist explanation was at odds with the naturist thrust of the Froebelian theories but those were
themselves undergoing a process of change stimulated in part by child study.

5.0 Eugenics and Child Study.

Before following the course of that process further and in order to clarify further the relation between the Froebelians and the academy it is necessary to discuss another strand in the Child Study movement. Unlike the previous one, which originated in the United States, this one had native roots. Child study and the search for a science of education were, as has been shown, closely interrelated and both came to be marked by what Stephen Jay Gould has identified as the most dominant notions in Nineteenth Century human science namely, evolution and quantification.(63)

With the latter, few figures were more closely associated than Darwin's cousin, Francis Galton (1822-1911).(64) Galton's main achievement, as Evans and Waite succinctly put it, was to effect a juncture between statistics, psychology and the science of heredity.(65) Galton's work in individual psychology and mental measurement, both of which were concerned with individual differences, was located within the framework provided by his belief in eugenics(66) which meant, for him, the possibility of human improvement through intervention in the evolutionary process.(67)

Before, however, the 'unfit' could be segregated from the 'fit', as eugenic theories required, they had first to be identified.(68) Thus, in 1877 at Galton's instigation, the British Association for the Advancement of Science undertook an anthropometric survey of the population of the British Isles. This survey, which was completed in 1884, included physical measurements taken from large numbers of school children.(69) In the year that the survey was completed, Galton set up at the International Health
Exhibition an 'anthropometric laboratory'. When the Exhibition closed, the laboratory was transferred to the South Kensington Museum where it functioned for a further six years. In this laboratory, measurements were made of the 'human form and faculty' and data was obtained from nine thousand, three hundred and thirty seven persons. (70) Much of Galton's advertising material was directed at parents and teachers and it asked them:

whether it is worth your while to pay less than a shilling to have your boys and girls measured [...] either to learn their powers or to obtain timely warning of remediable faults in development. (71)

As well as being an inducement which played upon parental anxiety, this advertisement exemplifies Galton's approach of seeking new fields for the practice of his statistical techniques by making bold claims for their utility.

5.1 Two Teacher Researchers.

Two teachers who were engaged in the pursuit of a science of education responded quickly to Galton's work. Among them was C. H. Lake, who was mentioned in chapter 3 in connection with his role as founder of 'The Society For the Development of the Science of Education'. (72) Lake was also head of the Oxford House School for Boys in Chelsea and to some of his pupils he administered a number of tests which he had constructed. These were early forms of intelligence tests which, he claimed, were 'based upon Galtonian procedures' and were designed to measure similarity, discrimination and retentivity. (73)
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Another teacher who became involved in similar work was Sophie Bryant (1850-1922) who succeeded Miss Buss as head of the North London Collegiate School for Girls in 1895. A 'new woman' who rode to school on a bicycle, scaled mountains and supported the causes of Irish Home Rule and women's suffrage, Bryant became a state educational expert whose particular field was the secondary schooling of girls. One of the first women to sit on a Royal Commission Bryant also became a member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. She was a member of the Education Society, the body devoted to the science of education which succeeded that founded by Lake.

In 1886, two years after becoming the first woman to be awarded the degree of Doctor of Science and while teaching mathematics at the North London Collegiate School, Bryant published the results of her research into children's character which had employed Galton's correlation coefficients. Subsequently, she became more interested in the measurement of shrimps than children and her work on child study ceased.

5.2 Identifying the "Unfit".

Little other work of this nature appears to have been done by teachers, or by others connected with education, for some time after the publication of these studies. Other bodies with an interest in childhood were less reticent. In 1888, for example, a committee of the British Medical Association began an enquiry into the 'average development and condition of brain power among school children'. The evidence assembled by this committee was presented to the Royal Commission on the Blind and Dumb which was chaired, in its latter stages, by Lord Egerton of Tatton.
Egerton's commission, which reported in 1889, felt that the education of the blind, the deaf and those it called, 'educable imbeciles' would 'dry up as far as possible the minor streams which ultimately swell the great torrent of pauperism'. (81) In addition to providing evidence about the motives for the study and identification of individual differences, this Commission's Report bolstered the case for the provision, by the state, of special education for blind and deaf children which was legislated for in the Blind and Deaf Act of 1893. As they were in possession of a pedagogy which placed little reliance on the three R's and much on hand work, Froebel trained teachers were in much demand in the special schools for the blind and deaf. (82)

In addition to the education of the blind and the deaf, the Egerton Commission was also charged with looking at 'other cases' who might require 'exceptional methods of education'. These it categorised as the feeble-minded, the idiotic and the imbecile. (83) Convinced that racial degeneration would occur unless these categories were segregated from the fit, eugenicists sought more extensive and more refined methods of classifying the population. Among those involved in this work was Dr Francis Warner, a physician to the London Hospital and Hunterian Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Physiology. He was no stranger to debates in education having been involved in the over-pressure controversy (84) and he had lectured for the Froebel Society in 1886 on how to study children. (85) Initially, Warner shared Galton's view that the physical examination of children could reveal their mental condition. (86) Accordingly, he examined, on behalf of the COS, 50,000 working class children who attended London board and Poor Law schools. Warner's Report, which was
published in 1893, revealed that one per cent of the children surveyed had physical and mental defects and that some of those were, 'hopelessly dull and incapable of normal education in the existing state of health'.

Before this Report was published, Warner's findings were presented to the International Congress of Hygiene and Demography which was held in 1891. This Congress was said to have been shocked by these findings and calls were made for a more extensive inquiry; this time involving 100,000 school children. The Congress appointed a committee to organize this survey and it included Lord Egerton of Tatton, Cardinal Manning and Sir Douglas Galton (1822-1899). The latter was a cousin of Francis Galton; a polymath who was an authority on 'hospital construction, sanitation, ventilation and the hygienic arrangements of public buildings' he died, ironically, from blood poisoning.

The committee's work was funded jointly by the British Medical Association and the British Association for the Advancement of Science, one of the general secretaries of which was the same Sir Douglas Galton. The British Association established a parallel committee to that established by the Congress of Hygiene and Demography and this committee reported annually to the British Association under the heading of 'On the Physical Deviations from the Normal Among Children in Elementary and Other Schools'. This committee was chaired by Sir Douglas Galton and Dr Francis Warner was its secretary.

Initially, at least, the British Association's committee held that a link existed between defects of bodily development and defects of the brain. Thus, it was declared, a trained observer holding up a shilling in front of each child could read off, 'the points in the physiognomy of the individual features.' But the key to the link between the body and the brain was
thought to be provided by 'abnormal nerve signs' or deviations from the normal muscular action of the face. The observation of the conditions of development of abnormal nerve signs was held to be methodologically innovative and it served to distinguish this, by implication 'scientific', survey from 'older physiognomical research'.(92)

In 1893, a preliminary report, based on the observation of 16,094 children was presented. In it, the group of children who appeared to require special training: 'the epileptic, imbeciles, those "feebley gifted mentally" and the paralysed', were said to exceed no more than sixteen per thousand of the children examined.(93) Defects in development were found to be more common among children in the Poor Law schools and the Certified Industrial schools than in the day schools but the committee was optimistic about the effects of education and training and it favoured a strategy of socialisation rather than segregation.(94)

The theme of the tractability of many defects, which contrasted strongly with the hereditarian views of the eugenicists, was again stressed in the report of 1894. Hygienic care with regard to buildings, light and air were thought to be all that was necessary to reduce defects of development. This report also noted the tendency for over age children who were incapable of passing Standard 1 to be neglected in Standard 0 and that in many schools they were made 'unwelcome, and no encouragement is given to collect and care for them'.(95)

In 1896, following the examination of 100,000 children, the findings of the survey were published in a report entitled Report on the Scientific Study of the Mental and Physical Conditions of Childhood. This advocated further research on children who were classified as mentally dull or feeble-
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minded. With this end in view, a meeting was called for November 1896 to form a 'Society for the Promotion of Hygiene in School Life'.

5.3 The Childhood Society.

The outcome of this meeting was the formation of 'The Childhood Society' which, as might have been expected from the preceding account of its ancestry, was firmly tied to a concern with physical and mental handicap among children and the method of the statistical survey. In the chair of the new society was Sir Douglas Galton and its President was Earl Egerton of Tatton. Officers of the society included Dr Francis Warner, Dr Langdon Down (97) and Mrs Findlay, the wife of J. J. Findlay. Professor Sully was invited to participate in the Society but because his approach to the study of childhood differed from that of Francis Galton and because of his involvement with the Child Study Association, he declined. (98)

The newly formed society ran lectures for teachers and others on such topics as 'Mental Hygiene as a Basis for Character Foundation' (99) but its main work consisted of lobbying for more legislation to deal with the identification and education of, what it regarded as, mentally and physically defective children. It gave evidence to Royal Commissions, the Local Government Board and the Home Office pressing its case for action to prevent the degeneration of the race. In a memorial which was submitted in 1902 to the Board of Education, the Childhood Society warned that:

Harm results not only to the individual but to the State from educational neglect of the feeble-minded child who is peculiarly susceptible to evil influences. (100)

The death of Sir Douglas Galton, the moving spirit behind the Society and its inability to overcome Treasury parsimony, (101) led to a diminution of
the reasons for the Society's separate existence and so, in London in 1905, the Childhood Society joined with the Child Study Association in the presentation of a series of lectures. Among the lecturers were Margaret McMillan who spoke on 'Fatigue in Children' and the Principal of the Froebel Educational Institute, Esther Lawrence, who spoke on 'The Method of Training Froebelian Children'. (102) A further series of lectures was jointly organized entitled, 'The Evolution of Mankind as seen in the Child and the Race' (103) and this led to the fusion of the London branches of the two organizations. This was followed, in 1907, by the complete amalgamation of the two under the name of the Child-Study Society which, in the following year, began publication of the journal, Child-Study.

6.0 The Child-Study Society.

This new organization claimed a membership of about twelve hundred which was organized into ten branches. (104) While the bulk of the audiences who attended its meetings were said by Alice Woods to have been 'elementary, women teachers' (105) the leadership of the society was overwhelmingly male. Its President was Sir James Crichton-Browne and it was chaired by Sir Edward Brabrook (1839-1930). Brabrook, who was formerly the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, had an interest in Anthropology, Folk Lore and Sociology and he had succeeded Sir Douglas Galton as chair of the British Association's Committee on Physical Deviations. (106) The Vice-Chair of the Society was Sir John Cockburn (1850-1929) who had been, respectively, the Minister of Education and the Prime Minister of South Australia. (107) He also had been connected to the Child-Study Association and had been President of its London branch. (108) His other numerous links with education included being Chair of the Representative Managers
of London County Council elementary schools, President of the National Association of Manual Training Teachers and Vice-Chair of the council of the London School of Economics. The editor of the Society's journal was also male; he was the manual training advocate, Henry Holman. The objects of the new society attempted to reconcile the differing emphases placed on child study by its parent bodies. These were declared to be the:

- scientific study of the mental and physical condition of children, and also the educational methods, with a view to gaining greater insight into child-nature and securing more sympathetic and scientific methods of training the young.

From the evidence presented by the journal of the Child Study Society, which was called Child Study, the Galtonians with the exception of Cyril Burt and W. H. Winch virtually abandoned child study at this point and left it to those formerly associated with the Child Study Association. The most probable explanation for this is that the main demands of the Galtonians which were concerned with the medical inspection of school children, were met when Korant managed to get the introduction of medical inspection and the establishment of a Medical Department within the Board of Education as provisos of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907. The foundation also, in 1908, of the Eugenics Education Society provided the Galtonians with an alternative vehicle by means of which to pursue their objectives in the area of schooling. In addition, not long after the foundation of the Eugenics Education Society, Professor J.A. Green, of Sheffield University,
assumed the editorship of the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy*. This journal incorporated the *Training College Record* which had also been edited by Green and it aimed to give voice to what it described as, 'a movement which aims at the scientific examination of the principles which have hitherto passed as the basis of educational practice'. (113) While this object was not identical to that of *Child Study* the *Journal of Experimental Pedagogy* did represent an alternative pole of attraction for many who wrote for *Child Study* and, moreover, one which was based in the academy. (114) The founding of this journal did not bring about the immediate secession of the academy from the child study movement. Neither was there an immediate supercession of folkloric questionnaire methods by the hard science of experimental psychology or statistical analyses. Representatives of the academy, including Green, continued to have articles published in *Child Life* until the moment of its demise in 1920 and Cyril Burt was loyal to the very last issue, (115) but from 1912 the main function served by the journal was the promotion and discussion of the method of Montessori. (116)

7.0 Education as a Science.

Despite the continued patronage of child study by members of the academy its stance overall was critical. As was seen in chapter 3, the pursuit of a science of education began long before the establishment of day training colleges and the reception of the news of developments at Chicago or Jena. Nevertheless, the founding of the day training colleges and the work of educational theorists in the United States and Germany, together perhaps with what Sir Charles Grant Robertson in 1931 described as 'the mania of publishers for small text books', (117) were vital in giving that pursuit
some urgency at the turn of the century. The number who declared themselves in favour of a science of education at this time were legion. Selleck has presented many examples of these opponents of purely 'empirical' methods (118) and not suprisingly the locus classicus for the expression of these sentiments was the British Association in which, due to the efforts of the modernizer, Henry Armstrong, Section L or Educational Science emerged in 1901. (119) At the British Association meeting in 1906, Sir Edwin Ray Lankester, who was its President for that year, expressed a view typical of most of the academy that:

the well-ascertained laws of experimental psychology will undoubtedly furnish the necessary scientific basis of the art of education, and psychology will hold the same relation to that art as physiology does to the arts of medicine. (120)

At this point however, there was no certainty that psychology or more specifically, mental testing, would play such a major part in granting to educational theory its scientific legitimation. Neither was it obvious that a particular construction of the 'child', rather than one of 'society', would come to dominate discourse on the curriculum provided for young children. Writing in 1898, in the Education Department's Special Reports series, J. J. Findlay, for example, rejected the claims of psychology to play the role of the science of education. His argument, which had a sociological flavour, was that:

Education, regarded either as a science or an art, is no mere deduction from the laws of the mind, but is an act undertaken by the adult community, by parents, by civil
and ecclesiastical authorities of various kinds, for the welfare of the rising generation. (121)

For Findlay, then in his most Herbartian phase, the science of education was to be formed not only from the application of psychology, 'but of physiology, of ethics, of sociology, of politics'. (122) A similar view was expressed by Thomas Raymont who drew upon Dewey in constructing a case against any attempt to 'found a theory of education upon psychology'. (123) He also saw the curriculum in similar terms to Findlay describing it as 'the outward expression of the ideas and aspirations of a community, not of an individual'. (124)

7.1 The Rise of Educational Psychology.

Nevertheless, in the same year as the publication of Findlay's article, the Departmental Committee on the Pupil-Teacher System recommended that in their second year at college, students should be given a course of twenty five lectures on the outlines of psychology under the section of their certificate syllabus which was headed 'Practice and Theory of Teaching'. (125) Among the areas that the Committee suggested might be included were the study of children and mental development. Among the witnesses who supported the introduction of more psychology was Miss Hale, the Principal of Edge Hill training College. She told the committee that:

the elements of psychology form a suitable introduction to the study of the principles of the education and certainly to the principles of kindergarten. (126)

A similar point had been made by Lydia Yanley in evidence to the Cross Commission (127) and, taken together with the description of the training at the Froebel Educational Institute which was given in chapter 7, it is
clear that many Froebelians were prominent in the advocacy of a central place for psychology in the science of education as also were the colleges which trained women to teach in secondary schools like Maria Grey and Cambridge. (128) Psychology in these institutions may be seen to have played a role similar to that in the Public Schools. It acted as a badge which was both a symbol of exclusivity and a symbol of the earnest professionalism which was a necessary element in the struggle to widen the employment opportunities of middle and upper class women.

At a later point, as the work of Spearman and Binet became known, the psychology associated with mental testing came to dominate theories of education. The story of the connection between mental testing and selection for secondary schooling and differentiation, as it was termed, is well known (129) and will not be reproduced here however the following comment of Ballard made in 1920 is apposite. Describing how Britain lagged behind the United States in the provision of psychology, of the kind which he felt appropriate, Ballard argued that the situation must change as the head teachers of secondary schools had now to identify, 'the ablest children, and not the best passers of examinations' and, he continued, they are beginning to find that the modern system of mental testing facilitates their choice'. (130) This claim was premature (131) but his conclusion was of more significance as he declared that the head teachers could 'no longer afford to regard child study as a subject only suitable for the minder of babies'. (132) As will be argued below, in this field as in others the concrete achievements of the child study movement regarded simply in terms of the knowledge of children produced are of
little importance when set aside the role that it played in creating the ideological conditions for the acceptance of mental testing.

In this work, it was, quite evidently, joined by the Froebel movement which had been working to make education child centred for a much longer period than had the child study movement. So great was the extent to which the child study movement was reliant on Froebelian discourse and so great was the extent to which that same discourse had entered the common sense of child study that Sir John Cockburn claimed that self expression through play and a pedagogy which followed the course of the child's 'evolution', was the creation of child study. (133)

7.2 The Academy's Critique of Child Study.

While however, the Froebelians and the members of the Child Study organizations created a climate within the pedagogic community which was favourable to psychology, their rank and file were repudiated by the academy. Muirhead told the Child Study Association in 1905 that the main opposition to 'a true science of education' came from 'supporters of older empirical methods - the silversmiths whose Diana is threatened'. (134) In his view, the progress of child study was unsatisfactory as the only positions which had been won by the advocates of a science of education were in, what he called, 'the comparatively unoccupied field of infant education'. (135) Here, as has been shown, the dominant theories were those of the Froebelians. Infants were schooled by Ballard's 'minders of babies', and if they sought to legitimate their practices they did so in Froebelian terms and not those derived from what William James referred to as 'brass instrument' child study. (136)
The 'popular' movement of child study soon prompted the academy to call for a redrawing of boundaries and a redefinition of roles. Professor J. A. Green of Sheffield, for example, argued for a strict division of intellectual labour between teachers and academics. In 1908 he wrote:

The teacher as such is not primarily a researcher, nor should he be. He wants the results of research in a usable form, and the University Department of Education should be organised with a view to provide them. (137)

J. J. Findlay of Manchester University, who was usually an advocate of uniting theory and practice, argued that child studies, when conducted with what he termed 'real scientific ability', influenced schools greatly but that most teachers lacked that ability and so child study was beyond their reach. (138) Findlay was also a member of a committee of the British Association which reported on the 'Mental and Physical Factors Involved in Education' in 1909. This committee, which contained many of the leading lights of the academy, (139) pronounced that much of the work done as a result of child study had:

probably little permanent value, because it has been done by persons who are not adequately trained psychologists or are not competent educational practitioners. (140)

Not surprisingly, given its composition, this committee agreed with one of its members, Dr Charles Spearman the inventor of the 'g' factor, (141) that:

the great need of the moment is the procural of facilities for research and the training of persons to direct it. (142)
Responding to earlier criticism of a similar nature, Dorothea Beale argued that teachers could help 'the scientific man because of their daily contact with the material he is studying - the child'. (143) Even the use of the questionnaire had its defenders like W. B. Drummond, the author of An Introduction to Child Study, (144) who were prepared to defend their use provided that they fitted in to school work. (145)

Such defences were swept aside by Robert Rusk (1879-1972) one of the child study movement's most persistent critics. Rusk, who had studied at the Cambridge Psychological Laboratory and had gained a doctorate at Jena, published in 1910 a book entitled Experimental Education which was a condensed translation of Ernst Meumann's survey Vorlesungen zur Einführung in die experimentelle Pädagogik. (146) In his book and in an associated article in the Journal of Education, (147) Rusk denounced the 'traditional pedagogy' for being unscientific. The key test of scientificity for Rusk, was the presentation of data and conclusions in quantitative terms thus, what he called, the new pedagogy sought to do just that as well as to be inductive and experimental. (148) While he conceded that child study had contributed to 'advances' in education, its results were inadequate. His charge was the familiar one that in most child study investigations:

the questions were ambiguous, owing to inadequate analysis, and the statistics are frequently vitiated by the factor of "selection", the answers recorded being given mainly by those to whom the questions happen to appeal. (149)

As in Green's vision Rusk's critique of child study had implications for the unity of theory and practice and for the relation between teachers and
researchers. The new method according to Rusk would deliver the teacher from:

the tyranny of tradition and the caprice of the faddist, and bring him under the servitude of his science, since the scientific worker must ever submit to the method of his subject. If it removes him from the domination of an arbitrary authority, it requires his submission to a rational authority, one that can be questioned and whose dicta can be verified by experimentation. (150)

This formulation is so shot through with, as will be shown in chapter 11, contemporary social and political preoccupations that Rusk's claim to have surveyed and identified an 'independent science', what Kuhn calls a 'mature' science which is one which possesses a degree of autonomy from social relations, (151) was dubious. Instead of science, it could be argued that, what Rusk promoted was merely a device to effect a break between theory and practice which the child study movement had, for a while, attempted to combine. By the same token, Rusk's experimental education may be seen as another instance of the mainly male, academy asserting its domination over the minders of babies.

The criticisms of Raymont, whose association with the Froebel movement has already been noted, took on a rather different complexion. Regarding some of the findings of child study which did not have any bearing on 'educational problems', he wrote:

All this is no doubt excellent anthropology, just as would be a statistical estimate of the preferences of
adults as regards dancing, whist and ping-pong; but its pedagogic importance is equally unimpressive. (152)

Regarding the achievements of the physiologists and anthropometrists, Raymont was far more sympathetic towards them than to those whom he characterised as the 'numerous band of persons who collect children's writings and sayings'. (153) For him, Warner and his colleagues had:

demonstrated by facts that it is both a blunder and a crime to goad the half-fed and scantily clad children to be found in some of our primary schools into the same degree of mental activity as that displayed by their more fortunate fellows ... (154)

This view, taken together with Raymont's contention that, 'a perfect classification is obviously one in which the pupils of each group are of equal, or nearly equal attainments', (155) may be read as a plea for differentiation or streaming in classroom organization but it also contains the implication that the school or the state has a responsibility for such children. This interpretation is further supported by Raymont's critique of individualism during the course of which he asserted that the duty of the state was, 'by all practicable and promising means, to seek to raise its citizens to a higher plane of life'. (156)

7.3 Child Study in the Academy.

Despite its subsequent repudiation, child study in the form of courses for intending teachers, entered the academy. At Manchester, child study was mixed with other psychological perspectives in the course entitled, 'The Mental and Physical Life of School Children'. (157) The recommended texts for this course were those of James, Mark, McDougall and Drummond (158)
and the references which were given for child study included the work of Kirkpatrick, Thorndike, Warner, Preyer, Sully, Shinn and Hall. (159) At Sheffield, Green taught a course on 'Modern Methods of Child Study' (160) but elsewhere there do not appear to have been any other courses which specifically focussed on child study. Rather, it was the case that there was little work being done in psychology that had any direct bearing on education. Outside Manchester and Sheffield that which was being done in 1910, was almost all in the Galtonian mould. This consisted of Myers' work at Cambridge, that of McDougall in the laboratory at Oxford, Pearson's work at the Biometric and Eugenics Laboratories at University College, Spearman's in the Psychological Department of the same college and the work of Brown at the Psychological Department of King's College. (161) Apart from these instances the only other work of this nature was that of Burt at Liverpool. (162) By the 1920's however, most of the universities which provided diploma courses for secondary teachers in the 1920's included psychology in their syllabuses and many of these included child study. (163) At Birmingham in 1926, for example, use was still being made of Sully's *Studies of Childhood* which was first published in 1895. (164)

Whereas the universities, which trained some elementary teachers but mostly secondary teachers, were able during this period to construct their own courses, the training colleges were not. (165) Thus the decision whether or not to include the study of the child in the, normally two year, training course for elementary teachers was in the hands of the Board of Education. As was seen in chapter 7, the Regulations of 1905 permitted students intending to become infant teachers to take an optional course in
the 'Principles of Teaching' which contained sections on Froebel's life and work and the kindergarten. Also included was a section on 'School Hygiene' which drew upon existing knowledge concerning the health and physique of children. (166) By 1922, the Board of Education's syllabus for infant teachers expected students to have:

made a more particular study of the physical and mental development of young children... (167)

'More particular', that was, than students training to teach older elementary school children, although as Lance Jones reported in 1924, colleges training these, the majority of teachers, had been striving to, 'develope a more scientific type of training, based on the study of Psychology'. (168)

7.4 Child Study and Student Texts.

Another index of the impact of child study is the literature used by students training to be teachers. In Fitch's Lectures on Teaching, the child or in Adams' terminology 'the educand' (169) barely appears but in Findlay's Principles of Class Teaching the child is discussed both in connection with teaching method and, more importantly, with the selection of curriculum content. In his subsequent book, The School, which was published in 1911, Findlay argued that knowledge of 'what constitutes a normal mind in successive stages' should be taken into account by those who 'organize educational systems'. (170) Raymont, in his college text, The Principles of Education included a chapter on 'The Study of Children' and argued in Deweyean fashion that:

A rationally conceived curriculum must be the resultant
of these two forces: the nature of the child, and the
Not all educational theorists adopted what Adams referred to as a paidocentric stance. In the other most used college text, that by Welton, child study is absent and the principles and methods of teaching are expounded without reference to childhood. The same was also the case with Green and Birchenough's, *A Primer of Teaching Practice* which appeared first in 1911. The text edited by John Adamson, which was called *The Practice of Instruction* was slightly different in that although it was concerned more with the selection of curriculum content than with method, it did include a chapter on 'Experimental Pedagogy' but this owed little to child study and much to the Herbartians, Ziller and Rein. (175)

The situation with regard to texts for infant teachers was marked by less diversity. The definitive text in this field, until Rusk's *A History of Infant Schools* appeared in 1933 was David Salmon and Winifred Hindshaw's *Infant Schools* which was first published in 1904. The authors worked at Swansea Training College and this text contained a view of infant schooling compounded from the history of great men who had been involved in their promotion, the history of the kindergarten, Froebel's theories and an account of childhood derived from the classics of child study such as the work of Baldwin, Earl Barnes, G. Stanley Hall, Preyer and Sully. A similar text was produced in Scotland by J. Gunn entitled *The Infant School*. This also combined the history of the great men with an account of child study, the principles of Herbart and Froebel and the subjects of the infant school's curriculum. The references given for the chapter on child study were virtually identical to those in Salmon and
Hindshaw's book. Both of these books were written before the mental testers had made any impact on educational theory and as a consequence they both tend to present only Froebel's theories as modified by child study as the theoretical support for good infant school practice. Noticeably neither book referred to Dewey which possibly indicates that his work was little known outside the circle of revisionist Froebelians and the Manchester Department of Education.

8.0 Child Study and the Froebel Movement: The Case of Play.

Having examined the effects of the child study movement upon theories of education in general it is now necessary to consider more closely the connection between child study and the Froebel movement. The case of the changes which occurred in the theorization of children's play is illustrative of the closeness of that relationship as well as of the support that the revisionist Froebelians were able to derive from child study. Until the advent of child study and Dewey's revision of Froebel, play, for most Froebelians, signified the manipulation of the gifts and occupations and the teacher led plays of the Mother's Songs. (179) Play, in this view, was something to be harnessed and steered in desired directions. In the preface to the revised edition of the Mother's Songs, which was published in 1888, mothers and teachers were enjoined to seize the child's love of doing and join in its plays. They were also urged to help the child to form the ideas with which it was struggling and advised that:

You can guide the romp or the wild story so that good is victorious, meanness is conquered, courage holds out, love is the prompter when anger seems rising, and life
yields wholesome lessons, social culture, joyful song and beautiful art. (180)

Guidance and moralization were at the centre of kindergarten play. Children were not allowed to create their own play. The object of kindergarten play according to Lois Bates, the orthodox or conservative Froebelian, author of Kindergarten Guide, was to teach 'unity' and 'self-denial'. In such play, she continued, the:

pleasure of one must be subordinated to the good of the whole, and the child thus learns to consider the rights of others, and to practise self-denial. (181)

In pursuit of these objects, which unambiguously focus on socialization, Froebelians produced a stream of books containing action songs, many of which were open to ridicule. An example of such work was cited by the Fabian Socialist, Graham Wallas in his wide ranging attack on the Froebelians which he made in 1901. (182) Attributed by him to Vilhelmina Rooper, who with the aid of HXI Thomas Rooper, produced several books of kindergarten games, the verse which, in his words, he found 'extremely trying' ran:

We are but little toddlexins,
And can't do much we know;
But still we think we must be nice,
For people love us so. (183)

Significantly, in his criticisms of prevailing Froebelian notions of play, Wallas cited the critical pronouncements on kindergarten play made by G. Stanley Hall. (184)
In his famous book *Adolescence*, Hall put forward his own theory of play which was developed, in part, as a critique of the theories of Karl Gross. As Hall developed his theory partly as a critique of Gross, in order to clarify Hall's position a brief description of Gross' theory is useful. Gross, whose ideas Hall described as 'partial, superficial, and perverse' outlined, what was an essentially 'biological', theory of play in two works; *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man.* As summarised by the author of a text on play, Walter Wood, the view of Gross was that:

The origin of play is in instinct. Instincts appear in the young animal at a time when he does not seriously need them, and they develop through play. This play is a pre-exercise of faculties, and is a preparation for life.

Hall, in response, criticised Gross for ignoring the past and argued the race recapitulation line that 'play is not doing things to be useful later, but it is rehearsing racial history'. On this, at least, Hall's views converged with those of of Dewey whose notions were discussed in the previous chapter.

The importance of Hall's theorisation of play lay in the fact that it provided the theoretical basis for new educational practices. Specifically, the revisionist Froebelians found in his work a warrant for their rejection of the kindergarten apparatus in favour of the child's own toys and found materials. They also used them to justify a revision of the orthodox, Froebelian view of the relation between the teacher and the taught. Maria Findlay, for example, declared that child study led to the
view that, in the interests of checking the child's 'spontaneity' as little as possible, 'the teacher should rather suggest than direct and control'.

(191) Writing a little later, Henrietta Brown Smith speculated in a similar vein that:

the direction of progress lies undoubtedly in less teaching, less adult organization, and more opportunity on the children's part for creative self-activity. (192)

Notions like this were labelled 'revolutionary Froebelianism' by Mark in his discussion of trends in the United States. (193) Also called the 'free play' movement its advocates argued that instead of using Froebel's uplifting and consciously educative plays, the traditional games of children should be incorporated into the kindergarten. In this, the free play Froebelians, mirrored a more general tendency towards the intervention of professionals into the field of leisure; particularly the leisure of the working class. (194) However, that is not to suggest that free play was simply, or totally, a stalking horse for interests aiming at social control. In Brown Smith's formulation, for example, there is to be seen the potential at least for a permissive pedagogy which, with the appearance of psychoanalytic theories, began, in the 1920's to gather momentum.

That the work of Froebel, with its heavy emphasis on the direction of children's activities should have been revised to produce a more permissive pedagogy was due in no small degree to Stanley Hall and the child study movement. The revisionist pressure for the reinterpretation of Froebel's views on children's play was strong as may be seen in Brown Smith's contention regarding the kindergarten that more and more should:
the maxim of Froebel, interpreted by Karl Groos, permeate
the whole institution: "Children do not play because they
are young; they have their youth that they may play". It
is on this that we should build the future. (195)

9.0 Conclusion.
The determinations which placed childhood at the centre of much scientific
attention emanated from within the academy as well as outside it. The link
between the Galtonian strand of child study which focussed so sharply on
the physical condition of working class pupils and the growing concern
that the industrial and military armies of the state were unfit to carry
out what the purposes required of them by the power bloc is quite clear.
Initially, although the Galtonian trend was largely one which consisted of
techniques of measurement in search of a field of application within a
Eugenicist framework, the techniques and the policies which they enabled
soon became indistinguishable. Nevertheless, as has been shown, despite
their new research instruments the Galtonians, when they studied children,
were not averse to borrowing from the discourse of the Froebelians in
order to justify their procedures. Neither were they hostile to alliances
with the Froebelians and their periphery until the state and the academy
gave to some of their demands their concrete realisation.
The other strand of child study which began with Stanley Hall in the
academy soon broke out of the cloisters and took on the form of a popular
educational movement in which Froebelians and other, mostly women,
teachers were prominent. For a while the academy saw in child study the
possibility of forging from its findings a new science of education but
that was relatively short-lived. Instead, the dominant faction of the
academy, identifiable by its adherence to experimental methods or mental testing, developed its own channels over which it had control for the production and dissemination of theories and the discrediting of child study. This, in turn, had two principle effects. Firstly, it broke the fragile links between theorists and practitioners which the child study movement had fostered which led to a lack of academic interest in pedagogy which persists to the present. Secondly, it meant that in order to enter the academy, so called pre-scientific theories such as that held by Froebelians had to divest themselves of many of their mystical elements. But as the section on play revealed, many of these elements re-entered the academy in a different guise shored up by new 'scientific' props. In this and other ways, the Froebelian ideas and practices set the agenda for the formulation of the questions which were raised for empirical verification.

For the Froebel movement itself, the new knowledge produced by child study, and the academy's appropriation of Dewey, facilitated the rise of the revisionists. Under the pressure of criticism such as that of Wallas who characterized Froebel's ideas as those of 'the transcendental pre-Darwinian biology', of the Herbartians, of Dewey and G. Stanley Hall, the old Froebelian orthodoxy began to crack and their emerged a revisionist tendency which in its main outlines produced much of what passed in the 1920's and 1930's for progressive educational theory if not its pedagogy. The work at the Malting House in the 1920's of Susan Isaacs (1885-1949) who had been a student of Findlay is almost in a direct line of descent from the revisionist Froebelians. Hence, arguably, it is this moment rather than that identified by Selleck, who associates the
birth of progressive education in England with the appearance of Holmes' *What Is and What Might Be*, that sees the birth of what is sometimes termed educational progressivism. The revisionist Froebelians deeply entrenched in the training colleges for women and whose field of expertise was mainly that of infant schooling were among its principal agents. Wallas advised the Froebelians to avail themselves of modern psychology and modern biology and that was exactly what the revisionists did. (199) Perhaps it was a measure of their success in transforming the conservative version of Froebelianism that in 1905, Professor Muirhead could declare that he took 'the law that the individual tends to reproduce the stages through which the race has passed' as the 'foundation of Froebelian pedagogy'. (200) But although the outward signs had changed many of the objectives of the revisionist pedagogy had an orthodox Froebelian character. For Elsie Murray, for example, the most important of these was that the child from its 'purposeful activity' should gain 'self-control'. (201) In a general sense this objective has the same feeling of universality about it as does the concept of socialization but it was also, as will be seen in the next chapter, capable of application to a specific sector of the population and as such it may be seen to have been, in part at least, another form of class cultural aggression against the urban poor.
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FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES.


2). ibid. p. 56.


4). For an example of this approach see Shipman op.cit. pp. 157-165.

5). Walkerdine. op. cit. p. 60.

6). ibid. p. 56. The answers provided to this question vary greatly in the extent of their specificity but they can be divided roughly into two main groups. The first group, often utilising Ariès' famous work - Ariès, P. (1979) *Centuries of Childhood*. Harmondsworth, Penguin - tends to stress, as does Walkerdine, the constitution of childhood through discourse. For a thoroughly idealist account of this kind see Cleverley, J. and Philips, D. C. (1976) *From Locke to Spock*. Melbourne, Melbourne University Press. See also Riley, D. (1983) *War in the Nursery*. London, Virago. p. 44. Riley is concerned specifically with child study and she claims that it was motivated by a desire by philosophers and psychologists to clarify their notions of the mind. A variant of the notion that childhood was constituted in discourse has been proposed by Schnell who argues that childhood originated within the middle classes, to whom it was socially and occupationally functional. From them it was universalised through the spread of mass schooling. Thus interest in childhood was constituted by schooling. Schell, R. L. (1979) 'Childhood as Ideology: A Reinterpretation of the Common School'. *British Journal of


14). These are discussed by Riley. op. cit.


19). Bain's work was judged a failure by, among others, J. J. Findlay who argued that a key component of the method of "Social" Science, in which he included education, was observation. See Findlay, J. J. (1902) op. cit. pp. viii-xiii.


25). G. Stanley Hall quoted in Mark (1902) op. cit. p. 192.
26). ibid.
27). ibid.
28). ibid.
33). 'Address by the Hon. Sir John A. Cockburn KCMG XD'. Child Study. Vol. 1. No. 1. p. 1. Their fares were paid for by funds provided by the City Livery Companies which were distributed, significantly, by a Women's Work Committee. The trip was organized by the leader of the constitutional Suffragists, Millicent Garrett Fawcett. Hughes. (1978b) op. cit. pp. 35-48. See also Stevens, K. (1921) 'Child-Study'. Watson, F. (ed.) The Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education. Vol. 1. pp. 309-310.
37). ibid.
38). ibid. Ballard later, when Hall was less fashionable, repeated the rumour that there were at Clark University 'tons and tons of documents awaiting the directive mind that will reduce them to order'. Ballard, P. B. (1923) The New Examiner. London, University Press. p. 19.


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47). See Reeder, op. cit. p. 81.


49). Quoted in ibid.

50). ibid.

51). Dodd, C. I. (1898b) 'A Study in School Children'. National Review. Sept. p. 67. This article was chiefly concerned with the question of 'how far children of average intelligence attach a reasonable meaning to ordinary words in use in books, newspapers and conversation' a typical child study investigation.

52). Woods. (1898) op. cit. p. 397.

53). ibid.


56). Muirhead. op. cit. p. 68.

57). Stevens. op. cit. p. 309. Hughes (1978a) p. 233 attests that attendance at such activities was often more for leisure than study purposes.


72). The type of science aspired to by the Education Society was marked heavily by positivism. Among its objects were: 'to collect and classify educational facts; to discuss educational problems on a definite plan, and to arrange and record facts...' Quoted in 'Academic Study of Education'. Monroe, P. (ed.) (1911) Cyclopaedia of Education. Vol. II. New York, Macmillan. p. 402.


75). Bryant, in many ways, was an archetypal 'New' woman. On her retirement the *Journal of Education* recorded that she was the first Headmistress to scale the Matterhorn. *Journal of Education*. Vol. L. Feb. 1918. p. 99. See also *Journal of Education*. Vol. XVII. August. 1895. p. 458. A colleague of Sidney Webb's on the London Technical Education Board, itself a 'new' institution, Beatrice Webb said of her that she was the only woman to have interested Sidney. Webb, B. (1978) op. cit. Vol. 40. p. 4375. Applying her liberal belief in freedom and self development to Ireland, she contributed to the construction of an Irish national identity through her writing. Among her books on Ireland was *Liberty, Order and Law Under Native Irish Rule*, a study of the Brehon law.

76). She was a member of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education and was a member of the Consultative Committee from its establishment in 1900 until 1911. Thus Bryant was both an expert on and an expert in schooling and education.


78). Burt. (1955) op. cit. p. 84 note 9. Burt wrote that this was unfortunate.

80). For an account of the origins of this Royal Commission see Potts. op. cit. pp. 22-23.


84). Robertson op. cit. p. 317.

85). *Journal of Education*. Vol. VIII. Nov. p. 454. According to the contributor of the report of Warner's lectures, his view of education as, 'the training of spontaneous movement, organising, controlling and directing it, from the apparent aimlessness of its early efforts to the purposes of daily life, its duties and its occupations', was consistent with the Froebelian approach.


89). DNB.

90). The Reports of this committee appear under the Transactions of Section H - Anthropology until the formation of Section L - Education Science in 1901. After that the title of the committee changed to 'The Conditions of Health Essential to the Carrying on of the work of Instruction in Schools'. The first Report of this committee acknowledged the assistance of Maria Findlay and it utilized anthropometric data supplied by Sophie Bryant. Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1902. London, John Murray. pp. 483-496.


94). These labels are used by Rose in a Foucauldian essay on psychology and mental testing. Rose, A. (1979) 'The Psychological Complex: Mental Measurement and Social Administration'. Ideology and Consciousness. No. 5. pp. 5-68.


97). ibid. The proposed objects of the Society are given here.

98). ibid. See also Burt (1955) op. cit. p. 85 note 11. Burt wrote that Sully, in his view, differed from Galton by placing more emphasis, '(i) on the sociological factor' and (ii) on the need for a developmental or 'genetic' approach...'. To use Burt's phraseology, Sully was an 'environmentalist' and not an 'hereditarian' like Galton.


101). The Treasury turned down a request for £500 to assist in the financing of a survey of 50,000 children. Caws, op. cit. p. 106.


107). ibid. Following his return to England, Cockburn held a multitude of voluntary posts. Among the various causes he championed in civil society were handwork and manual training. See note 15, chapter 6 and Holman, op. cit. p. 66.


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114). ibid. In one of the first published accounts of the institutionalisation of educational psychology, Lloyd-Evans proposed a three stage process: Firstly, the stage of Sully and stress on the 'laws' of the mind. Secondly, the child study stage dominated by Froebelians who were principally teachers and finally the stage when lecturers in education in training colleges were psychologists not teachers. Lloyd Evans, A. (1935) 'the Place of Psychology in the Training of Teachers'. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*. Vol. 5. Part III. p. 259. It is not necessary to accept this typology in its entirety in order to grasp the distinction between child study and the psychology of the academy.

115). Burt, C. (1920) 'Children's Dreams'. *Child Study*. Vol. XIII. No. 2. pp. 29-31. Between 1911 and 1920 - the year when *Child Study* ceased publication - Burt's biographer, Hearnshaw, lists thirteen publications of Burt in journals. Seven of these were in *Child Study*. It may be concluded from this that at this point Burt was only on the periphery of the 'academy'. Hearnshaw, L. S. (1979) *Cyril Burt: Psychologist*. London, Hodder and Stoughton. pp. 321-323.

116). By 1912 the branches of the Child Study Society were almost all discussing Montessori's method and little else. *Child Study*. Vol. V. No. 3. 1912. p. 110.

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118). The term is from Findlay, J. J. (1902) op. cit. p. xii who applied it to Fitch's text Lectures on Teaching. Selleck (1968) op. cit. pp. 273-294.


121). Findlay, J. J. (1898) op. cit. p. 350.

122). ibid.

123). Raymont (1905) op. cit. p. 22.

124). ibid. p. 90. He also was critical of 'enthusiastic devotees of child study', some of whom labelled 'themselves Froebelian', who forgot that 'the child is there to be correlated with his surroundings'. ibid. p. 104.


127). PP. 1886. XXV. op. cit. Q. 13,190.


129). See: Simon (1978) op. cit. Simon also mentions the role of the Froebelians in preparing the ground for the reception of the ideas of...


131). The uptake of mental testing for selection by local authorities was relatively slow. See: Sutherland, G. (1977) 'The Magic of Measurement: Mental Testing and English Education 1900-40'. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Fifth Series. Vol. xxvii. pp. 135-153. Her earlier estimate of local education authorities utilising mental tests was later revised upwards but the point is still valid. Sutherland and Sharp. op. cit. p. 197. note 37.

132). Ballard (1920) op. cit. p. 542.

133). 'Address by the Hon. Sir John A. Cockburn KCMG MD'. Child Study. Vol. 1. No. 1. p. 3. Selleck (1968) op. cit. p. 285 refers to this phenomenon as the saturation of the child study movement with naturalism which is apposite but fails to account for, by not investigating the institutionalization of Froebelian discourse, how this may have occurred.


135). ibid.


139). The Committee's members were: Professors Green, Adams and Edward Culverwell (1855-1931 Professor of Education, University of Dublin); Percy Nunn (1870-1944 Vice-Principal of the London Day Training College), C. W. Kimmins (Chief Inspector for the Education Department of the London County Council), Barbara Foxley (the translator of Émile) and Charles Spearman (1863-1945 Reader in Psychology at University College)


141). On the 'g' factor or general intelligence see: Hearnshaw (1964) op. cit. pp. 196-201. Evans and Waites. op. cit. pp. 50-61.


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149). Rusk (1919) op. cit. p. 3.

150). ibid. p. 5.


152). Raymont (1905) op. cit. p. 69.


154). ibid.


156). ibid. p. 50.


160). On Green see: Thomas (1982b) op. cit. Green was prominent in the move to distance experimental pedagogy from child study from which it had emerged.

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163). For a list of institutions and the content of their courses see: Jones. op. cit. pp. 420-422.

164). PRO ED105/6 'The University of Birmingham Department of Education Regulations and Syllabus 1926-27'. p. 63. Sully was set for the Principles and Practice of Education course for Junior and Infant Standards.

165). Jones. op. cit. pp. 83-84. The actual situation was highly complex and there were a few exceptions.

166). Board of Education (1905) op. cit. p. 45.

167). Board of Education (1922) Syllabus for the Board’s Final Examination of Students in Training Colleges. 1924. London, HMSO. p. 5. This was Special Course C. For the examination in the General Course, students were expected to have studied 'children's development from the point of view of physique, intelligence and character, based as far as possible on observation of individuals and of classes'. ibid. p. 4.

168). Jones. op. cit. p. 98.

169). Adams (1912) op. cit. p. 13. His neologism, one of many coined to express the concepts of the 'new' science of education, was intended to convey the fact that education was not confined to schooling.

170). Findlay (1911a) op. cit. pp. 97-98.

171). Raymont (1905) op. cit. p. 104.

173). Welton (1909) op. cit. Welton's principles for the selection of the elementary school curriculum were based upon an Herbartian version of 'preparation for life'.

174). Green, J. A. and Birchenough, C. (1911) A Primer of Teaching Practice. London, Longmans Green. According to the authors' Preface this book was not intended to offer a theory of education and hence the absence of references to the nature of the child is not especially significant.


176). Salmon and Hindshaw op. cit. Rusk (1933) op. cit.

177). Salmon and Hindshaw op. cit. In their bibliography, the section on child study contained more references than any other section including that on the kindergarten.

178). Gunn. op. cit.


180). Froebel (1900a) op. cit. p. xxvi.


182). Wallas, G. (1940) 'A Criticism of Froebelian Pedagogy' in Wallas, X. op. cit. pp. 133–150. This paper was presented to the Annual Conference of the Froebel Society on January 10th, 1901. Among those who joined in the subsequent heated discussion was Mrs Bridges Adams (1855–1939) who has been described by John Saville as 'a leading propagandist for educational reform within the labour movement'. She was frequently in attendance at the meetings of the Froebel Society, one of the few early labour movement figures to be so involved. Journal of Education. Vol.
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... further text...

183) Wallas, G. (1940) op. cit. p. 146.
184) ibid.
186) ibid. p. 25.
189) Wood. op. cit. p. 23.
190) ibid. p. 25.
191) Findlay, M. E.
192) Brown Smith (1921) op. cit. p. 935.
193) Mark (1902) op. cit. pp. 190-194. Mark distinguished three Froebelian positions in the United States which he labelled 'The stationary, the evolutionary, and the revolutionary'.
194) Ford and Harrison. op. cit. pp. 135-147 document some of these commercial and religious attempts at intervention. Stedman Jones offers...

195). Brown Smith (1921) op. cit. p. 935.

196). Simon (1985a)

197). Wallas, G. (1940) op. cit. p. 140.


199). Wallas, G. (1940) op. cit. p. 149.

200). Murrhead. op. cit. p. 70.

Chapter 10

CHILD-SAVING AND THE ROLE OF THE FROEBEL MOVEMENT.

1.0 Introduction.

In the last chapter attention was focussed mainly upon the child study movement and its reception by the academy and by the Froebel movement. The scientific study of children, however, was only one aspect of a wide range of educational and welfare practices which were directed at children from the late 1890's onwards. The selection of these practices and the theories which accompanied them, which are to be discussed in this chapter was made on the grounds that they demonstrate the way that Froebelian ideas and practices were utilised by women working in a variety of educative settings. A major strand connecting these settings was the fact that they were, in varying degrees, sites of a wide ranging offensive conducted by experts of many types who were concerned with the protection of children. This wider trend is here referred to, following American precedents, as child-saving. Another thread connecting these initiatives was the fact that they were all touched in some way by the settlement movement which was a major force behind child saving.

The first part of the chapter is concerned mainly with the emergence of free kindergartens in England and Scotland. Although they were linked to child-saving and the settlement movement they were the most Froebelian of the initiatives to be considered here. The free kindergartens were the forerunners of today's nursery schools but their role and that of their instigators has tended to be obscured by the hagiography which has
elevated Margaret McMillan into the position of prime mover of nursery schools. In what is intended to be a critical riposte to the adulatory accounts of her work and a brief re-evaluation of it, Margaret McMillan's connection with the Froebel movement will be discussed and her work will be situated within the context of developments within that movement in the period prior to the First World War.

Part of Margaret McMillan's fame stems from her connections with the socialist movement and the widespread impression that she led a fight to wring concessions from an uncaring capitalist state in order to rescue working class children. Like all myths, this one contains a kernel of truth. Her dedication to and her efforts, together with her sister Rachel, on behalf of the 'slum' child were outstanding. But, as will be shown, welfarism had a dual aspect and some of its features were also attractive to organic intellectuals within the state, like Robert Morant, who wished to impose welfarist policies from above in the interests of imperialism. A concrete instance of this strategy, which will be discussed, was Morant's extraordinary intervention on behalf of a school in the East End which had been pilloried by the HMI will be discussed.

The second section of this chapter will be taken up with accounts of a number of attempts to regulate and thereby control the social behaviour of children outside school which occurred during the years immediately prior to the First World War. In this section, as in the previous one, more flesh will be put on the bones of the proposition advanced in chapter 3 that the Froebelian ideology was adopted by middle class women in order to pursue their interest in trying to open up areas of the public sphere for their employment and the practice of their professional knowledge. As will be
demonstrated, this was not their only motive in engaging in child saving. The extent to which it was a dominant one varied between individuals but all those to be discussed here shared a particular class bound view of the urban poor. In this section, as also in the rest of this chapter, the context of these initiatives formed by the movement towards a democratic interventionist state, will be referred to in line with the general theme of the relation between the Froebel movement and the the educational apparatus of the state.

Surprisingly, little of the substance of this chapter has ever been discussed before. The treatment accorded to Margaret McMillan is undoubtedly responsible for much of this neglect but the neglect of the play movement may not be explained in this way. It is, moreover, unlikely that, had the revisionist historians of education in the United States not asked similar questions of these phenomena, they would still be neglected.

One of the more enduring of those historian's achievements, perhaps, is their refusal to conflate histories of education with histories of schooling. As even a cursory look at the writing of someone like Findlay or Sadler reveals, this is not a new approach but nevertheless like so much to do with education and schooling because of the seemingly collective amnesia of the pedagogic community this truism requires regular re-statement. By taking this wider view of education, events and trends which are generally considered to have only to do with schools take on a different aspect. An example of such a trend is that provided by child-saving.

2.0 Child-Saving and Child-Rescue.
Like child study, child-saving originated in the United States. (1) Its range there, according to Katz, included:

- the removal of children from almshouses;
- the creation of societies for the protection of children from cruelty and children's aid societies;
- the attempt to replace institutional care with foster homes;
- the reformation of juvenile justice through the introduction of probation and juvenile courts;
- the playground movement;
- compulsory education;
- day-care and kindergartens;
- educational reform;
- the campaign against child labor;
- the advocacy of mothers' pensions;
- and public health measures to reduce infant mortality and tuberculosis and alter the delivery of health care. (2)

This list of activities focusing mainly on the working class child is a long one but few of them were specific to the United States in the period between 1890 and the outbreak of war in 1914. Some of these interventions on behalf of children were sufficiently represented in England at this period as to invite the question of why they should have occurred at the same time within such widely differing social formations. In the case of some aspects of child-saving, such as the juvenile courts, the answer to this question is relatively easy; it is indisputable that they were copied directly from the United States. (3) Nevertheless, that leaves unresolved the question of why the problems, to which such practices were regarded as solutions, arose or were constructed at the time when they did.

This question does not lend itself to a simple or monocausal answer. Determinations of a political nature will be discussed in the following
chapter but, those aside, it is not easy to discern why those aspects of child-saving in England, in which the Froebel movement became involved, like the play movement, arose when they did.

The particular aspects of child-saving which concerned the Froebelians, and which are to be considered here, were the free kindergartens, the playgrounds, the organization of play and the protection of the physically handicapped. Unlike, however, those aspects of infant welfare in this period which have been discussed by Lewis, Davin and Dyhouse (4) the Froebelians did not address, at least not directly, the starkest 'fact' of child welfare in this period which was that of infant mortality. Perhaps the fact that infant mortality was seen principally as a medical problem and that it was a field of intervention constructed by health campaigners rather than educationalists is a sufficient explanation of the Froebelians relative silence on this issue.

Rather than health, as such, the Froebelian child-saving efforts tended to concentrate on the effects of poverty. Although poverty, at this time, was increasingly coming to be regarded as an effect of the social and physical environment and especially an effect of casual labour, many of the Froebelian child-savers nevertheless clung to the older notion that poverty was a self inflicted wound. (5) This notion provided a space for strategies of amelioration which clung to the old remedy of the moralization of the poor. As educators, this strategy was one which seems better suited to the Froebelians than did explanations which stressed the effects of the social and physical environment.
2.1 The Social Basis and Ideologies of Child Saving

The Froebelians who engaged in child-saving were, it is contended, a fragment of a wider movement directed at the working class family which was composed mainly of middle class women who were blessed with leisure but who possessed few employment opportunities. But the availability of such women was, in itself, insufficient to explain the rise of child saving. What was also required was a set of concepts which could enable some of those women to rationalize their own position of subordination in a male dominated public world and link that to a socially useful role which, in its performance, would enhance their status. Rationalizations of this nature form a part of the terrain of ideology. In the American context, the specific content of the child savers ideology, has been described in a well known piece of work by Platt. (6) In it he suggested that the child-savers combined, what may be described as elements of diverse ideologies, to produce what he calls, a 'rhetoric of legitimization':

From the medical profession, the child-savers borrowed the imagery of pathology, infection and treatment; from the tenets of Social Darwinism, they derived their pessimistic views about the intractability of human nature and the innate moral defects of the working class; finally, their ideas about the biological and environmental origins of crime may be attributed to the positivist tradition in European criminology and to anti-urban sentiments associated with the rural Protestant ethic. (7)
While much of this will be recognizable in the rest of the chapter, it is an ideological mix which has more to do with those intent on altering the criminal law with regard to working class children than with schooling them. Thus the degree of fit between this ideology and that of the Froebelian child-savers is necessarily imperfect. For example, the Froebelians did not, in general, hold pessimistic views about the intractability of human nature; on the contrary their belief in the ameliorative power of education was a distinguishing feature of their educational ideology. Neither could their anti-urbanism be explained solely in terms of a rural Protestant ethic as their formative guides in this respect included Froebel's view of nature and their own practice of nature study, neither of which were aggressively anti-urban.

In addition, to the Froebelian divergence from Platt's description of the American child saving ideology, the Froebel movement's involvement in child-saving was also shaped by other ideas and practices. Most of these originated in Germany, that other pole of attraction for modernising reformers. Nevertheless, these ideas and practices shared many features in common with the child saving movement in the United States and in both societies such interventions were fuelled by fears and anxieties about the decay of the working class family as an agency of socialisation and the social control of its children.

2.2 The Settlement Movement.

Many of the practices grouped together under the label of child saving emanated from the settlement movement. This had begun with the work of F. D. Maurice and its best known activist in England was Canon Barnett who became the Warden of Toynbee Hall, the first university derived settlement
in England. Inspired by what Simon has called, 'a neo-feudal outlook', the settlements sought to alleviate the worst effects of the social crisis which came to prominence in the 1880's and to bring culture, refinement and the friendship of some upper class graduates to the poor among the working class. Common to many of the participants in the settlement movement was a belief in an organic society which, in the guise of a collectivist liberalism, sought to subordinate the freedom of the individual to the needs of the state in the interests of the nation. Also associated with this perspective were educative practices which were predicated upon the absence of a family similar to the one which was reified by Froebel. In the United States, for example, settlement workers spoke of intervening in those homes where the family was 'hampered in its functions'. Such interventions were justified by the object of assisting the members of such families to 'understand the cause of the difficulty and to meet it [...] out of their own acknowledged resources'. In England, as elsewhere, aspects of the settlement movement were adopted by the Froebel movement. A notable example of this process was that of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House in Germany. The practices there gave rise to a faction within the Froebel movement in England. In line with the ideologies associated with the settlement houses, the Pestalozzi-Froebel House faction sought to provide an educational strategy which would counter, what its supporters perceived as, the social dislocation produced by industrialization and urbanization. This strategy required a set of practices which went beyond the confines of schooling and which aimed at the reconstruction of the family and of the community.
3.0 Henriette Schrader-Breymann and the Pestalozzi-Froebel House.

A key formative moment in this specifically Froebelian child-saving ideology was the foundation, in 1881, of the Pestalozzi Froebel House in Berlin by Froebel's grand-niece, Henriette Schrader-Breymann. The practices developed there flowed, in part, from Schrader-Breymann's critical reading of Froebel and Pestalozzi and from her own sympathies for German liberalism. (15) Thus, from the outset, this faction was at odds with literal interpretations of Froebel which stressed the sanctity of the gifts and occupations and the kindergarten mysticism.

After having spent some time at Keilhau, the site of Froebel's 'Educational Institute', in 1871, Henriette Schrader married Karl Schrader, a railway administrator and liberal politician. They moved to Berlin in 1874, where Henriette reorganized the 'Society for Family and Popular Education'. This had been set up by the Baroness Von Marenholtz-Bülow to run private kindergartens which, in turn, subsidised the training of teachers and kindergartens for working class children. (16) In 1881, the Schrader-Breymann's purchased a house in Berlin for the purpose of running a training seminar. This became the Pestalozzi-Froebel House, within which attempts were made to reproduce the social relations and the educative community which were thought to have existed in the kind of pre-industrial family which had been idealized by Pestalozzi and Froebel. (17)

In addition to a training department, there was started a public kindergarten, an intermediate class, an elementary class, a manual trade school for children up to the age of fourteen and a cookery school. (18) Among the courses available was one on infant care, another in domestic work and an evening classes for mothers. (19) This welfare focus of the
Pestalozzi-Froebel House blurred the boundaries between teaching and social work and, by so doing, made concrete Henriette Schrader-Breymann's view of the most appropriate role for middle and upper class women. This hinged upon her belief that men and women should occupy equal, complementary, but separate, spheres and that motherhood, both within the family and within a society which greatly needed the influence of women, was the role best suited to upper and middle class women. (20)

Often referred to as 'Spiritual Motherhood' or 'Social Maternalism', such a view is frequently held to be linked to women's acceptance of male domination, (21) but in the context of Germany in this period and, to a lesser extent that of England also, spiritual motherhood may be seen as a concomitant to the entry of middle class women into employment and, as such, a contributory element in their long term social, economic and political emancipation. At the centre, for example, of this version of women's mission, as presented by Schrader-Breymann, was the requirement that women, in order to carry it out successfully, should be trained. This was one of the features which distinguished those who had attended the Pestalozzi-Froebel House from other women of similar social backgrounds who were also engaged in philanthropic work. Thus, in so far as Schrader-Breymann organized training for middle and upper class women who wished to become teachers, her objectives were little different to the professional project of the women discussed in chapter 3. Where she departed from them, however, was in suggesting that such women should 'go among the poor' and fulfil the aim of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House which was:
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to forge a natural rapport between rich and poor,
between the educated and uneducated classes. (22)

3.1 The Pedagogical Practices of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House.

In the field of pedagogy, Schrader-Breymann encouraged the use of children's free play and stressed the value of Froebel's principles rather than that of his apparatus. (23) Moreover, Pestalozzi's slogan 'not art, not books, but life itself is the true basis of teaching', (24) was taken by Schrader-Breymann to construct a pedagogy similar in some respects to that advocated by Dewey. Unlike him or Stanley Hall, however, she valued the *Kohers* Songs, particularly for the emphasis placed within them on play. (25) In the words of Mary Lyschinska, one of her admirers in England, Schrader-Breymann's kindergarten:

places the children in natural surroundings, under motherly direction, in the midst of a household, a garden and household pets. (26)

These were the props of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House faction's pedagogy which instead of fetishizing the apparatus emphasized play, nature study and the correlation of subjects around domestic occupations and nature themes. (27)

3.2 The Pestalozzi-Froebel House Faction in England.

Among the prominent Froebelians in England who adopted the line of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House at a relatively early stage, Caroline Bishop was perhaps the best known. As was mentioned in chapter 5, Bishop had visited Berlin and had seen the Pestalozzi-Froebel House when it had first opened in 1881. In 1883, she returned to Berlin and ran the Pestalozzi-Froebel House training College while its director, Annette Hamminck-
Schepel, was on holiday. (28) Following her return to England, Bishop tried unsuccessfully to get the Froebel Society to adopt the pedagogy of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House. This failure, which stemmed from the hold of the gifts and occupations upon the Society's leaders, precipitated her resignation from the Committee of the Froebel Society and her move to Birmingham. There, in 1890, Bishop transferred her kindergarten from the Hagley Road to Harborne Road at Edgbaston. At Edgbaston, the college, school and kindergarten had a kitchen for cooking, a room for Sloyd and a garden complete with a sandheap for the younger children. (29) The practices at the kindergarten were described at some length by Emily Last in her memoir of Caroline Bishop. (30) A flavour of this domestic pedagogy is contained in Last's description of how, what she termed, the 'many-sidedness' of home life was reproduced in the many-sidedness of the community life of the kindergarten. Both the children and the adults were involved in the daily domestic labour associated with the kindergarten. Before the classes could begin the rooms had to be put in order:

the little tables and chairs must be cleared to give space for the games, gooseberries must be topped and tailed or peas shelled for the school dinner and out of these living experiences came the subject matter of the occupations: poetry, story, music and games were interwoven and idealized these experiences. (31)

Thus, although the emphasis on play-work is still present and its use as a basis for learning, gone was the fetishization of the apparatus.
4.0 The Froebel Educational Institute.

During the period of the ascendancy of hand and eye training this type of Froebelian pedagogy made little impact either on the Froebel movement or on the infant schools. While the majority of Froebelians and particularly those connected with the elementary schools, looked to the world of industrial labour, the supporters of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House looked towards the home to provide the model for their curriculum. In Italy however, the work of Schrader-Breymann attracted the attention of Julie Salis-Schwabe who was referred to in chapter 3. Born in Hamburg, Julie Salis-Schwabe married her cousin, a Lancashire print works owner, and in 1837 she went to live in Manchester. (32)

Following the Risorgimento, Julie Salis-Schwabe, a Liberal and friend of Garibaldi, went to Italy where she spent some time engaged in philanthropic work with children of the poor. A meeting with Baroness Von Marenholtz-Bülow introduced Salis-Schwabe to the kindergarten and in 1873 she opened an elementary school and kindergarten in the Ex-Collegio Medico in Naples. This she saw as her contribution to the construction of the Italian Nation but she also saw her institution as an attempt to eradicate what to her was 'the squalor and dense ignorance of the lower orders' which, she believed, constituted a 'particular evil'. (33)

With the support of the state, this school had expanded so that by 1889 it catered for nearly one thousand pupils and consisted of institutions ranging from a free, co-educational kindergarten to a training college for kindergarten teachers all of which went under the title of the 'Instituto Froebeliano Internazionale Vittorio Emanuele II'. (34) In the kindergarten, the children were given a free dress and a meal and in this, as in other
respects, the Instituto Froebeliano resembled other houses which had been established by the settlement movement such as the famous Hull House which was founded by Jane Addams in Chicago in 1889. (35)

In England, the equivalent of the Instituto Froebeliano and other similar initiatives of the settlement type was to have been the Froebel Educational Institute but shortage of finance curtailed the ambitious plans of Salis-Schwabe and in particular, the plan for a free kindergarten for 'the children of the poor'. (36) This materialized as the Challenor Street practising school which, when it opened, was described in Child Life as a 'low fee kindergarten'. (37) In fact, it was far from low fee as it charged 9d per week, the highest fee permitted for elementary schools. The intention to have it recognized as a public elementary school was soon abandoned in favour of a scheme to raise the fee to twelve or even fifteen shillings per term. Regarding the dilemma faced by the Froebel Educational Institute, XYI commented that:

the present fee is too high for the really poor while
the class above them would probably think better of the
school if it were not so cheap. (38)

5.0 The Sesame House For Home Training.

If the first attempt to transplant something like the Pestalozzi-Froebel House to English soil ended in failure the second was more successful. The first evidence of another plan for an institution modelled on the Pestalozzi-Froebel House appeared in a lecture given in 1898 by Alice Buckton, a lecturer at the Froebel Educational Institute. (39) Significantly, this lecture drew attention to the high status accorded to
the role of the mother by Pestalozzi and Froebel. The kindergarten, declared Buckton, was part of the 'women's movement'. (40)

Buckton's lecture was given at the Sesame Club which had been formed by a 'group of friends' who had children of their own and who wished to study and discuss how best to educate them. (41) Among those involved in the Club were Claude Montefiore, Ebenezer Cooke, Lady Isabel Margesson, a Eugenicist who was a relative by marriage of Emily Shirreff, and Fanny Franks of the Camden House School. (42) At first the Club was housed in what was described as a 'modest flat' in Victoria but in 1896 it was moved to 'a fine house in Piccadilly'. (43) By 1897, it had a claimed membership of nine hundred which was composed of those who used it purely as a social club and those parents and teachers who wished to pursue their interest in educational theories and practices.

Among the lecturers at the Club was Patrick Geddes who, appropriately for an admirer of Ruskin, spoke in the Club's Ruskin Room. (44) Other lecturers included Ebenezer Cooke, J. J. Findlay, Henry Holman and Earl Barnes from the child study movement. (45) Courses on drawing were organized as well as some on Sloyd and nature study; Mrs Walter Ward, who had been to Naas, spoke on the value of manual work and Mrs Curwen gave a paper on the teaching of music. (46)

In 1899, those members of the Club who were interested chiefly in these activities formed the Sesame League and they announced their intention to establish a 'House for Home Life Training' modelled on the Pestalozzi-Froebel House. (47) This institution, which was given the name of Sesame House, was opened by the Marchioness of Ripon at St Johns Wood in July 1899. (48) Its first Principal was Annette Hamminck-Schepel who, for
long, had worked at the Pestalozzi-Froebel House in Berlin. As was intended, the outlook of the latter institution was reflected in the aims of the Sesame House. Its first aim was implicitly critical of those women who sought emancipation by competing with men in the male dominated world of higher education and it was supportive of the separate but equal spheres position. The purpose of the Sesame House was declared, in terms similar to those used by the Yorland Institute, (49) to be:

- to fit girls and women more fully for a woman's life - a life whose natural character has been somewhat outweighed these days by an excessive attention to intellectual accomplishment and whose real charm and power lies in other as important things. (50)

The second aim of the Sesame House was to:

- fit girls, who need to earn their livelihood as certificated lady-nurses to children, as kindergarten teachers and as nursery governesses, for whom there is a large demand. (51)

From one viewpoint, Sesame House was a concrete manifestation of that tendency, which has been traced from the founding of the Governesses Benevolent Institution, for middle and upper class women to try to monopolize the market for the care and education of young children. Thus because the Pestalozzi-Froebel House faction was orientated towards the middle class home, the students it trained could take positions either as nurses or teachers. Common to the training of both categories at Sesame House was a course which consisted of:

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the care of children, nature study, and work in the
flower and vegetable garden, household management and
the right use of foods. (52)

Consequently, while one student obtained a post as a kindergarten assistant in a training college at the end of Sesame House's first year of operation, most of the students became 'lady nurses'. (53)

5.1 Sesame House and the Free Kindergartens.
The chief significance of Sesame House to the Froebel movement and state education lies, however, not in its course of training but in its role in the free kindergarten movement which was to provide the free kindergartens with their staff. As at the Pestalozzi-Froebel House, it was intended that a free kindergarten, that is a kindergarten for the children of the poor which charged no fees, would be opened in connection with Sesame House. Accordingly a kindergarten was opened in 1899 with six children in attendance. (54) By the end of its first year of operation, the kindergarten was said to contain, 'forty little ones from houses in the neighbourhood, both poor and well-to-do'. (55)

In the third Report on the work of Sesame House, the claim was made that its 'child garden' was, 'the first of its kind opened in this country for the poor'. (56) This claim to be associated with the poor was also strengthened by an account of an exchange between students at Sesame House and students at Caroline Bishop's Edgbaston, Kindergarten Training College. The advantage for the Birmingham students, it was claimed, was that they would, 'gain experience with the poor'. (57) However, in the same report mention was made of a proposal to admit fee paying children to the kindergarten. (58) This proposal was carried and, in 1905, the
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kindergarten was said to contain a few children of the 'well-to-do' plus the children of a policeman, a baker and a coachman. (59)

As at the Froebel Educational Institute, lack of finance proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to the running of a free kindergarten at Sesame House. Its location in St John's Wood was also a major obstacle to work with the poor but the failure to meet the intended objectives of the free kindergarten was rationalized by a reference to what were held to be, 'the beneficial effects gained by all in the mixing of classes' which followed the introduction of fees. (60)

The revisionist, Elsie Murray who included a survey of the free kindergartens in her history of the Froebel movement, dismissed the claims of the Sesame House kindergarten to be a true free kindergarten on the grounds that it did not 'reach the neglected little ones'. (61) She did, however, observe that the chief function of Sesame House was to act as a 'centre for the training for home life'. Unlike the Froebel Educational Institute, whose students were increasingly employed as lecturers and teachers, many of the Sesame House students who did not become nurses became involved in the free kindergarten movement which was concerned with a broad spectrum of child welfare and training for motherhood.

6.0 The Froebelian Free Kindergartens.

What is generally recognized as the first free kindergarten in England opened at Woolwich in 1900. For the most part it owed little to either Sesame House or the Pestalozzi-Froebel House faction. Instead, it was formed and supported by a combination of the church and the settlement movement. The Idealist and mystical strands in Froebel's thought attracted many followers who were interested in questions of a religious
nature and the specific problem of how best to teach religion. Elsie Murray, for example, wrote frequently on this question. (62) In addition, some Sunday Schools, such as the one at the Robert Browning Settlement at Walworth, adopted Froebelian methods. (63) In Birmingham, West Hill Training College was begun by a Canadian enthusiast for child study, George Hamilton Archibald and his Froebel trained daughter, specifically to train Sunday School teachers in Froebelian methods. (64)

The Woolwich Mission Kindergarten, as it was known, began in a room provided by a Christian Socialist, vicar, the Rev. Walter Wragge. (65) The kindergarten, which was run by Muriel Wragge, was founded by her sister, Adelaide Wragge, a former Sedforc Kindergarten Training College student, who had founded, and who was the Principal of, the Blackheath Training College and Kindergarten. (66) The Woolwich Mission Kindergarten, like the previous attempts to run a free kindergarten, soon encountered financial problems. It was closed in 1903 (67) but was reopened in 1905 in the Women's House of the Maurice Hostel Settlement, a Christian Union Settlement in Hoxton. (68)

Altogether, twelve free kindergartens, which are listed in the Appendix, were opened in England and Scotland between 1900 and 1910. (69) In contrast, according to Adelaide Wragge, there were in New York alone three hundred free kindergartens in 1900. (70) The reason for this large difference was for the most part due to the fact that in the United States, as in Scotland, children did not attend school until the age of five or six. (71) In England, as was seen in chapter 4, there was a long tradition of state regulated schooling which catered for children aged five and upwards but also accepted children aged as young as three. By 1900,
43% of all children aged between three and five years of age were in
school. (72) For reasons which will be discussed in the next chapter, that
proportion by 1910 had fallen to about 23% (73) Nevertheless, for reasons
which will also be discussed in the following chapter, Froebelians were
still dissatisfied with the schooling provided for young children and
particularly that provided for the 'slum child'. What those Froebelians
associated with the free kindergartens wanted was not a voluntary
alternative to the state run infant schools and departments but that the
free kindergartens would, 'serve as object lessons to point the way in
which the community's efforts on behalf of the young child of the slums
may be directed'. (74) The collectivist thrust of these initiatives, which
marked them off sharply from the individualism of the COS, was further
underlined by the Birmingham University Professor, Oliver Lodge, who,
arguing that too many things were left to charity and private enterprise,
told the Birmingham People's Kindergarten Association that if he had his
way the free kindergartens would be lavishly supported out of public
funds. (75)

6.1 A 'School of Life for Women'.
Like Sesame House, the free kindergartens aimed to train, those whom the
Birmingham People's Kindergarten Association described as, 'girls of the
leisured classes'. (76) In order to do this, such girls were provided with
the opportunity to 'learn practically and theoretically how to provide for
the necessities of child nature'. (77) In the view of Lileen Hardy, the free
kindergarten could not provide professional training but it could provide
valuable preparation for, 'specific training in any kind of woman's work,
for the home or for the society'. (78) In her hands, Spiritual Motherhood
took on a class specific aspect which was apparent when she speculated that:

There must be numbers of girls and women who, by virtue of their circumstances are free from the necessity of earning their own living, who would find a great fulfillment of their lives in thus giving themselves to the service of Christ in His poor children.(79)

By 1911, twenty girls ranging in age from thirteen to twenty two, were said to have been trained at the free kindergarten at Greet in Birmingham but although some set for posts in neighbouring elementary schools there is little evidence that they dedicated themselves to the service of the poor in the fashion proposed by Lileen Hardy.(80)

6.2 Rescuing the sick

In the book *Junior School Education*, Grace Owen (1873-1965) claimed that the free kindergartens derived their inspiration from the United States. (81) Trained in Froebelian methods at the Blackheath Kindergarten Training College, Owen obtained a B.Sc. from the prestigious Teachers' College, Columbia University at New York and while she was there her account of a mission kindergarten in New York was published in *Child Life* in 1900 along with several other descriptions of similar kindergartens in the United States. (82) However, the free kindergartens in England and Scotland were more than just a attempt to emulate the latest educational fashion in the United States. As has already been noted, the roles of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House faction and the revisionists were important in the spread of the free kindergartens but, in addition, the free kindergarten phenomenon benefitted from its possession of what are best
described as 'affinities' (83) with a newly developing social and political stance towards the urban poor in England.

A fuller discussion of the nature of these politics will be held over until the next chapter but a flavour of what they consisted of was conveyed in a paper entitled 'Individuality in Education and the Claims of the State' which was presented by Michael Sadler to a joint conference of the Froebel Society and the Child Study Association which was held, fittingly, at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London in 1903. (84) Sadler, in his paper, raised the question of whether, what he called, Froebel's 'humanitarian individualism' was suitable for conditions formed by the changes wrought by industrialization and urbanization. This criticism was all of a piece with his attacks, made elsewhere, on Gladstonian liberalism as was his contention that:

The world is beginning to long for some definite reconstruction of the social order, with some more definite assignment of duties, some abatement of the scramble of competition, some greater certainty in our years of vigour - of competence in our years of failing strength, some stricter discipline for the residuum and for the morally unfit. (85)

This self-styled 'Wordsworthian Radical' then continued by arguing that the theory of human nature found in the Education of Man needed:

much modification before we can apply it to the backward races of Africa or to the degenerates of our great cities. (86)

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However lacking in 'progressive' sentiments this approach might appear it was one which, in many respects, was shared by the Socialist, child-saver, Margaret McMillan (87) and by the free kindergartners with the exception that they had already modified Froebel's pedagogy if not his theory of human nature. In this particular context, despite its ambiguities, collectivism is a much more illuminating label than either Socialism or New Liberalism.

For Froebelians like Elsie Murray, the free kindergartens were a means of bringing 'true education' to bear on 'social questions'. (88) This was done, in her view, by providing the children who attended them with:

- the conditions that are the right of every child, [...]
- including decency, cleanliness, fresh air, sunlight,
- gentle guidance, and sympathy born of understanding.
(89)

This list of essential conditions for the care of young children notably makes no mention of the provision of school knowledge and it also implies that the state, because of its insistence on school knowledge, did not provide the desired, 'true education' for the children of the urban poor. The free kindergartens were also beneficial in Murray's view because, for her, they were 'social settlements reaching the parents through the children' (90) or, as the fifth aim of the Birmingham People's Kindergarten Association put it:

- To react on home-life through the training of children to habits of helpfulness and the appreciation of order and beauty. (91)
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Not only, then, were free kindergartens to be agencies for the socialization of the children that they reached but they were also to socialize a section of a social class.

Hence, the kindergarten with all its associations with the middle and upper classes underwent an attempted transformation at the hands of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House faction and other revisionists. Addressing a meeting in 1903 of the Birmingham People's Kindergarten Association, Annette Hamminck-Schepel outlined the new view of the kindergarten as an agency for the transformation of the lives of the urban poor by arguing that, 'the family of the labouring classes' was incapable of providing appropriate experiences for its young children. 'There', she continued, 'our help is well placed' and added that:

it seems to me that a real child garden fulfils its highest aim nowhere more ideally than amongst the people of the working class. (92)

6.3 Deficit Models.

As is observable in Hamminck-Schepel's remarks, the free kindergarteners regarded the working class family or more specifically, the working class mother as deficient. There is a sense in which all mothers, in the Froebelian perspective, were deficient. (93) While Froebel's pedagogy, particularly as expressed in the Mother's Songs, drew upon the practices of 'successful' mothers, it was his view that what such mothers did unconsciously needed to be made conscious or as Thomas Rooper explained:

It was not Frobel's idea to substitute philosophy for maternal instincts, but rather to show that in the treatment of their children by successful mothers a
principle was involved which might be understood and applied by all who have to train young children, whether nurses or teachers, or even mothers [...] whose natural instincts failed to supply her with the art of managing her child. (94)

The mothers observed by the free kindergartners were ones who according to Murray were, 'either unfit to give any training or else are obliged to go to work and leave their children on the streets'. (95) In the eyes of Lileen Hardy, who ran St Saviour's Child-Garden in Edinburgh, the mothers of the children at the kindergarten were, 'at the best of times often undisciplined children in emotion themselves'. (96) She also thought that the mothers were ignorant, physically incapable of coping and self-indulgent. (97) They allowed their children to go to bed late, bribed them with halfpennies and, in Hardy's experience, gave to their children a higher proportion of the family income than the wealthy classes would. (98) In the view of a visitor to the Greet kindergarten in Birmingham, the lack of home discipline, which through contact with the mothers the kindergarten sought to ameliorate, constituted 'one of our greatest national dangers'. (99)

Likewise, the children of the slums were held to be deficient. That this was not a position held exclusively by the free kindergartners is shown by Frances Lord's observation, in her preface to the *Mother's Songs* written in 1885, that:

> Children who go to Board Schools have no idea of playing as children play who, have a nursery and a kind nurse and merry, clever parents. (100)

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Lileen Hardy's picture of the children of Canongate, where, according to Sir John Gorst's evidence before the Committee on Physical Deterioration, 38% of the children were 'insufficiently nourished', (101) focussed on their cultural deprivation. The vocabularies of the children were, she recorded, 'very limited' as were their 'experiences'. Their attention spans were short and they also found it difficult, as a consequence, to take an interest in 'anything new'.

It is indicative of the persistence of class inequality as a fundamental feature of the social formation which impinges on the process of schooling that many of these characteristics of the children of the urban poor were rediscovered in the 1960's as was Hardy's contention that 'the greatest difference between slum and upper class children lies in command of language'. (102) Margaret McMillan also singled out language deficits as characteristic of the slum child. Writing in Child Life in 1905, she said of slum children that they came, 'to school mute' as 'their parents do not teach them to speak'. (103) Earlier, in a pamphlet written for the Independent Labour Party, McMillan had recorded the results of a child study which she had conducted in an urban elementary school. In these children, she wrote, 'observation, memory, interest, imagination; were all strangely, unnatural absent'. (104)

In Hardy's case, her explanations for the deficits that she identified sometimes referred to the material and social environment; the dangerous streets, the filthy closes and the squalid rooms. Occasionally, she was able to 'temporarily leave her class vantage point and empathize with the mothers of Canongate as in the following observation that:
with the cramped house space, burdened restricted lives and big families [...] it is hardly to be expected that they will have energy, insight, time and patience to train their children well...(105)

But such moments were rare. For the most part it was the inadequate mother whom Hardy held responsible for, 'the destroying influences of the slum environment'. (106) After the kindergarten had been open for six years she reflected that:

always the home conditions are unsuitable for child development. The mother's ignorance and physical incapacity, even her undisciplined love itself, are bound to crush out a good deal that is good. [...] The atmosphere of self-indulgence and lack of discipline is causing degeneration and destruction of the highest and holiest. (107)

This diagnosis dictated that the mothers and not only their children became regarded as targets of intervention and objects of the ameliorating strategies of the free kindergartens. Lileen Hardy in Edinburgh, for example, in an effort to 'reach' the mothers, set up a Mothers' Guild, the members of which had to ensure that their children went to bed early.(108)

In Birmingham, parents were occasionally invited to meetings at the Greet kindergarten. At one such meeting, Caroline Bishop addressed them on 'The Training of Little Children'. (109) In all the free kindergartens such attempts to train mothers were made. (110) Whether they were successful in this strategy is doubtful. Success, in the free kindgartner's terms, was invariably measured by references to improvements in the children's
cleanliness or in their behaviour. (111) But after several years of work, Hardy's conclusion was that the mothers were still incapable of providing their children with, what she regarded as, the necessary, 'direction and discipline'. (112) It is difficult to see how it could be otherwise but the ideology of the free kindergarteners blinded them to the powerful determinations of behaviour exerted by the material conditions in which their 'clients' were situated.

6.4 The Pedagogy of the Free Kindergartens:

With regard to the pedagogy adopted in the kindergarten, there was little sign of the old didactic apparatus. One of the aims of the Greet Kindergarten, for example, was to, 'give a basis for school instruction by experiences gained in connexion with garden and domestic work and the care of pets'. (113) This was unmistakeably the pedagogy of the Pestalozzi-Froebel House faction. In the garden of the house provided by Mrs Barrow Cadbury, in which the kindergarten was conducted, there were bushes, trees and garden beds divided into individual patches. (114) Pets, including silkworm eggs, were kept (115) and time was set apart each week, according to the Report of the Birmingham Peoples Kindergarten Association for 1907-08, for:

- little household duties, scrubbing tables, polishing piano and chairs, washing dusters, cleaning silver
- the latest achievement has been teaching the children to clean and polish their boots. (116)

The pedagogy was similar at Canongate where all the activities were held by Hardy to moralize the children. Their overalls, which were provided by the school, were said to, 'give the children a sense of order, cleanliness
and self-respect'. (117) The domestic tasks provided them with 'the true
spirit of the dignity and joy of labour' (118) and play in a ring or
circle, based on a centre of interest such as the visit of the joiner,
allowed the children to sing of the, 'honour and delight of being a
working man'. (119) At the same time, the ring was said by Hardy to
give, 'the sense of unity and subjugation of private interests for a common
end'. (120)

But in addition to the pedagogy of the Pestalozzi-Froebel house faction,
Hardy clung to the older Froebelian verities. In a typical formulation she
wrote that:

The kindergartner's aim is not to give instruction, but
to supply such appropriate environment, stimulus, and
protection, that the child's inherent capacities, like a
seed, will naturally unfold into harmonious development,
into such a pure and perfect whole as a flower naturally
becomes in the hands of a skilled gardener. (121)

Not unsurprisingly, the newer practices and ideas in the Froebel movement
did not supplant entirely the older ones and in Hardy's case, although her
practices were very different from the orthodox Froebelian's of the 1880's,
the language which she used to justify them was not. In the case of
Margaret McMillan, who is generally and erroneously credited with the
foundation of the first nursery school, the language used was not so much
that of Froebel as of mysticism.(122)

7.0 Margaret McMillan's Relation to the Free Kindergartens.

In Margaret McMillan's early writing the plant metaphor which was among
the chief articles of the Froebelian faith is not very evident; although
essentially an eclectic thinker her views were derived more from Edouard Séguin (1812-1880), a French specialist in the care of mentally handicapped children, (123) and child study than from Froebel.(124) Referring to some child study texts, she wrote to a friend in 1898:

I think one needs to read these with Froebel who was, great man as he was, QUITE WRONG in some ways, and dangerous ways too. (125)

From her studies and her campaigns on the Bradford School Board, on behalf of 'the slum child', (126) for school baths, adequate ventilation in schools, school feeding and medical inspection Margaret McMillan developed a practice of child saving that differed from that of the Froebelians although she continued to be a member of the Council of the Froebel Society. (127) The principle characteristic of Margaret McMillan's approach was that it was based mainly on a physiological view of the child. Thus, she wrote in an ILP pamphlet that:

Primary education must take account of the bodily condition and needs of children, and that the education itself should be primarily physical. (128)

Developed to its fullest extent, her belief that the needs of the young child were primarily physical became what she called 'nurture'. A practice which combined nursing with 'sensory education' and 'motor training'. (129) Fused with this was a, highly mystical 'psychology' which saw childhood as being dominated not by reason but by imagination which was brought into being by the 'motor elements' present in every 'mental image'. (130) Thus for the youngest children, but particularly those of the poor whose
childhood was shortened, Margaret McMillan advocated the provision of sensory experiences. (131)

In other respects, Margaret McMillan's ideas and practices were close to those of the Froebelians and the free kindergarteners in particular. Her open-air nursery school, for example, which was her version of a free kindergarten, retained the garden which was a feature of the free kindergartens. (132)

7.1 Public and the Private in the Work of Margaret McMillan.

Another similarity in outlook between Margaret McMillan and the free kindergarteners concerned their conviction that not only was it desirable but it was also essential that the private sphere of the slum family be opened up for investigation and remedial action. In her Education Through THE IMAGINATION, Margaret McMillan discussed her view of the boundaries of the private domain of the family. Children from families in 'hopeless surroundings' and in families where the parents were 'cruel, drunken, and utterly degraded' should, she argued, be removed from them. (133) But for the majority of families, she felt that what was required was, 'help not withdrawal, the supplementing and relieving of the home without the taking away of responsibility, influence and rights'. (134) Later, in her ILP pamphlet with the characteristically, collectivist title of The Child And The State, she wrote:

At the first blush it seems to the worker among slum children that they should all be carried away to new homes at once and begin life under perfectly new circumstances. But this of course is impossible. For the slum parent has his rights. (135)
Nevertheless, despite this nod in the direction of liberalism, the impression that she often created was that for her the rights of slum dwelling parents counted for little and both Margaret McMillan and Lileen Hardy were continually looking for ways in which to extend the time that a child spent in their care. (136) Regarding this, Hardy had a vision of a time in which there would be many helpers who would organize, 'a kind of children's club or home, open at all out-of-school hours and on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays'. At such a club, 'wholesome enjoyment and recreation' would be provided. (137)

These practices and visions indicate that the interventionist state was not simply a political creation but was pressed forward by developments in the sphere of the private. In civil society a myriad of initiatives such as those of Hardy and McMillan eroded older liberal notions about the rights and freedom of individuals. But the almost totalitarian visions of Hardy, McMillan and others were never realized. Such visions required money, which was always in short supply in the free kindergartens. At Greet, for example, salaries for 1907-08 amounted to £106 12sh 6d while subscriptions amounted to £106 17sh 2d. Additional income was derived from donations, parents' pence, students' fees, the sale of blankets, photographs and rabbits. (138) Thus despite a subscription list which contained virtually every female member of every bourgeois family in Birmingham, the kindergarten faced a perpetual financial crisis. (139) For Hardy, the solution was clear; if the slums were to be abolished then the state had to act and thus she looked forward to when:

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the State will provide in slum districts children's homes in a wider fuller sense than ours, in sufficient numbers to take in all the children. (140)

But the state, more for reasons to do with finance than with notions of democracy, did not act in this way until much later and even then, not in the all-embracing way that Hardy had desired. Moreover, action by the state in this area was shackled by prevailing notions of what constituted a school and what its purposes were. As has been shown during the Nineteenth Century elementary schools were regarded almost exclusively as institutions for the transmission of knowledge and some vocational skills. Such social training that was attempted took place mainly through the organization of knowledge and its transmission. Margaret McMillan and the free kindergarteners, on the other hand, relegated school knowledge to a position below that of the provision of health care and moral training. Inevitably, any attempt to transform a state elementary school into a community centre from which to organize child-saving and other welfare measures was bound to confront the dominant definition of what school was for.

7.2 A Community School in 1905.

Within the state, as the following episode demonstrates, there were some who were prepared to grant a measure of support to the demands of the free kindergarteners and Margaret McMillan and to the notion of a school in an area of widespread poverty having a social rather than its traditional role. The Devons Road Council School was opened at Bow in London's East End in June 1905. The ward that it was situated in had the highest number of unemployed and casual labourers in Poplar and the
district's reputation for violence and endemic poverty was widespread. (141) The woman appointed head teacher of this new school was Clara Grant who, since 1900, had been head of the school which it replaced. Grant was a holder of the Elementary Certificate of the NFU which she obtained at the Home and Colonial College and subsequently she was awarded the Higher Certificate. (142) For her, the Froebelian ideology both provided and legitimated that part of her social outlook which was not derived from mainstream religion. From the *Mother's Songs* she took the theme of 'kinship' and in particular, what she called, 'the grateful kinship with those rendering us service'. (143) Likewise she extended Froebel's notion of self-activity to argue that if every citizen and statesman were impelled to see every human exercising self-activity, 'we should see no unemployed and unemployables standing idle in our market place'. (144)

In her *Kingsway Manuals for Infant Teachers*, (145) Grant described how she incorporated the object lesson and the kindergarten occupations into the making of toys. Such revisionist Froebelian practices were attributed by her to her encounters with child study and with Earl Barnes in particular. (146) Her ideas were also formed by her experiences of the settlement movement. She had been connected with Toynbee Hall and had visited Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago (147) and as an alternative to going on the Universities' mission to Central Africa, she chose to work in the East End. (148)

In 1907, Grant founded, near her school, the Fern Street Settlement with the financial assistance of the American soap millionaire, Joseph Fels (149) and a former Tory MP for the area, Murray Guthrie. (150) In her words, the Settlement was established as 'a direct attempt to meet the
social needs of our very poor school'. (151) Grant's motives were identical to those of the free kindergartners and, like them, her view of social rescue was quintessentially that of a pedagogue. Teachers had, for her, a special role as they:

could be such excellent interpreters and servers in a poor district because they understand undeveloped mind, and the problem of the slum is the problem of the school writ large. (152)

The activities of the Settlement included the organization of a Thrift Club to encourage parents to pay a proportion of the cost of items like boots which the Settlement provided. (153) A Work Fund was established to provide mothers, both skilled and unskilled, with the opportunity to produce items for sale and for direct consumption. A Fireguard Club helped with the purchase of fireguards and a Coal Club to assist with the bulk buying of coal. (154) Infant care and health visiting were other aspects of the Settlement's work. These activities coincided with the foundation at the school, in 1908, of London's first School Clinic. This was established by Margaret McMillan and her sister with political support from Sir Robert Morant and financial assistance from Joseph Fels, who the McMillans had met through the Ethical Society. (155) They had earlier tried to get the London County Council to back the opening of a clinic but that was illegal until, in 1907, the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act included, a clause which required local authorities to arrange for the medical inspection of elementary school children. The newly opened Clinic was administered by a Committee of the ILP which bore the title of the 'Committee for the Physical Welfare of Children' and to it were attached
two visiting doctors Dr M. D. Eder and Dr R. Tribe. (156) After two years the Clinic was moved to Deptford where it was able to treat children from several schools and not just one and thus lower the cost per head of inspection. (157)

7.3 The Devons Road Inspection: Morant Lends a Hand

While the children were being inspected at the Clinic, their school was inspected by Mr Couch, a sub-inspector whose report went out under the signature of his superior, Mr R.S. Stevelly HMI. (158) This report was highly critical of the school. Regarding the infants it stated that:

> Everything is done for the bodily welfare of the children in the Infants' Department but their training and discipline leave much to be desired. (159)

The report concluded that many of the children were 'decidedly backward' and that they had 'only a remote chance if any of reaching the highest classes of the Boys and Girls schools before fourteen'. (160) On seeing the report, Morant wrote to Holmes who was the Chief Inspector and conveyed his opinion that:

> the character of the neighbourhood is such that the particular criticism he made (as to training and discipline) was, I have reason to believe not quite justifiable. (161)

He further asked Holmes to send a 'carefully chosen sympathetic Inspector' to visit the Infants again. This Inspector, 'if it should prove possible' was to encourage the staff at the school who had been depressed by the report. Morant added that he had been told that:
the children in the Infants Department are very much cleaner than are the children of such a neighbourhood in general; that they have their hair brushed and look happy and human and gentle, and do the work of children under seven happily. (162)

Morant's criteria are interesting in that they were at variance with those employed by the Inspector. The political implications of this view will be discussed in the next chapter but it may be seen that the attitude that he expressed to Holmes was consistent with that which he had displayed to Margaret McMillan in a letter written to her in 1907. He wrote:

For myself I have for some time past come to feel that for the good of the children and the people, what subjects are taught and how they are taught do not matter anything like so much nowadays as attention (a) to the physical condition of the scholars and of the teacher and (b) to the physiological aspect of the school. (163)

Returning to Morant's letter to Holmes; he concluded by asking Holmes not to draw attention to this matter and by adding, 'perhaps you can see whether a favourable verdict could be obtained'. (164)

The intervention of the Permanent Secretary in so lowly a matter requires some explanation. It may have been that Morant was trying to protect the school in which his ally, Margaret McMillan, was at work. As has been seen, with regard to the schooling of the 'slum' child, Morant was not overly attached to the traditional emphasis on the Three R's and more concerned with character formation. As was shown in chapter 5, there was
also a tendency among teachers and others to regard the Froebelian pedagogy as ideally suited to the children of the urban poor as it made fewer intellectual demands upon them than the Three Rs and this appears to have been the line adopted by Clara Grant. Finally, Morant may also have been motivated by the fact that he knew Clara Grant as they had met at Toynbee Hall when he was, for a brief period, 'Censor of Studies' there. (165)

The 'sympathetic Inspector' chosen by Holmes to visit the school was Osmund Airy whose enthusiasm for the 'spirit' of Froebel's system was noted in chapter 6. In his Report, Airy described the school and the social composition of its catchment area. He also provided an account of Clara Grant's settlement work and wrote of it:

I have carefully investigated her system and regard it, briefly as clarity very wisely and very effectively administered with every encouragement to self-help. (166)

Regarding her teaching methods he wrote:

She is an enthusiast [...] in infant education and [...] is original and experimental in her methods. That the experiments and methods are all absolutely judicious or calculated sufficiently with a view to the exigencies of the Senior Departments, I am not prepared to say; but they are all intelligent, the result of much thought. (167)

The children, he reported, were 'remarkably neat and clean'; they had the habit of 'concentrating their attention on their job'; their play was 'perfectly free and natural' and he could not want to see anything better
'in the way of order and discipline'. (168) On making enquiries in the Senior Departments, Airy was informed that the attainments of the children in the Three R's were poor but concluded, as had Circular 332 of 1894, that the methods of the lower classes should be assimilated to those of the Infants and not the other way round. Nevertheless, Airy was mildly critical of Grant's Froebelian adherence to not teaching the Three R's to young children and commented of the children's reading and writing that 'a better level could be comfortably reached without violation of infant ideals'. (169)

Following the completion of Airy's Report, that signed by Stevelly was withdrawn (170) and another one was composed by Stevelly which drew extensively upon Airy's and an article in the Morning Post entitled, 'The School Clinic'. (171) This article said of the Settlement workers, who gathered information regarding the home circumstances of the children under the Provision of Meals Act, that 'there seems to be little about the children or the families from which they come that is not known'. (172) On the surface, at least, this appears to confirm the notion that welfare is merely a means of 'surveillance'. (173) However the most that can be said with any justification about this episode is that the state, or at least its agents, was far from unambiguous in its support for the Settlement and the school to which it was attached. There were clearly limits to the extent that the state was prepared to act on social questions. Even Morant, who was not known for his enthusiasm for democracy, when confronted with a proposal by Margaret McMillan that the Medical Department at the Board of Education should make school clinics
compulsory, demurred on the grounds that such an action would be illegal. 

(174)

8.0 The Play Movement

Children's play became the object of another child saving intervention with Froebelian and Settlement connections during the 1890's. As with the previous cases, the origin of the movement to regulate and oversee town children's play lay outside the state and the state proved reluctant to support the movement. The driving force in this instance was the novelist, social worker, and Anti-Suffragist, Mrs Mary Ward (1851-1920). (175) While at Somerville College, Oxford, Mrs Ward is said to have come to believe that, 'Christianity could be revitalized by discarding its miraculous element and emphasizing its social mission'. (176) In addition, Mrs Ward shared the view of Schrader-Breymann that it was the duty of educated women to 'mother' the less fortunate in society. (177) In the furtherance of these ideals, she became involved in the establishment of a Settlement at University Hall in Gordon Square in London. Among the activities provided by this Settlement was the organization, at Marchmont Hall, of music and games on a Saturday morning for children who lived in the Gray's Inn Road area. (178)

In 1888, the Children's Happy Evenings Association was founded in London to provide recreation for children in selected public elementary schools. Attendance at the evenings, which were described as, 'a judicious combination of romping games [...] with quieter occupations', (179) was in the gift of teachers who permitted children to go to the evening sessions as a reward for regular day time attendance at school. (180)
In 1897, Mrs Ward became Secretary of the newly opened Passmore Edwards Settlement, a development of the University Hall Settlement, which was built at Tavistock Place with money provided by the newspaper editor and philanthropist, John Passmore Edwards. (1823-1911) (181) In the new Settlement, the play activities, which were formerly held at Marchmont Hall, were extended to include evening sessions. Initially, the play organizers were volunteers, as were those of the Children's Happy Evening Association, but the numbers in attendance grew rapidly and as a consequence, professional teachers were employed to teach such things as handicrafts, gymnastics, carpentry and folk-dancing. (182)

From these beginnings emerged the Evening Play Centres, for which Mrs Ward obtained in 1904 the use of seven schools without charge for their use, lighting or heating. Each Centre, which opened for five evenings per week and Saturday mornings, was under the direction of a Superintendent who had a kindergarten, or games qualification. Among the activities provided at these Centres were:

- Musical drill, dancing, singing, games, lantern talks and various forms of hand-work, such as clay modelling,
- brush-work, doll dressing, knitting, drawing, rug-making,
- basket-work, etc. (183)

8.1 Theories of Play.

In addition to the nature of the play activities, there were other connections with the Froebel movement. The Staff and the students of the private, Camden House kindergarten were involved as helpers. (184) Soon, the free kindergartens began to organize their own Centres as at Hoxton and Canongate. (185) More importantly, Froebelian and other theories of
play were used to add to the Centres' 'negative purpose' of keeping the children off the streets, a positive rationale. (186)

While Froebel, in the Education of Man had suggested that 'glorious results' would come if every town had its own common playground, (187) it was the theories of Groos that were more pertinent. He had articulated the familiar anti urban view that:

As the population of our cities grows more crowded the need for intelligent direction is becoming evident. City children grow up under unnatural conditions, and opportunities for play [...] should be provided artificially. (188)

A sense of loss (189) for a 'golden age' destroyed by industrialization, urbanization and the division of labour, pervades much of the play movement's literature. (190) Such processes, according to Walter Wood, a barrister, who wrote a book on play not only removed physical space for play but broke the 'game traditions'. This was the reason why, he thought, that there was, 'a large class of mothers with no games, no songs, no stories to pass on to their children'. (191) As with the free kindergartners, Wood and Ward held the view that inability to play was class specific. (192)

Responsibility for breaking the games tradition was placed, in part, by Wood at the door of the school. Mrs Ward held a similar view and her pedagogy possessed many features in common with that of the Froebelians in that it was consciously designed to provide an alternative to traditional school practices. In the words of Mrs Ward's daughter, Janet Penrose Trevelyan whose husband was a well known historian, the intended
atmosphere at the Centres was that 'of Play not one of School'.
Discipline was said to have been 'never too tight' (91) and significantly, attendance was voluntary. An anonymous writer in the Journal of Education, commenting on the differences between the Centres and schools, opined that:

the moral rightly drawn from the curriculum now carried on at Passmore Edwards Settlement is that much of the 'play' could be incorporated in the timetable of 'work' with gain to both teacher and taught. (195)

8.2 Play Practices.

What was provided in the Centres, particularly for boys, was reminiscent of that provided by a teacher whom Mark Wilks had described before the Cross Commission (196). The emphasis in the Centres was very heavily placed on 'doing'. According to Mrs Ward, the Centres tried to meet the need for the, 'positive hunger for hand occupation' which existed among the older 'rough' boys, whom if left to themselves would become 'a nuisance to the community and to the police'. (197) Behind the play and the handwork, there were very clear notions of control and rescue. The boys, as Mrs Ward described the strategy, could:

... be got hold of through handwork and in no other way.
And when once the taste is acquired, there remains the strong probability that after school is over they will be drawn into the net of Evening Classes and Polytechnics and so rescued for an honest life. (198)

The link between play and the prevention of crime was further strengthened when, after the passing of the Children's Act of 1908, Mrs Ward had some
of her Play Centre Superintendents appointed as the first Probation Officers. (199)

8.3 Play and the State.
Like the free kindergartners, the promoters of the play centres looked to the state to organize children's play. A clause to the effect that Local Education Authorities should provide facilities for play centres was included in Birrell's Education Bill of 1906. This mobilised the opposition of the Children's Happy Evenings Association which feared the diminution of voluntary effort if the state intervened. In any event, for reasons unconnected to this issue, the Bill failed. (200) In 1907, however, the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act empowered local authorities to encourage and assist voluntary bodies to provide them for children who were attending school. But, as with other permissive welfare legislation of this period such as the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, (201) the local authorities displayed little enthusiasm for this opportunity to direct children's play and only Bradford, the ILP stronghold took advantage of the Act's provisions. (202) Again the brake on the plans of the collectivists was applied by parsimonious local authorities. The Education Committee of the LCC, for example, refused on the grounds of expense to defray the cost of Handwork, Drill and Gymnastics classes as Mrs Ward had requested. (203)

Until 1916, when anxieties prompted by the increase in juvenile crime during the war led the Board of Education to support the Centres with a grant of 50% of 'approved expenditure', Mrs Ward raised the bulk of the money raised for the running of the Centres herself. (204) She also
played a leading role in the provision of Vacation Schools and Organized Playgrounds.

3.4 Vacation Schools in London.

The Vacation Schools represented an attempt to supervise working class children during school holidays. The first Vacation School opened at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in 1902 and it was modelled closely on the Vacation Schools which had been held in New York since 1894. (205) Two years later, four Vacation Schools were held in London including one at the Robert Browning Settlement at Walworth which provided free meals. (206) Members of this Settlement were involved in the agitation for free school meals which, in London, were first provided in 1909. Clara Grant's school at Bow was another which ran a Vacation School and in 1910, the LCC itself organized six such schools.

Froebelians were also involved in these projects. At the Passmore Edwards Settlement a separate kindergarten was run as part of the Vacation School. (207) Trained kindergartners were also among those employed at other Vacation Schools, the aim of which, according to a Secondary School teacher who directed the first one, was to give:

... the children something to do in place of roaming listlessly about in street or alley, with nothing to tempt them to action save the ever-present opportunity for mischief. (208)

3.5 Organized Playgrounds.

The notion of the organization of children's play which lies at the centre of the Froebelian pedagogy was one which appealed to the housing reformer, Octavia Hill. (209) As early as 1866, she had opened a playground in
conjunction with a housing project which she had organized with Ruskin. At this playground, kindergarten games were provided for the babies. (210) Mrs Ward's inspiration came, however, from a visit to New York where she met a leading Progressive publicist, Jacob Riis who was also the Honorary Vice-President of the Playground Association. (211) This meeting led to the founding of a sub-committee of the Evening Play Centres Committee, which was chaired by her son in law's brother, Charles Trevelyan, then an Under-Secretary to the Board of Education. (212) This sub-committee produced, in 1911, a scheme for the organization of fifty playgrounds, 'in the poorest districts', during the Summer Holidays. The scheme was accepted by the LCC and it attracted around 25,000 children in its first year. (213) However, once the LCC withdrew its support, this scheme together with that for the Vacation Schools went into terminal decline. (214)

9.0 The Guild of Play.

Another voluntary initiative which sought to direct children's play was organized by Grace Kimmins (1871-1954) whose husband, Dr. C. W. Kimmins, became, in 1904, Chief Inspector at the Education Department of the LCC. Grace Kimmins who was a member of Mrs Ward's Evening Play Centre Committee, described the purpose of the Guild of Play as that of the provision for 'little girl children' of, 'vigorous happy dances for recreative purposes on educational lines'. (215) These dances would, she hoped, lessen the attractiveness to children from, 'the long, grey, monotonous streets of South London' of the 'Music Hall and dancing-saloon'. (216) To counter these perceived malign influences, Kimmins proposed the revival of 'Merrie England' in which, when it emerged, the
'old songs will be increasingly recovered and made popular, and old dances enjoyed by old and young alike'. (217) As with the other figures involved in these voluntary child-saving initiatives, Kimmins held that the schools were failing to produce the right kind of citizens. In her view, drill and school exercises were insufficient for the provision of 'mental and moral balance'; only organized play could provide that. (219) There was also present in her thought the same commitment to the behavioural transformation of the working class as has been seen in the other cases discussed in this chapter. This, in Kimmins' view, required that education should not be confined to school time tables and scheduled hours but that it should:

invade all public playing-spaces, parks and open places as well as halls of entertainment, and even the streets and alleys of towns and cities. (219)

Once again it may be seen that play, which for Froebel was a force for self-development, was utilized as a force for control and regulation. Moreover, the critical edge of the Froebelian ideology was applied by Kimmins to provide an alternative to schooling which was seen to have failed.

9.1 The Guild of the Poor Brave Things.

The use of play methods also appealed to those seeking an alternative pedagogy to that employed in most elementary schools for the schooling of the physically handicapped. The best known of Grace Kimmins' initiatives had to do with the provision of education for physically handicapped children, an area in which Mrs Ward was also involved. (220)
In 1804, Kimmins organized a meeting which led to the foundation of the Guild of the Poor Brave Things which was described in Child Life as:

a band of men, women, and children of any creed or none,
who are disabled for the battle of life, and at the same
time are determined to fight a good fight. (221)

This organization attracted the support of several women active in the Feminist movement. These included Millicent Garret Fawcett, the leader of the 'constitutional' Suffragists and Emmeline Pethick who, as Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence became a leader of the militant Women's Social and Political Union (WPSU). (222) With Mary Neal, who had directed the play sessions at Marchmont Hall and who also became prominent in the WPSU, Emmeline Pethick had worked as a 'Sister of the People' at the West London Mission. (223) This Mission was run by the radical Nonconformist leader, Hugh Price Hughes (1847-1902) whose wife, Katherine was also active in the Guild of the Poor Brave Things. The Mission provided the Guild with a base for its earliest work but it moved later to the Bermondsey University Settlement and to the chapter house of Southwark Cathedral.

In 1903, Kimmins opened a residential centre at Chailey in Sussex which later became the Heritage Craft Schools. (224) The object of the centre, which began with seven boys selected from the Guild, was:

to enable specially afflicted and disabled members of
the Guild who show special talent to be thoroughly
trained and to become in time partially, if not wholly,
self-supporting. (225)

Alongside the Boys and the Girls Craft Schools, which were financed by Lord Llangattock a South London landlord, was built a Domestic Economy
and Housewifery School. In this school, older girls from the Guild of Play who were not physically handicapped, were trained in Domestic Economy. As was the case with the curriculum of the physically handicapped, that of these girls consisted of the Froebelian combination of play and handwork and 'Sister' Grace, as she became known, was drawn closer to the Froebel Society when she was co-opted on to its Council in 1907. (226)

An equivalent to the Guild of Play for older women was begun by Mary Neal and Emmeline Pethick in 1895. This they called the Esperance Girls' Club which was 'colonized' by Cecil Sharp until he broke with Mary Neal over what he regarded as her undue emphasis on social regeneration and concomittant lack of enthusiasm for song and dance and over a difference in attitude to the revival of folk dancing. (227) The Esperance Club became a feminist centre and through it, Lady Constance Lytton met Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence and another militant suffragette, Annie Kenney. These two, won Constance Lytton over to the WPSU; a conversion which led to her being force fed in Walton jail in 1910 and, as a result, being partially paralysed for the rest of her life. (228)

Before this, however, Constance Lytton joined with Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Cecil Sharp and others to form the English Folk Music and Dance Society. (229) Later, in 1919, Sharp became an 'occasional inspector of Folk Song and Dancing in Training Colleges' and thereby exercised an enormous influence over what 'national' songs and dances were selected for transmission in schools. (230) In 1908, somewhat ironically given the Froebel movements support for play and music, Mary Neal gave a lecture to the Froebel Society at the Passmore Edwards Settlement on 'The Use of Folk Music in Dance and Song'. (231) This prompted Margaret Nuth, a Camden
House teacher who assisted at Mrs Ward's 'Play Hours' to observe in typically idealist fashion, that the new outlook of the Happy Evenings Association, the Guilds of Play, the Folk Song Society and the Vacation Schools, were all traceable to Froebel.(232)

Conclusion.

The practices and interventions which have been discussed in this chapter were selected because they may be seen to have been linked together. At the highest level of generality, they were part of a wider offensive concerned with the protection of children which, following American precedents, has here been termed child-saving. A little more specifically, these interventions were ones which were, in varying degrees, linked to the Froebel movement and more concretely were organized and conducted overwhelmingly by middle and upper class women.

Most previous assessments of these initiatives, assessments which have almost the status of a received wisdom, view them only as the benign actions of humanitarian reformers. Whitbread, for example, states of the free kindergartens that 'they were undoubtedly healthy and happy places for the few three- to six-year-old slum children lucky enough to attend them'. (233) Leaving aside the methodological problems involved in actually demonstrating this assertion, it is one, almost certainly, which few would care to dissent from. The plight of the children of the urban poor at the beginning of the Twentieth Century was undeniably grave as the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration and the annual Reports of the Medical Officer of the Board of Education revealed. Moreover, from most available evidence, some of which will be discussed in the following chapter, it is clear that schools were not adapted to cater
for the needs of such children. The involvement of the organized sections
of the working class in many of the child-saving initiatives, registered
here in the ILP's connection with the Devons Road Clinic, has also
bolstered the image of such actions as utterly benevolent and
humanitarian.

There was, however, another aspect to these initiatives which is seen in
the mixture of fear, loathing and sheer, class bound incomprehension which
was expressed by figures like Hardy, McMillan and Ward towards the
residuum or the 'rough' working class. It may also be seen in the way in
which the 'inadequate mothers' were used by the child-savers as a
launching pad for their own professionalizing projects and this other
aspect is much in evidence in the demands of the child-savers for the
state to look after the slum child; nurse, feed and organize its play.

But the state, with one or two quite important exceptions such as medical
inspection, proved remarkably resistant to the blandishments of
collectivists in this area. State policy with respect to nursery schools,
the term used when that of the free kindergartens failed to become
domesticated, will be discussed in the following chapter. As has been seen,
war stimulated state support for playgrounds and song and dance entered
the elementary school through the co-optation by the state of Cecil Sharp
but, for the most part, the state regulation of the play outside the school
of the working class child was rendered unnecessary by the rise of the
denominational Lads' Brigades, the Scout and Guide movement and the
various Left alternatives. (234) The relative strength of the voluntary or
private sphere is the key to explaining why the state was tardy in coming
to the assistance of the free kindergartens and the play initiatives
despite the efforts of key bureaucrats like Morant who was so protective of these diminutive efforts at reform that he had changed an unfavourable report. However, this is not quite the whole story as the strength of the private was derived from its constitution by the state, a theme to be pursued further in the next chapter.

Alongside such considerations, the effects of these child-saving initiatives upon the Froebel movement may seem unimportant. However as the study of that movement is at the centre of this account some comment on this area is necessary. As has been shown in chapters 4 and 5, the charge that the Froebelian pedagogy was class specific was an old one as were attempts to adapt it to the schooling of the lower layers of the working class. Until the revisionist and the Pestalozzi-Froebel House factions had eclipsed the orthodox Froebelians little progress could be made in the latter direction. Once that had occurred, and the practices of the free kindergartners contributed to the demise of the orthodox, then a new form, the nursery school, could emerge from the free kindergartens. This was a specific age and class related institution with its own distinctive pedagogy and ideology both of which were deeply rooted in the Froebel movement. Margaret McMillan's relationship with the Froebel movement, as has been seen, was uneven but she like other leaders of the Nursery School Association in the 1920's and 1930's like Grace Owen (235) and Lillian De Lissa (236) were formed by the Froebelian movement as were 'apostates' like Jessie White who became Montessorians. (237)

While the Froebelian movement had always, in some respects, combined the reform of schooling with the reform of society, the activities of the free kindergarteners, of 'Sister' Grace and Mrs Ward made that connection more
explicit. That is not to suggest that the liberal notion of changing individuals in order to change society was specifically Froebelian but that the Froebel movement, in so far as it was concerned with the welfare of the young, slum child, shared in and assisted in the propagation of that notion. Some of the ways in which it did this are discussed in the following chapter.

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FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES.


3). Pinchbeck and Hewitt. op. cit. p. 492.


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12). For the collectivist strands in the settlement movement which were concerned primarily with a coercive policy towards the residuum see: Stedman Jones op. cit. pp. 301-314.


24). ibid.
26). ibid.
28). Last. op. cit. p. 4.
30). ibid. pp. 11-42. The book contains a preface by one of the kindergarten's former pupils Maurice L. Jacks who, between 1938-1957, was director of the department of education at Oxford University. Significantly, his father, L. P. Jacks the editor of the Hibbert Journal to which E. G. A. Holmes frequently contributed, was a 'Unitarian divine'. DNB.
31). Last. op. cit. p. 10.
34). Woodham-Smith. (1952a) op. cit. p. 31.
40). ibid. p. 35.
42). ibid.
43). ibid.
45). 'Sesame Club Notes'. *Child Life*. op. cit.
46). ibid.
47). ibid.
49). See chapter 7, p. 345.
51). ibid. p. 252.
52). ibid.
58). ibid.

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60). ibid.
64). Woods (1920) op. cit. pp. 37-38.
69). See Appendix.
70). Wragge, A. (1900) op. cit.
71). Board of Education (1933) op. cit. p. 22.
72). Taken from ibid. p. 29.
73). ibid.
77). ibid.

83). The concept of elective affinities is discussed by Weber in his writing on religion. See Weber (1967a) op. cit. pp. 284-285. As Gerth and Mills explain Weber argued that, 'there is no pre-established correspondence between the content of an idea and the interests of those who follow from the first hour'. Gerth and Mills op. cit. p. 63. Here, however, affinity is used in the sense of resemblance. It is not suggested that the ideas of the free kindergartners were merely an expression of political trends.


85). Sadler, M. E. (1903) op. cit. p. 60.

86). ibid.

87). While evidently more sympathetic to the urban poor Margaret McMillan's descriptions of them frequently display the same fear and loathing that Sadler expressed. See: McMillan. op. cit. pp. 85-86, 103-104, 149-150 and 166.


89). ibid. p. 111.

90). ibid.


93). This was vividly expressed in Froebel (1900a) op. cit. pp. xiii-xiv.


96). Hardy. op. cit. p. 184.


98). ibid. pp. 63-64.


100). Froebel (1900a) op. cit. p. xviii. This, she attributed to their 'listless, brutalised, neglected home-life' and not to poverty.


102). Hardy. op. cit. p. 4 and p. 119.


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105). Hardy. op. cit. p. 48.
112). Hardy. op. cit. p. 184.
114). ibid. See also: Hardy. op. cit. pp. 20-21.
119). ibid. p. 121.
120). ibid.
121). ibid. p. 11.
122). The term 'Nursery School' may have first been used by Madame Michaelis as an English equivalent of the kindergarten. Murray and Brown Smith.


124). Much of Margaret McMillan's writing contains favourable reference to the ideas of Froebel but she adopted a position similar to that of the Froebelian revisionists which consisted of the view that literal adherence to Froebel's ideas and practices was not appropriate to contemporary society. This was argued in her Clarion pamphlet of 1896 entitled Child Labour and the Half-Time System - quoted in Cresswell, D'Arcy. (1949) *Margaret McMillan*. London, Hutchinson. p. 106 and in McMillan, M. (1910) 'The Place of Imagination in Moral Education'. *Journal of Education*. Vol. XXXII. Sept. pp. 627-629.

125). Quoted in Mansbridge. op. cit. p. 28.

The Bradford branch of the Froebel Society made her its first President in 1901. Lowndes, op. cit. p. 32. She was elected to the Council in 1904, the year Sadler was elected President of the Froebel Society. Child Life. Vol. VI. No. 23. 1904. p. 164.

McMillan (1902) op. cit. p. 5.


McMillan (1923) op. cit. p. 16.

McMillan (1919) op. cit. pp. 100-128.

ibid. pp. 44-49.

McMillan (1923) op. cit. p. 197.

ibid.


Hardy, op. cit. p. 75. complained that after the holidays several of her children were 'considerably coarsened'. With the founding of a play centre she was able to keep the children under 'beneficial' influences until 6.15 pm. ibid. p. 111. McMillan (1919) op. cit. pp. 312-316. McMillan (1923) op. cit. p. 194. A plea for a nine hour day at Nursery Schools was made in her evidence to the Consultative Committee by the Principal of the McMillan Training Centre, Miss E. Stevinson. PRO ED 10/149 Committee Papers Consultative Committee Infant and Nursery School Report. Paper No. T11 (40). Emma Stevinson (1882-1959) was a Froebel trained teacher who had also worked with J. A. Green at Bangor. 'Obituary' National Froebel Foundation Bulletin. No. 120. 1959. pp. 14-16.

Hardy, op. cit. pp. 144-145.

139). ibid. It included five Cadburys, Ladies Lodge and Margesson, and the wives of two leading Birmingham industrialists, Mrs Wilson Sturge and Mrs Tangye.


141). Grant, op. cit. pp. 73-74.

142). ibid. p. 54.

143). ibid. p. 56.

144). ibid.


147). ibid. p. 79. As did, in 1912, Margaret McMillan and her sister. McMillan (1927) op. cit. p. 132.


149). ibid. p. 79.


151). ibid. p. 79.

152). ibid. p. 81.

153). ibid.

154). ibid. p. 82.

155). McMillan (1927) op. cit. pp. 110-113 and also p. 117 where she complained that he spent ten times the sum on Maylands than he had offered her.


158). PRO ED 21/11842. op. cit.

159). Ibid.

160). Ibid.


162). Ibid. The source of his information was not disclosed but he described that source as 'someone who has this kind of matter much at heart'.

163). Quoted in Mansbridge. op. cit. p. 64 and Allen, B. M. op. cit. p. 231.

164). PRO ED 21/11842. op. cit.


166). PRO ED 21/11842. op. cit. 'Report of Dr. Osmund Airy HMI on Devons Road School, Bow 15th May 1909'.

167). Ibid.

168). Ibid.

169). Ibid.

170). Ibid.


172). Ibid.


176). DNB.

177). Trevelyan, op. cit. p. 225. She was actively opposed to women's suffrage on the grounds that men and women should have separate spheres and that politics was a male sphere whereas women's work lay in 'enlarged housekeeping' or caring.


179). Philpott, op. cit. p. 302. The coming together of the rich and titled helpers with the poor children might, thought Philpott, have the effect of 'restraining bitterness and uncharitableness in the Socialistic and Labour propaganda of the future'. ibid. p. 302.


181). The son of a Devonshire pub owner he amassed a fortune in the newspaper industry and spent much of it on 'progressive movements', like the Peace Society, in which he was active. DNB.

182). Trevelyan (1920) op. cit. p. 6.


185). At the free kindergarten run by Adelaide Wragge in Hoxton, an Evening Play Centre was started in 1906. Child Life. Vol. VIII, No. 31. 1906. pp. 160-161. Lilian Hardy began a play centre in 1910 after hearing an
address by Mrs Ward at Edinburgh in the previous year. Hardy, op. cit. p. 110.


187). See note 75, chapter 1.


189). As Cohen has noted with respect to the United States, little attention has been paid by historians of education to educational policies which were formulated as a response to a perceived loss of community. Cohen, D. K. (1976) 'Loss as a Theme in Social Policy'. *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 46, No. 4, pp. 553-571.

190). This was the dominant theme of Findlay, J. J. (1923) op. cit. Wood, pp. 179-180.


192). ibid. p. 98.

193). Trevelyan, (1920) op. cit. p. 36.

194). ibid.


196). PP. 1887. op. cit. Q. 48,725

197). Trevelyan (1920) op. cit. pp. 21-22.

198). ibid. p. 22.


202). Trevelyan (1920) op. cit. p. 23.

203). ibid. p. 27.

204). PRO ED 65/4 'Evening Play Centres 1916-1927. Annual Reports'. Among those who answered her appeals were Otto Beit, the Rand millionaire and friend of the Webbs, and Claude Montefiore.


207). Trevelyan (1920) op. cit. p. 174.

208). ibid. p. 171.


210). ibid.

211). Trevelyan (1920) op. cit. p. 130.

212). ibid. p. 132. Trevelyan was later a President of the Board of Education in the first Labour government of 1924 and again 1929-1931.


218). ibid.

219). ibid.

220). See: Trevelyan (1923) op. cit. pp. 131-141.


224). Ransom. op. cit. pp. 54-55.

225). ibid. p. 54. The quote is unattributed.


235). Owen became the Principal of the Mather Training College for Nursery and Junior School Teachers 1917-1924. She then was made Principal of the City of Manchester and Mather Training College 1924-1926. In 1923, she became Honorary Secretary of the Nursery School Association of Great Britain of which she was a founder member. In this period Miss Wark, the Chief Woman Inspector at the Board of Education described her as 'one of our experts on the education of young children'. PRO ED 102/2 'Nursery Schools'. A. H. Wood 'Note on Nursery Schools, Day Nurseries and Other Methods of Making Provision for the Education or Nurture of Children Under 5'. (27/ 10/ 25)

236). Lillian de Lissa was chair of the Nursery School Association 1929-1938.

Chapter 11
PROEBELIANS IN AND AGAINST THE STATE SCHOOLING OF YOUNG CHILDREN.

1.0 Introduction.
This, the final, chapter turns once more to look at the relationship between the Froebel movement and the educational policies of the state. This time within the period 1900 to 1914. The change of focus enables a return to be made to the themes of chapter 2. The first section of the chapter will contain a more detailed discussion, than previously, of the political and ideological context in which the child-saving initiatives were launched and in which state policy regarding the schooling of young children was formulated. More specifically, it will be concerned with the relation between the themes subsumed by the movement for 'national efficiency' and the schooling of the working class. In this chapter particular attention will be paid to the relation between the programmes of the supporters of national efficiency and the ideas and practices of Froebelians associated with the free kindergartens. It will be argued that the advocates of national efficiency in the field of education were either consciously supportive of many Froebelian themes or that the convergence between their views and those of the Froebelians with regard to the question of how best to deal with the education of the children of the urban poor was, from the Froebelian point of view, remarkably fortuitous. In the following section, an attempt will be made, by means of a discussion of a report on the schooling of children under five, to assess the extent to which the rhetoric of national efficiency had made any
impact upon the schooling of young, working class children. The Report itself is valuable in other ways as it provides further evidence for the argument that the Froebel movement was to a large extent shaped by the intersection of class and gender divisions and that Froebelian ideas and practices functioned as an ideology in the struggle between middle class women and middle and upper class men within the field of schooling. At the same time, the Report provides evidence, additional to that provided in the last chapter, of how in that struggle such women regarded the children of the poor and their parents. These issues will be explored by way of an account of the position of women within the inspectorate of the state educational apparatus.

The reception of the Report, which was 'seized upon by the Board of Education 'to provide support for its decision, taken mainly on financial grounds, to exclude children under five from school, is a classic case of unintended consequences. Unaware of the possible uses to which their work could be put, the authors of the Report stimulated attacks on the Board from Froebelians and their allies. Embarrassed by this reaction and anxious not to give Labour an issue with which to gain support, the Board passed the matter over to the Consultative Committee; the intended function of which was to pronounce on politically contentious issues in an expert, non-partisan manner.

The outcome of these debates was a commitment by the Consultative Committee, not the Board significantly, to the provision of nursery schooling. This, it will be contended, was envisaged as a specific form of child care for the children of the urban poor. Thus was laid down the definition of nursery schooling which is still in existence and in this
way, the Froebelian ambition to transform the way in which all young children were schooled was subverted and channelled into a remedial and an ameliorative welfare strategy directed at the problem of urban poverty. Regarding the Froebel movement itself during the years prior to the outbreak of war, the ground covered relating to the debates over the schooling of the under fives will permit an assessment of its strength in relation to the policies of the state and its position within the pedagogic community. As increasingly, from around 1910 onwards, this position was confronted by a powerful challenge on its own ground from the Montessori movement the impact and effect of this challenge will be considered briefly in the chapter's final section.

2.0 National Efficiency.
In chapter 2 it was argued that at the turn of the century, under the pressure of an expanding financial and commercial fraction of capital rooted in imperialism, the balance of forces within the power bloc began to change. The power bloc itself was recomposed to the detriment of the interests of a purely industrial capital and to the ideology of classical liberalism to which it was attached. Within the field of education, this recomposition was paralleled by the subordination of the curriculum demands of the industrial modernizers to, within the sphere of secondary schooling, a version of liberal or general education and within the elementary sphere, a renewed emphasis on moral regulation or character formation and a new emphasis on physical fitness. At the level of the educational state apparatus, the shift was mirrored by the construction of a central authority which curtailed the ambitions of the industrial modernizers by, for example, defeating the bid made by the Science and
Art Department to lead the new Board of Education.\(^1\) In addition, opposition within the state apparatus to the project of the industrial modernizers was led by those like Sadler who had strong links with institutions within civil society, like the public schools and ancient universities, whose power was derived from the role they performed in the cultural unification of the power bloc and the elaboration of its organic intellectuals. The settlement which was constructed in education at the turn of the century, of which the Education Act of 1902 is the most prominent landmark, as well as forging a new relation between the public and the private with respect to the religious question also built a formidable set of barriers and constraints around the territory occupied by the industrial modernizers. Elementary schools did not become sites solely dedicated to the production of industrial and domestic workers as the industrial modernizers had wished and in the secondary schools, the production of scientific and technical experts hardly ever appeared on their agendas. These objectives did not, on the other hand, disappear entirely; the industrial modernizers were constrained not obliterated. Instead they simply occupied a much less elevated place within the developing national system of schooling than the industrial modernizers had desired.

The subordination of the industrial fraction of the bourgeoisie was also accomplished within the field of ideology. As has been argued, alongside classical liberalism there arose a variety of collectivist currents orientated towards an increasingly interventionist state. These collectivist currents, which in education had either brought about or set in motion the rationalisation of the central state apparatus and the
destruction of the School Boards along with the popular democracy which
accompanied them, were given extra weight by the experience of military
debacle during the Boer War. This gave rise to a wide ranging critique of
what H. G. Wells, in a typical formulation, described as, 'an amazing and
terrifying amount of national incompetence' which had been 'laid bare' by
the war. (2) This critique of long established institutions and practices
was accompanied by vociferous demands for more state intervention to
raise, in the favourite phrase of the day, the efficiency of the nation.
Efficiency, in this context, signified professionalism and the cult of the
'expert and the application of scientific or rational techniques to social
questions and an end to amateurism and, in some versions, an end to any
form of political democracy.

Within the discourse of national efficiency, education, both in its widest
sense and in the particular sense of elementary schooling, occupied a
prominent place. Education received a new emphasis as it was through this
process that experts were to be produced and new knowledge also.
Elementary schooling was highlighted by the adherents of national
efficiency for other reasons. Principally because of the widespread
concern for the health of the 'poorer classes' which had been generated by
the high rejection rate of recruits to the army during the Boer War. (3)
The Imperial project was endangered and thus supporters of national
efficiency desired that elementary schools should play a major role in
the production of soldiers of the Empire and the mothers of an Imperial
race. (4) This turn towards schools as a solution to problems 'originating
elsewhere is also evident in Sadler's well known remark that the 'very
existence of the Empire depends on sea-power and school-power'. (5)

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National efficiency also articulated some other, rather well worn, themes with regard to elementary schools such as character formation. In its new guise it appeared as citizenship, a necessary accompaniment to the extension of the franchise. Thus linked to a concern, in national efficiency circles, with the physical condition of the children of the working class was a renewed emphasis on their moral condition. This was evident in Sadler's remark about the need to discipline the residuum which was quoted in the last chapter but it was also present in the attitudes of the Moral Instruction League which had a Lib/Lab or 'progressive' constituency. This emphasis is also observable in the literary genre of social exploration which did much to orchestrate anxieties in the early years of the present century about working class adolescents.

2.2 National Efficiency and the Production of Experts.

As has been suggested, schooling had a prominent part to play in the solutions proposed by the advocates of national efficiency due to their concern with the necessity to produce experts who were capable of devising and guiding political and administrative responses to 'national incompetence'. The authoritarian, anti-democratic thrust of this worship of experts may be clearly seen in Morant's condemnation of 'the blind impulses of mere numerical majorities' and his rhetorical question:

is not the only hope for the continued existence of a democratic state to be found in an increasing recognition, by the democracy, of the increasing need of voluntarily submitting the impulses of the many ignorant to the guidance and control of the few wise...?
Linked, in turn, to the central place given to experts was a renewed emphasis on a training in 'scientific calculation and technical knowledge'.

(9) In this vision, leaders could no longer be leisured, public school amateurs but trained and specialised, experts. (10) This view, which was predicated upon a realization of the increasingly complex nature of, what Gramsci referred to as, the practical activities in 'modern civilisation'. In his analysis of tendencies toward specialization in school provision, Gramsci linked such transformations to his notion that in modern societies:

the leader must have that minimum of general technical culture which will permit him, if not to "create" autonomously the correct solution, at least know how to adjudicate between the solutions put forward by the experts... (11)

In the English context this required a slightly altered curriculum at secondary level and the state regulation of an expanded secondary sector mainly concerned with the production of 'functionaries'. (12) At a less exalted level, national efficiency also required a higher standard of training for elementary teachers who were seen by Morant and the Webbs, for example, as playing an important directive role within the working class. In addition, underpinning the strategy of producing more 'professional' teachers was the assumption that such teachers would be able more easily to make rational decisions about pedagogical questions and therefore such questions could increasingly be safely left to them to solve. This assumption that specialists knew best is visible in a letter
that Sidney Webb wrote to Graham Wallas concerning the schooling of pupils who left school at fourteen. Webb wrote:

What the perfect curriculum for them is I don't assume to know - whatever it is decided to be by you and other educationists, let us by all means have it. (13)

2.3 The Selection of the 'Fit'.

As expertise was to become the most valued of national resources it followed that the identification of those who could be trained as experts was an important task. In Sidney Webb's meritocratic vision, for example, experts were no longer to be drawn solely from the upper classes as, for him, 'individual ability' not class was to be the principal determinant of an individual's 'social function'. (14) This attitude was also shared by the maverick Tory collectivist and former Vice-President of the Committee of Council, Sir John Gorst. (15) In 1901, during the period marked by sharp conflicts over the proposed Education Bill, Gorst called for the construction of a system of catching those boys and girls who, in his phrase, showed 'capacities above the average'. (16) This, in his view, would be a system in which such boys and girls 'should not belong to one class or caste, but should be selected from the mass of the people'. (17) But, unlike the older liberal conceptions such as that proposed by J. S. Mill, in the collectivists' educational programmes, those selected were not chosen in order for them to develope themselves but for the contribution which they could make as citizens to Webb's 'community' and Gorst's 'commonwealth'. (18) The point was also made within the pedagogic community by Professor Darroch, in his thoroughly collectivist book The
Children. There he asserted that, 'the aim of all education is to secure the social efficiency of the future members of the State'. (19)

The labelling and mapping of ideological positions is always a difficult task particularly during moments of rapidly shifting political currents and tendencies. Then, positions tend to become criss-crossed as was national efficiency by various imperialist and collectivist discourses such as Social Darwinism and New Liberalism. (20) A notable common feature, however, of all these ideological strands was a tendency to use concepts derived from biology and especially theories of evolution. (21) Of these, the most germane were those which saw society as an evolving organism and, like other organisms, the course of its evolution was marked by the differentiation of its functions. (22)

2.4 Differentiated Schooling.

Applied to schooling, the notion of differentiation which is found in the work of Sadler, Webb, Gorst and Morant was mainly a legitimating device for the reassertion and maintenance of social distinctions within schooling. The fit were to be selected but those that were left were to be schooled in institutions which were to enforce class divisions in a way which was arguably more vigorous than in the pre-Cockerton elementary schools. (23)

Another version of differentiation occurs in J. J. Findlay's work, where it is stripped of its connections with the social organism and is treated as being based on three criteria: firstly, 'growth' or age, secondly, 'inheritance' or differentiation according to the culture of the home and thirdly, 'equipment' by which he meant differentiation within and between schools along the lines of future occupation. (24) The shadow
of class thinking is clearly discernible in the categories of inheritance and equipment but divisions of gender were perhaps more important with regard to growth in its earliest years. In the field of infant care and schooling, as was touched upon in the previous chapter, the first years of this century witnessed a struggle to reconstitute the boundaries of the category of infant schooling and to differentiate more sharply the treatment of the very young from the older infants. This was a struggle which had at its centre the attempted reconstitution of the public and the private with respect to the young of the working class and also a debate over the proper role of working class mothers.

Adherents of national efficiency, with the exception of Webb, saw infants' schools as differentiated by both age and class. Morant's views on the content of elementary schooling were noted in the preceding chapter and Gorst's approach to the schooling of infants was quite similar. In his opinion, the infant school ought to be conducted:

as a nursery, not as a place of learning. The chief employment of the children should be play. No strain should be put on either muscle or brain. They should be treated with patient kindness not beaten with canes.

(25)

The similarities between this conception and that of the Froebelians are abundantly clear and Gorst may have been merely reproducing what most 'advanced' educationists in this area thought was most suited to infants. On the other hand, Gorst, like Morant, was less interested in teaching the Three R's to young working class children than in fostering their physical well-being. (26) Thus the views of the leading supporters of national
efficiency on what should be the content of the schooling of working class infants coalesced with those of the revisionist Froebelians and with Margaret McMillan.

This convergence took place not only around the prior emphasis given to the physical, as opposed to the intellectual requirements of the working class child but also around the question of its social training. Moral education was, according to Gorst, determined by the home not by the school. Other believers in national efficiency were less pessimistic and felt that the moral instruction, which was so necessary to the health of the nation, could usefully be provided by schools. For Darroch, the kindergarten system had particular advantages in this respect. In his case, it is not clear which came first, his support for national efficiency or his support for the kindergarten. But whatever the order, he effected a felicitous union between the emphasis of national efficiency upon moral education and a similar emphasis placed by supporters of the kindergarten. In opposition to the individualism of other forms of pedagogy, Darroch wrote of the kindergarten that it:

\begin{quote}
may rouse and foster in the mind of the child that sense of a corporate life and of a common social spirit the prevalence of which in after-life is the only secure foundation of society. (27)
\end{quote}

With its concern for the health of young working class children, its emphasis on their moralisation and its support for differentiated schooling, national efficiency and kindred collectivist movements were in sympathy with the kind of Froebelian outlook which was being expressed by the revisionists and the free kindergarteners. Moreover, with a leading
supporter of national efficiency as Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education, Froebelians may well have expected a favourable response to their efforts to transform the pedagogy of the infants schools.

3.0 The Code of 1904.

Many of the themes of national efficiency, which have been presented above, may be seen to have found their way into official discourse on schooling during the Morant era. Two characteristics of this discourse stand out. Firstly, for the first time official discourse on schooling was specifically addressed not merely to the pedagogic community but to the nation as a whole. Secondly, enshrined within it was a new view of the purposes of elementary schooling which had as its object not so much the production primarily of workers as the production of citizens. The first point may be illustrated by quoting from Morant's Prefatory Memorandum to the Code of Regulations for Elementary Schools of 1904 which expressed the hope that, in addition to those connected with schooling in a formal capacity:

the code in its new form may be read and understood by the general public also, and especially by the parents of children attending or likely to attend public elementary schools. (28)

Lewis Amherst Selby Bigge, who succeeded Morant as Permanent Secretary in 1911, was of the opinion that it was doubtful that the Code was read by many parents of public elementary school children. He was probably right but what is significant about this Code is its the shift in style from an administrative ukase into a manifesto. For the first time, if only at the level of appearances, consent from the public was sought for an elementary
Chapter II

School Code. Even the colour of the covers of the assorted Regulations were changed and a Prefatory Memorandum was added which was personalized by Morant's signature. The Times captured the 'new turn' when it said of the Code of 1904 itself that:

Now for the first time the Board of Education makes coram populo, in a document that reaches every elementary school teacher and many managers of elementary schools, a profession of educational faith.

(30)

The comments of The Times also touched upon the second point which was identified above and which concerns the object of elementary schooling. In its view, the Board of Education had abandoned the old idea that its functions were financial and administrative, concerned chiefly with securing value for money, and instead the Board had embraced the position that the child should be regarded, 'as the most important consideration'. Moreover, The Times identified one of the more significant breaks with the past which was contained in the Code. For the first time, it noted, official prominence was given to an object which for long had been recognized in the secondary schools, namely 'the formation of character and preparation for life and the duties of citizenship'. (31)

This was a reference to the Introduction to the Code which began by proclaiming that:

The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting
both boys and girls, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life. (32)

There is undoubtedly a danger in putting too much weight on the meanings inscribed within official discourse, particularly that which is contained in the introduction to reports and directives. Frequently it is filled with high flown and noble sentiment which is little more than empty rhetoric intended for consumption by the pedagogic community and some of the public. Thus, the Introduction to the Code of 1904 may be read in a variety of ways. It can be read as the sign of a new direction in the schooling of the working class which, in its references to practical work, health and the formation of the habits of reverence and loyalty, marked the end of an official view which held that a basic schooling in the Three R's was sufficient for the labouring poor. Alternatively, it may be read, as in Eaglesham's memorable description, as proposing a 'training in followership rather than leadership'. (33) These two readings are not mutually incompatible but given the public school flavour of the desired habits which the elementary school was to inculcate, 'self-sacrifice' and the striving for 'purity and truth', for example, there is perhaps substantial warrant for the view that the Introduction was framed with political rather than strictly educational ends in view. In any event this reproduction of traditional, public school values in a novel guise was an acclaimed success. Among those who applauded its high moral tone was Reginald Bray a Labour Councillor on the LCC who welcomed, what he called, the Introduction's, 'substitution of definite and ennobling ideals for the mere tabulation of an assorted collection of subjects of instruction'. (34)
Chapter 11

3.1 Forming Citizens: An Earlier Version.

As was shown in chapter 4, this was not the first occasion on which the state had officially sanctioned elementary school work which went beyond the schemes of instruction or the school knowledge prescribed in the Code. In 1393 also, an appendix to the Revised Instructions entitled 'On Thrift', had declared that a good school is one that seeks 'by many subsidiary expedients to render service to the children, and to exert a right influence on their characters and their aims in life'. (35) In this instance, the Education Department wanted to encourage the opening of 'penny banks' in elementary schools in order to promote; what it called, 'economy' and to encourage the denial of 'trifling present gratification' among the 'industrial classes', most of whose present evils, it opined, were due to 'improvidence and waste'. (36) Little support may be found in this instance for the thesis that bourgeois values were prevented by an all powerful 'aristocracy' from penetrating the apparatuses of the state. On the contrary, 'On Thrift', while holding on to the notion that the formation of character was a desirable object, expounded the distinctly bourgeois view that:

The possession of even a small reserve, or capital, places it in the power of the workman gradually to acquire the ownership of his house or a piece of land, to take a share in an industrial partnership, or to enter on a small business. (37)

Here, as in the old slogan of open a school close a prison, the elementary schools were being regarded as useful instruments of social policy.
3.2 The Effects of the 1902 Settlement in Secondary Schooling.

This representation of the elementary school as an agency for the socialization of the 'industrial classes' into capitalist values and the 1904 Code's ambition of producing 'upright and useful members of the community', (38) bore little resemblance to the role of the elementary school as envisaged by the industrial modernizers. Sadler, in an address to the British Association in 1906, explained that this was because there was a contradiction between the 'new thought' which required schools to 'have a definite relationship to the social and economic position and prospects of the pupils' and the principle that 'every child should be given a chance 'to rise in the world'.(39) The outcome, as he saw it in a formulation which gave to schools considerable autonomy, was that schools, unable to resolve this contradiction, increasingly adopted 'moral tone' as their 'criterion of educational efficiency'.(40)

Ingenious as this explanation was it failed to expand upon the main plank in the settlement which he, alongside Morant and others, had helped to construct. The state regulated secondary schools, which the Act of 1902 created, were charged in the Regulations for Secondary Schools with providing, 'a general education, physical, mental and moral'.(41) This triumph of the generalists over the specialists represented a victory for Morant and Sadler as well as the institutions of the private sphere, the public schools and ancient universities, over the industrial modernizers. While both groupings demanded the production of experts there was little agreement between them as to how this could be best achieved. This victory of the generalist conception was important because the content of secondary schooling, the knowledge secondary schools
transmitted and that which they held to be of most worth, was that which shaped the curriculum of the elementary school. This was not solely a question of the emulation of prestigious schools but it was also, to an extent - which increased rapidly after the introduction of the Free Place Regulations in 1907- an effect of the forging of a scholarship link between the elementary and secondary levels. This was signalled in the famous paragraph in the Introduction to the Code of 1904 which spoke of the need to discover of individual children who showed, 'promise of exceptional capacity' so that they might pass on to secondary schools.

The requirement that the elementary school should discover and develop the 'special gifts' of those who were to be prepared for secondary schooling implied a species of child centredness which was geared to differentiation or to the fitting of schooling to what Sadler called the child's 'aptitude and promise'. This version of child centredness is also visible in Sadler's question of whether, in the elementary schools, there was a tendency to 'treat quite different types of children too much alike' and his suggestion that the 'sifting out of the defective children' was a process which could be carried much further. This variety of child centredness was one which built upon strategies to separate the residuum from the respectable poor and the eugenists' 'fit' from the 'unfit' to create what Hargreaves rather appositely has called a 'meritocratic individualism'.

4.0 The 'Handbook of Suggestions'.
In addition to the purpose of selection, child centredness, in its form of non-authoritarian relations between teachers and taught, was also
officially encouraged as a means of forming character. The most complete
expression of this came in another of Morant's innovations, the
Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned in the
Work of Public Elementary Schools.(47) This appeared first in 1905 and
was aimed, as its title suggests, mainly at teachers. The form that it
took was that of a commentary on the Code, in a way that was similar to
that which, in the past, had been the province of the Instructions to
Inspectors which it replaced. In the Suggestions, the task of the teacher
was described, in rather Deweyean language, as one of calling into play
the natural activities of the children and developing in them a sense of
their powers. In order to do this, it was said that the teacher, 'must
know the children and must sympathise with them' for the 'essence of
teaching' was that, 'the mind of the teacher should touch the mind of the
child'. (48) This was a memorable 'slogan' which like all good slogans
was capable of bearing a wide variety of interpretations. At the same
time it is both sentimental and faintly sinister. It may be seen as
sinister when set aside the discussion of discipline and punishment in
the Introduction which was written by Morant. There, Morant declared that,
'order, diligence and obedience' if secured only by punishment was not good
discipline and fear of punishment was not compatible with good teaching.
(49) The 'most effective agent' for securing good discipline, in his view,
was 'the personal sympathy between teacher and class'. (50) Classroom
control based on psychic subjection or the winning of consent rather than
coercion was also recommended as the most effective by the Froebelian,
Caroline Herford (51) but this is not proof of the operation of a direct
Froebelian 'influence'. Morant's formulation may just as easily been arrived

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at by way of his political position which held that the many ignorant needed to submit themselves voluntarily to the guidance of the wise.

In this case, then, as with the schooling of the working class young, affinities are detectable between the position of the Froebelians and that of Morant. As a consequence it appears reasonable to suggest that Morant and the others who have been considered here helped to create an ideological climate favourable to the Froebelians and specifically favourable to their pedagogy being incorporated by the state into its schools for young children.

4.1 The Role of Teachers in the Suggestions.

Among the ranks of the wise, as far as the working class were concerned, may be placed teachers who, as Morant continually stressed, would, if adequately trained, 'be an immensely important factor' in the life of the nation for they were able to:

render services, out of all proportion to their number in the population, in the performance of the common duties of citizenship. (52)

This view of a future body of trained teachers, who had received in the new schools a secondary education, bringing culture to the working class and leading them by moral precept contains echoes of the settlement movement but unlike that movement it implied not voluntarism but a state sponsored profession. A necessary step in that direction and also one in the direction of a situation in which a child's needs could be diagnosed and met, was the granting of a degree of teacher autonomy. Thus Morant declared, in a formulation which was widely welcomed, (53) that:
The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools is that each teacher shall think for himself, and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his powers to the best advantage and be suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. (54)

As was noted in chapter 7, several of the teachers who took this literally found that the Board was less than liberal in its interpretation of what 'constituted teachers' autonomy. However, as far as the content of the Suggestions was concerned, the official line was that the new relations which were advocated between teacher and taught were to be paralleled by a new relation between the state and its teachers.

In summary the Suggestions gave support to a form of elementary schooling in which intellectual attainment for the many was given a lower priority than the formation of character. It also encouraged pedagogic practices which were child-centred and it promised freedom in the choice of teaching methods to teachers. Thus, at this most general of its levels, the Suggestions may be seen as encouraging conditions which were favourable to the Froebel movement.

4.2 On the Instruction of Infants.

In contrast to the other sections that of the Suggestions which referred to the instruction of infants had a curiously dated air about it. While it was recognizably in sympathy with a Froebelian position it was written as if the debates involving Dewey and the revisionists had never occurred. This is not such a difficult matter to explain once the section on
infants is read in conjunction with Circular 322 of 1893. It then becomes clear that the section in the Suggestions on infants is merely Circular 322 refurbished. In the Board’s internal discussions concerning the content of the Suggestions there is no evidence at all of any debate having taken place about the schooling of infants. (55) Consequently, it is difficult to sustain Whitbread’s judgement that this section of the Suggestions reflects a ‘minor break-through’ in infant education as it all it reflects is the Board of Education’s unwillingness or inability to revise radically its policy statement of 1893. (56)

The reaction of the anonymous reviewer of the Suggestions in Child Life was enthusiastic, which was unsurprising given that once more the Froebelian position on pedagogy, albeit an unreconstructed one, was confirmed in official discourse as the most appropriate one for the education of infants. (57) The unnamed reviewer in the Paidologist sounded a critical note, a portent of things to come, by pointing out that large classes were a major obstacle to the implementation of the recommendations contained in the Suggestions. (58)

As was also the case with the Circulars discussed in chapter 6, the reaction of HMI to the suggestions regarding the schooling of infants was also important. For without the support of the inspectorate the policy had little chance of implementation. No accurate survey of HMI attitudes is possible but some, albeit fragmentary, evidence is provided in the responses to the Suggestions which were made by a handful of inspectors. These were to form the basis of a revised edition. Until 1927, no such revision with respect to the section on infants was made and therefore the inspectors observations were of limited usefulness to the Board but,
overall, their tone was supportive of the line taken in the Suggestions. Two themes in these observations of the inspectors are discernible. Firstly, it was desirable that the methods of the infants' schools and departments be adopted by the lower classes of the Senior Departments and secondly, that these lower classes be taught by women. In the view of these inspectors, it was not so much the Froebelian pedagogy which created what HMI Ernest Wix termed, 'the happy life of the infants school' but the presence of women playing a maternal role. This assumption helped to keep open the door for Article 68's and other unqualified teachers for as HMI Loftus Monro, repeating a familiar old saw, argued, the infant teacher was 'made so by nature chiefly and not so much by any course of study or training'. Thus, despite some support for the revolution in discourse several HMI, as in the past, clung to some familiar, traditional notions about infant schooling and about the role of women within it.

5.0 The Women Inspectors.

Gender divisions were also important in shaping the relations between the Froebelians and the state during the last years of the period considered in this study. Virtually at the very moment when Froebelian ambitions to gain the support of the educational apparatus of the state for its pedagogy appeared fulfilled, a gaping chasm was revealed between the Board of Education's rhetoric and the practice of infant schooling. This revelation appeared at the same time as the decision of the Board of Education to permit the exclusion of the under fives from the elementary schools, a decision which heralded the onset of a period of hostile relations between the Board and the Froebelians. Interleaved with the
dispute over the schooling of young children was a sharp conflict over women's claims to expertise in the field of infant schooling and the boundaries between the public and the private spheres with respect to the family. At the centre of this conflict was a Report which had been prepared by four women HMI and in order to situate the episode within a context shaped primarily by the sexual division of labour it is necessary to discuss briefly the origin and role of the women's inspectorate.

From the 1880's, the larger school boards employed women in posts with advisory and inspection functions. In 1893, for example, following the appearance of Circular 322, the Salford school board appointed a former head as an 'organizing mistress' with responsibility for the kindergarten system. Similarly, at Liverpool, a 'female Inspector of Schools' was appointed whose duties included the production of 'Hints on Introducing the Kindergarten into English Infant Schools'. (62)

The Education Department, on the other hand was more reticent about employing women as inspectors. Before the Cross Commission, Miss A. M. Castle a National School head, had suggested that women, rather than men, should inspect infant schools, the lower standards and girls' departments. (63) Fearing that such a move, which would require women to travel unescorted, might lead to impropriety, the Cross Majority rejected the suggestion and opined that there were: serious practical difficulties in the employment of women on the staff of inspectors, where much travelling is required. (64)
However, in 1883, the Education Department had appointed Miss Emily Jones to inspect needlework, which for girls had been a compulsory subject since 1862. Her title, significantly, was not that of inspector but 'Directress of Needlework'. A woman HMI entitled the Inspectress of Cookery and Laundry was finally appointed in 1890 in order to deal with the increasing numbers of girls offering those subjects but, like Miss Jones', post this also was a temporary appointment. The first permanent post as an inspector at the Department to be gained by a woman was awarded to the Hon. Mrs Colborne who succeeded Miss Jones in 1894. Her appointment was followed by that of four other women in 1896 as sub-inspectors. Their duties were to assist the inspectors, to whose districts they were attached, in their work in girls and infants departments. By 1903, six women held the rank of junior inspector of elementary schools.

In the previous year, the Froebelian, Maria Findlay had suggested that the British Association Committee which was investigating, 'The Conditions of Health Essential to the Carrying on of the Work of Instruction in Schools', should conduct an inquiry into, 'the need for appointment of women inspectors for schools'. Following this, a sub-committee was appointed which reported in 1903. This sub-committee found that there was a need for more women inspectors and it drew upon evidence obtained from teachers by an Inspector for the West Riding, Alice Ravenhill (1859-1954). An advocate of 'social maternalism' who had connections with the Froebelians, Ravenhill was a eugenicist who specialised in public health, hygiene, nutrition and child care. Her evidence to the sub-committee of the British Association cited instances of underground classrooms where the air was foul and a babies' room where the temperature rarely rose.
above 48°F for several weeks during the winter of 1902. On the basis of such evidence, Ravenhill concluded that:

a woman inspector would be more alive than male inspectors have shown themselves to be to the deteriorating influences exercised upon health by these and similar conditions of work. (69)

In the Report of the British Association's sub-committee two points were prominent. The first was that there existed, as Maria Findlay and Alice Ravenhill had suggested, an area of work to do with child care which should be reserved exclusively for women. The second point, which was a corollary of the first, was that the male inspectors lacked competence, not only with regard to the schooling of girls and infants but also, in the area described as the 'practical knowledge of hygiene'. In some respects, this objection echoed that of the NUT which persistently criticised the inspectorate on the grounds that its staff lacked any first hand experience of elementary schooling. (70)

Among the reorganizations that Xorant initiated, after his appointment to the Board of Education in 1903, the inspectorate was one of the first. The most pertinent change was that of the creation of the post of Chief Woman inspector, which was awarded to the Hon. Maude Lawrence, formerly a member of both the London School Board and the Education Committee of the LCC. (71) Her appointment was followed by that of four women inspectors whom she herself selected and the promotion of the existing women junior inspectors to the rank of HXI. These women were instructed to, 'undertake inspection and inquiry into all matters specially needing the scrutiny and advice of a woman...' (72) Despite being given the rank of HMI, however,
they were not awarded equal pay and neither were they given responsibility for a particular district as their male colleagues were.

6.0 Reports on Children Under Five Years of Age in Public Elementary Schools.

Barely a month after the reorganization, in 1904, five of the new women inspectors were set the task of inquiring into 'the age of admission of infants to Public Elementary Schools and the curriculum suitable for very young children'. (73) The reasons why this remit was given have not been established with any degree of certainty. That it was regarded as a 'women's issue' is beyond doubt and it may also have been selected merely in order to occupy the new HMI. On the other hand, as the number of older children on the registers began to grow, and as the steady increase in the number of the under fives showed no signs of abating, pressure on school places was, in some areas, becoming acute and a report hostile to the continued attendance of the under fives would have helped alleviate some of that pressure. (74)

At least three of the five women HMIs chosen had previously been employed as Junior Inspectors. (75) In the view of, Katharine Bathurst who was one of those selected, the change of designation was resented. As a Junior Inspector, she argued, she had held the same rank, she had done the same work and was possessed with the same chances of promotion as the male Junior Inspectors. This, she argued, was not the case now that she was an HMI and, in addition, neither was she able to inspect schools as before because as a woman HMI her duties were 'purely advisory'. (76) Moreover, she held that the women HMI were in an anomalous position as they were free to report on a division to Cyril Jackson, the Chief Inspector for
Public Elementary Schools, without the Divisional Inspector having the right to alter their reports as was the practice in other branches of the HMI. Finally, Bathurst disliked the change because in her new role she appeared to teachers and other inspectors to care only for 'premises, health and recreation' and if teachers acted on her advice on these matters then it was likely that other HMI would condemn them. (77)

Added to these tensions, caused by the unequal treatment of the women HMI, were others to do with the fact that they were nearly all, in varying degrees of commitment, Froebelians and as a consequence highly critical of what they observed. This combination ensured that their report was highly controversial. That this was the case, was signalled by Cyril Jackson's Introductory Memorandum to the 'Reports on Children Under Five Years of Age', which began by noting that among the inspectors:

there is complete unanimity that the children between the ages of three and five get practically no intellectual advantage from school instruction. (78)

By making the criterion that of 'intellectual advantage' Jackson ignored completely the main reasons why children under five were sent to school and the received wisdom of the Board itself. Expanding his point, Jackson added that:

The children admitted later can in six months or a year reach the same standard of attainment as those who have been in the school for two years previously. (79)

The position of the Board could hardly have been made clearer, the under fives ought to be refused admission despite the fact that what the inspectors had shown was that their criticisms were not directed at
admission policies but at the inappropriate pedagogy employed in the schools attended by the under fives. This Jackson was clearly aware of as he noted that:

There is little doubt in the minds of all these Inspectors that these little children should have no formal instruction in the three R's, but plenty of opportunities for free expression. (80)

The conclusion drawn by Jackson from the inspectors' findings was one which suited the general policy of differentiation. Children under five from 'good homes' with 'careful mothers' should be excluded from school altogether but in the slums where the homes were 'poor' and mothers had to work, Jackson felt that, 'to attend school is better for the babies than to stay away'. (81) However, as the inspectors had condemned, almost outright, the existing school provision for the under fives, Jackson considered that 'a new form of school is necessary for poor children' and that such children should be sent to 'nursery schools rather than schools of instruction'. (82)

Regarding the staffing of such schools, Jackson emphasised the finding of the inspectors that in London, where almost every teacher was trained and certificated, the results were inferior to those schools where the teachers were undistinguished in examinations but were 'motherly girls'. (83) While admitting that Infant teachers required special training, Jackson opined that:

under present circumstances might not two Supplementary Teachers of good motherly instincts be as good for sixty
babies between three and five years of age as one ex-
collegian. (84)

Such girls had an additional advantage, in Jackson's view, over trained
teachers in that they 'would not expect or need so high a salary' as
them. There is little doubt that, whatever the motives for initiating the
inquiry, the Board, faced with diminishing funds as a consequence of the
Boer War, seized the opportunity presented by the Reports to engage in an
cost cutting exercise. (85) In order to assess how that conclusion was
reached it is necessary to discuss the Reports themselves.

6.1 The Inspectors on Froebelian Practices.

The fact that the women inspectors commented upon the extent to which
Froebelian practices were observed in the schools and adopted Froebelian
criteria themselves is indicative of the extent to which, in civil society
and among women educationalists, Froebelian ideas and practices were
hegemonic. One of the most striking aspects of the Reports, however, is
the extent to which they reveal what little impact on school practices the
Froebelians and the Board's policies had made. Official rhetoric and the
often quoted observation of R. E. Hughes, made in 1902, that 'in the best
of the English infant schools a profound revolution of method has taken
place during recent years', were severely questioned by the Reports. Miss
Nunday, for example, in her report expressed surprise at the small number
of teachers in London who held the Higher Certificate of the NFW or who
had been trained at the Froebel Educational Institute. (86) In her view,
heads would not employ Froebel trained teachers as they suspected that
they could not cope with large numbers. Other heads were said to be afraid
that the Froebel trained teachers, 'would not understand the routine of an
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By 1901, nearly every elementary school 'and would thus be unable to take the babies to Standard 1 in all the subjects provided on the Time Table. (87)

As far as the Froebelian practices were concerned, Miss Munday reported that:

Kindergarten games and occupations as practised in the majority of infant schools are merely following the letter of Froebelian teaching and not his spirit... (88)

In this she was at one with the revisionist Froebelians; as she also was when she attacked the 'Gifts' as being no longer suited to the present age and added that:

had he lived in the present century and seen the variety and excellence of school books, materials, and toys and games, I feel sure he would never have invented his "Gifts" or games. (89)

Miss Bathurst concurred with Miss Munday's criticisms of the use of the kindergarten apparatus which she said was found in, 'nearly every elementary school'. (90) She recommended that both teachers and inspectors should be trained in the use of kindergarten methods as without such training, she thought that the distribution of kindergarten apparatus would have little effect. (91)

It is already evident that the Women Inspectors regarded the schools which they had visited through a lens of preconceptions about what constituted good practice. That these preconceptions were class bound and formed in places other than the elementary schools was made clear by Bathurst who included in her report, a copy of the time table of a 'baby class' in a Secondary School as a model of what ought to be done. In this...
class no child learned to read before the age of six but six months after they began, she claimed, they were equal in reading ability to 'the average elementary school child'. (92) In mitigation, she did note that there were only eight children in the class, none of whom were ill-fed or poorly clothed. (93) Miss Heale's report, by contrast, was more sensitive to the point that what was possible at the Froebel Educational Institute may not be so in the elementary schools. In her view, the Froebelian games which she observed were 'monotonous' and as space in the school that she observed was restricted, they were more suited to the Froebel Educational Institute. (94) Among the inspectors only Miss Callis reported encountering any good Froebelian practice in elementary schools. She had inspected twenty one schools in Barry, Cardiff, Newport and Swansea as well as seventeen in London. Despite the London schools having a higher proportion of certificated teachers than the Welsh ones, seven of the teachers in Wales, all employed by the Barry Council, were Froebel trained. (95) Miss Callis commented that the combination of the certificated teachers, who had long experience of large classes and the Froebelian teachers, who had a 'wider knowledge of the principles underlying the education of young children', was an 'eminently successful' one. (96) However, Miss Callis' account of the kindergarten classes that she had observed were marked more by advocacy than sober description. Thus within the classes she detected, 'a happy, wholesome spirit of freedom and activity' which she attributed to the way the teachers assisted, 'the natural unfolding of their powers,
mental and physical, by surrounding them with a suitable environment'.

(97)

6.2 On the Schooling of the Under Fives.

Given the ideological attachment of the inspectors, their account of what actually occurred in the schools that they observed needs to be treated with some caution. For Miss Munday, the dominant pedagogy was that which she termed 'instruction'. (98) The fullest description of this was provided by Miss Bathurst but her report was prefaced by the extraordinary and unprecedented warning from the Board that it contained, 'many statements the accuracy of which is at least, open to question...'. (99) Against each contentious statement in her report, Morant, or someone acting on his authority, (100) had written notes which presented the official version. In addition, Miss Bathurst contributed two reports, the second of which was said by the Board to contain much that was irrelevant to the subject that she had been asked to report on. (101) As she resigned from the Board immediately after presenting the second or supplementary report, she was, according to Sir John Gorst, in the unique position of being able to speak the truth. (102)

The truth that she spoke, however, had a familiar ring to it. In one class, for example, she wrote that:

The talk is done by the teacher, not by the child, the subject and meaning are fixed by her explanation, and only one child at a time may respond to a question. (103)

At another school she began her notes with the remark, 'another marked instance of my disagreement with infant methods'. (104) What she was objecting to was a method which required each child to continuously repeat
single words and she wrote of the school that it was a 'terrible' one where:

Children are treated like machines. They don't budge an eyelid. Only severity can produce such results in such an atmosphere. Ventilation shocking. Babies who don't look three were made to stand thirty minutes without stirring for singing and recitation. When standing the toes of each foot had to be parallel to those of the other... (105)

Miss Munday's report recorded a similar situation and concluded that home was a better place for the young child than the gallery stack in which:

If he has the misfortune to be one of the middle children [...] he will not be the fortunate one to be brought out to make an O on teacher's blackboard or to handle and smell the solitary apple used for the object lesson. (106)

Such hand work as there was in these conditions only led, she said, to the practice of 'self-repression and obedience' for any hand work was done 'strictly to order'. (107) Miss Heale also spoke of the object lesson which was, in her view, 'generally a failure' as the teacher talked too much and told children things that they ought to have found out for themselves. (108)

6.3 Explanations for the Persistence of 'Instruction'.

For the existence of such methods Miss Heale blamed 'outside pressures' which expected children to quickly reach high standards of attainment rather than the teachers who practised them. (109) Miss Munday, on the
other hand, inclined more towards the view that the teachers were responsible for treating the younger children in a way similar to the methods they employed with the older ones. Responsibility for such practices, in the opinion of Bathurst, lay unequivocally with the inspectorate which she described as a, 'multitude of men all striving for attainments, all ignorant of the most elementary laws of health'. (110) Elsewhere, she argued that:

By appointing men inspectors and placing the six women inspectors in subordinate positions where their views, if heard at all, could be ignored, the whole atmosphere of infant schools has been made into that of a forcing house for the schools for older scholars. (111)

Logically, the way towards the reform of the infant schools, in her view, lay in the appointment of women inspectors who had medical or Froebelian qualifications because, like Findlay and Ravenhill who were cited above, Bathurst believed that, 'nature and nurture alike point out women as more fitted than men to deal with the details of a little child's life'. (112)

By focussing on HMI, Bathurst incurred a certain amount of hostility from the Board but by so doing she also provided some insight into the relations of power between the state and civil society which existed in the field of schooling. Specifically, she charged the Board of Education with the manipulation of HMI reports. As was seen in the preceding chapter, such practices did occur and she cited a case in which, for political reasons, a critical report had been altered in order not to offend a 'philanthropic nobleman'. (113) Referring to her own experience, Bathurst claimed that:
Throughout my official career I have pleaded in vain for rational treatment of baby classes, and for maternal rather than military discipline. The reports did not represent these views, but those of the HMI. (114)

As has been noted in chapter 6, neither the Education Department nor the Board of Education which succeeded it were monolithic arms of the state. Within both, internal divisions were frequent. But those aside, what Katharine Bathurst drew attention to was the relative powerlessness of the Board when confronted with well entrenched private interests. While the Board could, by means of the Codes, specify what should be taught it could not ensure that what it said ought to be taught was done so.

6.4 The Pathology of the Slum Child.

Less controversial were the views expressed by the Women Inspectors about the 'slum child'. As was seen in the last chapter, the slum child was, at the turn of the century, a recently constructed target of intervention but most critically, it became firmly linked to the debate about the schooling of the under fives. The distaste for the child rearing practices that they observed in the homes of the children was conveyed by the inspectors in language similar to that used by the free kindergarteners. While they condemned unhygienic living conditions and practices, it was the food given to the slum children which provoked nearly as much horror and incomprehension. Miss Munday, for example, relied on the testimony of the headmistresses who told her that for many children:

Snacks of strongly flavoured fried fish and potatoes form the staple articles of diet and are the most
appreciated, with unwholesome sweets and germ-laden ice-creams as luxuries. (115)

This evidence was confirmed by Miss Munday who administered, in child study fashion, a questionnaire, to infants in 'a slum area', asking which foods they would choose if given a penny to spend. (116) She also examined the contents of dust bins in order to accumulate further evidence of the diet of the poor. The extent to which class attitudes among HMI had altered since the time of those quoted in chapter 4 may be discerned in the following description which found that:

In the suburbs, in the streets inhabited by the careful clerk and better class artisan, well-sifted cinders and no cooked food thrown away as waste characterise the bins. In the slum areas, on the contrary, large unsifted cinders may be seen, with, in addition, cold potatoes and pieces of bread - thrown away. (117)

In the slums, at nearly every doorway, Miss Munday observed what she called 'dirty unkempt women gossiping with each other'. (118) For Miss Munday, and the Headmistresses whom she cited, such women were responsible for the condition of their children as it was not because they went to work but because of their, 'laziness and craving for drink and pleasure' which led them to provide not most frequently, insufficient food for their children but unsuitable food. (119) The inadequacy of these mothers extended, according to Miss Munday, to their inability to repair or make their children's clothes. This was because, she reported, the mothers preferred to 'buy cheap flashy new ready-made articles or soiled second-hand finery to making new garments'. (120)
6.5 Recommendations and Policies.

For Miss Munday and Miss Bathurst the solution to such conditions were 'national nurseries' (121) staffed not by students 'of Bain or Herbert Spencer' but by:

- young bright girls without high attainments, fond of children, sympathetic, nice mannered and sweet-voiced,
- patient and firm, with the idea of ministry and service to the children as their chief aim rather than the teaching of them.(122)

Miss Callis and Miss Heale, on the other hand, felt that, in poor neighbourhoods, schools run on Froebelian lines were the best places for the three year olds. (123) The Board of Education took a different view for before the Reports on Children Under Five Years of Age were published, the Board in the Code of 1905 permitted local authorities to exclude from their schools children under five years of age if they wished. The reasons given were that the school attendance of children under the age of five was dangerous on health grounds, an argument which had been promoted by Dr Francis Warner among others. It was also argued, as had Miss Munday, that children who did not attend school before the age of six compared favourably in attainments with those that did. (124)

7.0 The Froebel Movement and the Politics of Infant Schooling.

The effect of Article 53 of the Code which allowed the exclusion of the under fives from school was immediate and by 1910-11 the proportion of the three to five age cohort in school had nearly halved.(125) Another effect of the exclusion was the entry of the Froebel Society and the Child Study organizations into political activity, debate and agitation over the
education of the child under five. As early as 1904 a conference arranged jointly by the Bradford local education authority, the West Riding County Council and the Froebel Society had been held at Bradford to consider 'the need for nursery schools for children from three to five years now attending the Public Elementary Schools'. (126) This conference resolved, that for the under fives:

The best solution of the difficulty would be to remove all the children under five years of age out of the infants schools and put them into special "nursery schools", where the methods and conditions could be specially adapted to their tender age.(127)

At the same time as urging the exclusion of young children from the elementary schools as a long-term objective, the Froebel Society advised local education authorities on how best to improve their organization of their 'babies' classes'. (128)

Early in 1905, a joint memorial of the Manchester branch of the Froebel Society and the Manchester branch of the Child-Study Association was sent to the education committees of Manchester and Salford. The memorial expressed the view that:

There is a consensus of opinion among all educationalists that little children between the ages of three and five years should not be subjected to the ordinary conditions of school, but should be allowed to develop freely under cheerful sympathetic guidance.(129)

This memorial also contained six suggestions which were concerned with the age of transfer, the curriculum, the extent of instruction and the
inspection of classes containing children under five years of age. Among the signatories of the memorial were the Froebelians, Caroline Herford and Sir William Mather. J. J. Findlay was also a signatory.

In Birmingham, however, at a meeting of the Birmingham branch of the Child Study Association a local infant school Head, Miss A. S. Byett, argued for the raising of the minimum age of attendance at school to five years of age. In the following year, Miss Byett repeated her demand at the annual meeting of the Child Study Association. As well as objecting to the conditions which existed in the infant schools, she felt that school attendance of the under fives encouraged parents to shirk their responsibilities and that the home was best for such children as there they would be free from constraint. At the same time she called for the reform of infant schools and she demanded:

more space, more sunlight, more air, smaller classes,
abolition of galleries, comfortable seats, accommodation
for play, a generous allowance of toys, picture books,
and flowers, and the beautifying of the school and playground.

The debate was intensified following the appearance of first the Code of 1905 and then the Reports of the Women Inspectors. The head of the Manchester Kindergarten Training College, Margaret Wroe, argued that the decision to exclude the under fives had not been reached on educational grounds but was a result of, 'financial difficulties, scarceness of teachers, [and] concessions to rate payers'. She also pleaded for the continued attendance at school of the under fives on the grounds that the methods used to teach them, 'influences the methods and management of
the succeeding classes' and that it was easier to 'reach' their mothers if they were in attendance. (134) In addition, she put forward the view that if young children were allowed to attend school then teachers would be able to discover, 'physical defects, unwise clothing, bad habits, [and] immoral influences at work'. (135) She concluded her argument by declaring that:

The cause of education will have lost much ground if the opportunity of influencing the home is weakened. (136)

The Manchester branches of the Froebel Society and the Child Study Association adopted a similar stance in a memorial which they presented to the Board of Education in 1906. In their memorial they stated that they were, 'convinced that the reform of the infants schools, and not the exclusion of the children, is what is required'. (137)

8.0 The Consultative Committee Report.

The controversy engendered by the Board of Education's decision to allow the exclusion of the under fives from school was potentially politically damaging, particularly as no money was made available by the state to support the existing free kindergartens or provide the new nurseries which some of the Women Inspectors had recommended. As well as opposition from the Froebel Society and the Child Study Association, the Liberal Government was under pressure from the Independent Labour Party (ILP) which, while it did not take up this specific issue, was demanding a number of measures under the general heading of 'the state maintenance of school children'. (138) As the person in the ILP most closely involved in this area, Margaret McMillan's views were virtually those of the ILP. In her ILP pamphlet which was cited in the previous chapter, Margaret
McMillan argued that many children had no home worthy of the name and such 'human' education as they could get had to be got in school or nowhere. (139)

The Board's strategy during this period when faced with controversy, such as that over the higher elementary schools, (140) was to attempt to defuse an issue by referring it to the Consultative Committee, a corporatist body which had originated in Sadler's manoeuvres to prevent the public schools from becoming too closely scrutinised by the state. (141) Thus Morant, in explaining the Board's reasoning behind the submission of the reference to the Consultative Committee of an inquiry 'on discouraging attendance or not of children under five', (142) told Acland, who was the Committee's Chair, that McKenna, the President of the Board, felt that 'this question of children under five is of real importance for the Board's administration'. (143)

In order to carry out the terms of the Board's reference, the Consultative Committee established a sub-committee of six, which included the Froebelian, Principal of Stockwell Training College, Lydia Manley and Isabel Cleghorn, a Sheffield Head and an NUT activist with Froebelian connections. (144)

In its Report the Consultative Committee expressed the view that the home was the best place for the training of three to five year olds as it, 'afforded advantages for the early stages of education which cannot be reproduced by any school or public institution'. (145) But the Committee recognized that a suitable home, in which the mental and physical development of young children could be properly secured, was 'far from being universally attainable' and that the 'condition of English working-
class life must be 'taken as it is found'. (146) From this recognition it concluded that for children whose home conditions were 'imperfect' it was necessary that 'some public authority' should provide opportunities in the form of 'Nursery Schools' for the early training of 'little children'. (147) Such schools, thought the Committee, would not impair 'the right development of home life' but would promote and encourage it. Like Lileen Hardy, the Committee looked forward to a situation in which the imperfect home conditions would no longer exist and the responsibility for training the child would be restored to the family. (148) However, unlike her and the Women Inspectors, the blame for the imperfect home was not ascribed to maternal ignorance and fecklessness alone but to poor accommodation and working mothers. (149)

Left alone during the day, children from imperfect homes, in the view of the Committee, risked physical dangers and 'very serious adverse moral influences'. (150) Thus the most important of the advantages of the Nursery Schools were those which had to do with moral rescue and the provision of moral training. (151) In this, the Nursery School was to do for the child what 'a mother, able to fulfil her duties to the utmost would do'. (152) In this respect, the Froebelian pedagogy based as it was on an idealized home, was the most appropriate for young children and not that which the Committee criticised as the 'old-fashioned methods of teaching' which, it said, still lingered in many Public Elementary Schools. (153) Hence, the Committee recommended that in the Nursery Schools, children's 'natural instinct for movement' was not to be unduly checked. They should have free play in the open air whenever possible; there should be no rigid time-table; lessons should include singing, recitation and some of 'the
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Kindergarten gifts and games and varied occupations' and there should be no formal lessons in the Three R's. (154)

Fused with this curriculum were elements derived from medical and Eugenic discourses. Nursery Schools, the Committee recommended, should be designed to take account of young children's dependence, 'upon light, air and sunshine'. Heavy desks and galleries, which were held to be 'injurious' to the physical development of children were not to be used and floors were to be made of a substance easily washed. The Committee also recommended, in conformity with the vogue for fresh air, (155) that playgrounds should be partly covered so that the children could be taken out in rain and hot sunshine.

Given the Froebelian complexion of the proposed curriculum of the Nursery Schools it was unsurprising that the Committee thought that the best person to manage a Nursery School would be 'a well-educated teacher who has been trained on Froebelian principles in the widest sense of the term'.(156) In order to increase the supply of such teachers, the Committee also recommended that the local authorities arrange classes in kindergarten methods for existing teachers.(157) The content of appropriate courses was provided by Grace Owen who appeared as a witness before the Committee. Given the number of suggestions made by her which also appear in the Report, it may be inferred that Owen was an influential witness who was regarded as an expert in the field of infant training.

In contrast to the Women Inspectors, and as befitted a Froebelian lecturer, Owen urged the necessity of having trained teachers in the Nursery Schools and not simply young girls who had just left school. (158) On the content
of such a training, in addition to providing an account of the Manchester University certificate for infants' teachers, she gave an outline of her own training scheme which contained a large element devoted to the study of biology and genetic psychology and under the heading of 'Modern Educational Theory', she proposed that a special study be made of Froebel's work. (159) Significantly, instead of gifts and occupations she proposed a section on 'Constructive Occupations' which made her scheme Froebelian, 'in the widest sense of the term'. (160)

8.1 Reactions to the Report.

When the Report entitled School Attendance Of Children Below The Age Of Five, was published in 1908, the Chair of the Council of the Froebel Society, Claude Montefiore, wrote to the Board of Education informing it that the Froebel Society was greatly pleased by the tenor of the Report. (161) Henrietta Brown Smith, who along with other revisionist Froebelians had conducted a survey for the Consultative Committee of educational provision for young children in fourteen countries, (162) called the Report, 'one of the most human and progressive documents'. (163) Endorsing the recommendation of the Report that the proposed Nursery Schools were to be attached to existing Public Elementary Schools, Margaret McMillan implicitly criticised the free kindergartens by telling the Sheffield branch of the Froebel Society that, 'there have been trial schools for the poor' but that they isolated children as 'a kind of second-rate material' which was 'alien' to the spirit of Froebel. She concluded her talk however, with the appeal, 'let the teachers of the people's schools become true Froebelians'. (164)
In the following year, the LCC inspector W.H. Winch, who since 1905 had been on unpaid leave studying the applications of psychology, came to the aid of all local authorities perturbed by the Report's recommendations by presenting his findings that children who attended school at the age of three were no more advanced than those who did not attend until the age of five. (165)

9.0 The Moment of Montessori.

The first decade of the Twentieth Century was one in which the Froebel movement was able to make most ground. Its position in the colleges was strong and its adherents were called regularly by state bodies to give evidence on the schooling of young children. But by 1910, the movement was under threat from the followers of Montessori. Space precludes more than a cursory reference to the Montessori movement in England. Its pertinence here lies in the effect which it had on the Froebel movement. Despite the evident reverse inflicted on the Froebel movement by the decision of the Board of Education to, first of all, permit the exclusion of the under fives from school and then fail to provide or support any alternative provision, Froebelian hegemony over the field of theories of infant schooling remained unchallenged. As has been seen, this hegemony was not only located within the training colleges but it penetrated the state educational apparatus itself in the form of the Women Inspectors. However, from 1909 onwards England was hit by a tidal wave of descriptions and accounts of the 'Montessori Method' most of which challenged the hegemony of the Froebelians in the field of the education of the young.
The success of Montessori in capturing so much attention was due in part to the support that she received from powerful figures in the pedagogical community like Edmond Holmes. It is conceivable that had she not been so autocratic and permitted others to have transmitted her ideas and practices in training institutions that the Froebel movement would have been swept aside. However, the Montessori movement was littered with splits and fierce factionalism due to her insistence that she personally should 'licence' teachers of her method. As it was, the monuments of the Montessori movement, aside from an avalanche of texts, were few and consist mainly in the Gipsy Hill Training College which was started by Holmes' neo-Montessorian, New Ideals in Education group and the implementation of her method in many infant schools.

Aside from the legitimacy conferred upon her by the Board of Education, other factors, having to do with the content of her method, played a major role in securing Montessori her support. Many of the themes which she orchestrated bore a close resemblance to those of the Froebelians. Her methods, which she derived from the French physicians Itard and Séguin were developed while teaching mentally handicapped children and consequently paid great attention to sense training. Fused with this formative experience was that of directing a 'Children's House' in a refurbished tenement in a slum district in Rome. In Montessori's descriptions of this work most of the elements present in the free kindergarten movement and the nursery school of Margaret McMillan are evident and the 'Children's House' may be regarded as an Italian manifestation of the settlement movement, which as has been shown was widespread within the industrialized countries at that time.
Where Montessori differed most from the Froebelians was in her claims to be scientific. As has been seen, the Froebelians made great efforts to give their ideas and practices a scientific gloss but Montessori was herself a trained scientist and while her writings are heavily laden with religious symbolism, her claims to scientificity are prominent and, more importantly, were generally accepted. (172) Secondly, she advocated the teaching of reading and writing to young children which was anathema to Froebelians of all factions but was nevertheless more in line with prevailing notions of what schools were for than was the Froebelian stress on play. (173) Thirdly, she emphasised an individualistic pedagogy. Unlike the kindergarten in which children played and worked together in groups, the children in the Montessorian school worked alone on their mats. Moreover, Montessori claimed that her system was one which gave greater freedom to children than any other. By basing the work of the children on auto-didactic apparatus the teacher's role in the Montessori class was much less intrusive than in the kindergarten. In the kindergarten, children were manipulated. In the Montessori class it was their environment which was manipulated in order to sustain the illusion of free choice of activities. (174) In this sense, the children had, in appearance at least, more freedom than in the kindergarten. (175) There was something highly ironic about the fact that just as the Froebelians had thrown away their pedagogic apparatus and uncovered the 'rational kernel' of Froebel's work, a new movement arose which made a virtue out of apparatus. But the strength of the appeal of Montessori as opposed to the Froebelians, lay in the stress on the teaching of reading and writing and the mobilisation of the slogans of freedom and
individuality. The latter aspect of Montessori's pedagogy was particularly
popular during the First World War when, despite the rapid movement
towards collectivism necessitated by the requirements of total war,
intellectual currents which were tainted by Idealism became most
unfashionable. An example of this reaction to statolatory occurs in Percy
Nunn's immensely popular, panegyric to individualism, *Education: Its Data
and First Principles* (176) in which he stated that:

> From the idealism of Hegel [...] the Prussian mind
derived its fanatical belief in the absolute value of the
State... (177)

Finally, a further reason why the Montessori movement was able to
challenge the Froebelians was its novelty. The outcomes of the
kindergarten were well known within the pedagogic community but all that
was known of Montessori's Method, which, she claimed, offered 'the greatest
hope for human redemption through education', (178) were observations such
as that of Maude May that:

> No one who has visited any of the "Case dei Bambini"
sic] can fail to have been struck by the intelligence of
the children, by their frank and simple manners, neither
forward nor shy, by the atmosphere of happy activity,
and by the sense of discipline that is largely voluntary
and arises out of this same happy activity. (179)

Hope, it seems, rises eternally within the breasts of observers of
educational innovations.
10.0 Conclusion.

Despite the range of forces, such as those attached to national efficiency, which advocated a collectivist solution to the problem of poverty and its effects upon the socialization of children, the attempts to make such children, 'children of the state' by the provision of universal infant nurture may be judged, on the basis of the evidence presented in this chapter, to have been a failure. Within the infant school, traditional notions of what constituted schooling were resistant to the kind of pedagogy advocated by the Froebelians as well as by figures like Morant and Gorst. Schools remained places committed primarily to the transmission of knowledge and skills and not centres of infant welfare and moralization through play based methods. Partly, this was due to the weakness of the modernizers, and the weakness of the state in relation to civil society. But it was also due to the inability of the Froebelian pedagogy to penetrate the 'common sense' of most of the teachers who managed the infant classes.

With regard to the relative weakness of the state, it must be noted that the state was not monolithic. Against the efforts of Morant to use the Board of Education as an instrument of national efficiency were ranged forces including the Treasury which would not sanction spending on the schooling of the young. Instead, therefore, of transforming the content and the conditions of the schooling of the under fives in the direction favoured by the Froebelians and in line with the Board's own policy, local authorities faced with cuts in the amount of money provided by the state and subsequently with ever increasing proportions of educational expenditure, excluded the under fives from school. That this was not
caused, as is sometimes supposed by the Report of the women inspectors
has already been demonstrated but in attacking, from a Froebelian point of
view existing conditions in infant schools, the women inspectors provided
the state with an argument that most children were better off at home
than at school. As has been argued, the Froebelian point of view, in this
instance, was one which was saturated with class prejudice and was one
which revealed itself to be unfamiliar with the condition of urban schools
and the condition of much working class life.

Nevertheless, despite being unable to win the argument over school reform
the Froebelians and their allies within the pedagogic community as well
as the ILP were able to create enough political embarrassment for the
Liberals that the matter of the schooling of the young was referred to the
Consultative Committee which, as a de facto representative body, was
utilised to deflect attacks on the Board itself. The Committee settled for
the provision of nursery schools on a selective basis and the Froebelian
vision of universal kindergartens was buried. The Froebelian reaction to
the Report of the Committee was favourable as owing to the presence of
Froebelians on the Committee and as witnesses before it, many of the
Froebel movement's positions had been endorsed. However, although the
Consultative Committee was able to make policy, in spite of the fiction
that only Parliament did, it was an advisory body with no powers of
execution and until the circumstances of war impelled the state to act and
grant support to the nursery schools, if only on a limited basis, the
recommendations of the Consultative Committee were ignored by the state.

If parsimony provides part of the explanation why the Froebelian rhetoric
of the Board was not matched by Froebelian practice in the infant schools

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another part is provided by the ideology of family responsibility. Rather than destroy the sphere of the private, state action during this period reconstituted it. It may have been the case that notions of family responsibility and the need to preserve it assisted the economic case but there are no grounds to assume that the former was a reflex of the other. Even advocates of state action like Margaret McMillan charged fees for her nursery school on the grounds that if she did not then the families' responsibility would be undermined.

The debate over the efficacy of nursery or pre-school education continues unabated in the last quarter of the Twentieth Century and evidence, such as that of Winch, is still used to deny the universal provision of nursery schooling.

With regard to the Froebel movement, the period discussed in the last two chapters, was one in which it underwent a transformation. While, the private kindergartens with their high social cachet continued to exist, the Froebelians had broken out of their middle class ghetto and, through their connection with the state and their position in the colleges as well as the free kindergartens, they managed to enter a new area of practice which the Froebel movement had, in part, constituted itself. This area was that to do with the schooling of the young working class child either in a nursery school or more commonly an infant school. But just as the Froebelian ideas were entering the 'common sense' of infant teachers the Montessori movement, with its stress on the transmission of intellectual skills, broke the domination of the Froebelians and marked the beginning of a child-centred progressivism which knew little of Froebel and was little concerned to study his work either.

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FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES.


5). Sadler (1902a) op. cit. p. 163. Sidney Webb wrote something similar; 'it is in the classrooms...that the future battles of Empire for commercial prosperity are being already lost'. Webb, S. (1901) 'Lord Roseberry's Escape from Houndsditch' Nineteenth Century and After. No. CCXCV. Sept. p. 383.

6). See PRO ED 24/409 '1906-1910 Moral Instruction. Correspondence With the Moral Instruction League'. Johnson, H. to Runciman, W. 1/5/1908. 'I have
strong reason to believe that practically the whole of the Liberal and
Labour Party members are with us'. In support of this contention see:
Fallowa, A. (1900) Moral Teaching in the Board Schools. Birmingham,
Birmingham Socialist Centre. (Midland Socialist Pamphlets No. 2.) and
Instruction.

7). The term social explorers is taken from Keating, P. (1976) (ed.) Into
Unknown England. London, Fontana. A list of such works would be
extensive but a selection might include: Urwick, E. J. (1904) (ed.)
G. (1906) Riches and Poverty. London, Methuen. This has a chapter on the
school which contains most of the themes advocated by the supporters of
has a preface by Sadler.


published 1901.

10). For a characteristic exposition of this point Webb, S. (1973b) op. cit.
p. 106. 'We have come, at the opening of the twentieth century, to an era
of professional expertness, in which the merely cultivated amateur is
hopelessly beaten out of the field'.

11). Gramsci op. cit. p. 28.


15). John Eldon Gorst (1835-1916) had tried a consensual approach before with the Maoris of the Waikato district in New Zealand his DP biographer records that 'He and his family narrowly escaped with their lives' when the Maoris rejected it. With Lord Randolph Churchill he was involved in the 'fourth party', an attempt to revive popular Toryism. He served as Vice-President of the Committee of Council from 1895 until he was unceremoniously brushed aside during the passage of the 1902 Education Act. At his last attempt to return to parliament in 1910 he stood, unsuccessfully as a Liberal. DNB.


17). ibid.


25). Gorst (1901) op. cit. p. 859.


27). Darroch. op. cit. p. 103.

28). Quoted in Selby Bigge. op. cit. p. 164.


30). Quoted in ibid. p. 213.


33). Eaglesham (1967) op. cit. p. 53.

34). Quoted in Allen, B. M. op. cit. p. 214.

35). Education Department (1893) op. cit. Appendix V. 'On Thrift'. p. 42.

36). Ibid.
37). ibid. p. 43. The appendix also contained the view that the adoption of a plan for saving would 'greatly increase the usefulness of the elementary schools as instruments for the formation of character'. ibid. p. 45.

38). Board of Education (1973a) op. cit. p. 98.


40). ibid. p. 768.


42). For the view that the primary school curriculum was 'distorted' and the teaching 'warped' by this see: Board of Education (1931) p. 92. and Simon, B. (1978) op. cit. p. 206.

43). Board of Education (1973a) op. cit. p. 95. That the main effects of selection were anticipated is evident from the rider added in the Introduction which stated that selection procedures should only be carried out 'so far as this can be done without sacrificing the interests of the majority of the children'. ibid.


45). ibid. p. 772. He had in mind by this the making a greater 'distinction between different types of mind and rates of intellectual growth from the bottom of the school upwards...' ibid.

46). Hargreaves, D. (1980) 'A Sociological Critique of Individualism in Education'. British Journal of Educational Studies. Vol. XXVIII, No. 3. pp. 187-198. Hargreaves makes a useful distinction between this kind of individualism, which he sees as being closely tied to equality of
opportunity, and the 'developmental individualism' of the Rousseau-
Froebel and classical liberal type. It could be argued that as the
capitalist mode of production was unable, due to the dominant place
given to private appropriation in capitalist production relations, to
supply the conditions for the latter type, meritocratic individualism
became the dominant version.

47). Board of Education (1905a) Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers
and Others Concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools. London,
HMSO.
49). ibid. p. 11.
50). ibid.
Education. Vol. XV, Oct. pp. 541-543. She advocated that pupils should
share in the management of a school through the creation of small
offices and weekly school meetings and this would obviate the need for
'manifold punishments' as the pupils would co-operate with the teacher.
52). Quoted in Allen, B. M. op. cit. p. 220.
53). On the reaction of the pedagogic community other than the Froebelians
Origins and Evolution'. Journal of Educational Administration and
54). Board of Education (1905) op. cit. p. 6.
55). There is in the Public Records Office a file, PRO ED 24/233 'The
compilers of Suggestions' but despite providing evidence about the
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authors of virtually every chapter (Davies, W. R. to Morant, R. 9/10/1905) there is no mention of chapter III which was on infants.

56). Whitbread. op. cit. p. 86.


59). PRO ED 24/235 'Criticisms of Suggestions to Teachers'.

60). Ibid. Memorandum of Ernest N. Wix HM 13/12/1908.

61). Ibid. Memorandum of Loftus T. Monro (n.d.)


63). PP. 1887. XXIX. op. cit. Evidence of Miss A. X. Castle. Q. 20, 149.

64). PP. 1888. XXXV. op. cit. p. 75.


70). Sutherland (1973) op. cit. p. 310.


74). That the exclusion of the under fives from elementary school was done mainly on the grounds of economy is suggested in: 'Nursery Schools: A Retrospect'. Times Educational Supplement. 6th Sept. 1917. Between 1900 and 1905 local authority expenditure on education, as a proportion of total expenditure, increased rapidly. From Mitchell and Dean op. cit. p. 416. Thus local authorities began to look for ways to trim their budgets. Moreover the grants payable for the under fives were less than for older children and hence more of the cost for the younger children fell upon the rates.

75). Bathurst, K. (1906) 'Miss Bathurst v. The Board of Education'. Journal of Education. Vol. XXVIII. Jan. pp. 24-26. (This was a letter from Katharine Bathurst). They were Miss Munday, Miss Callis and Bathurst herself.


77). ibid.

78). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 1.

79). ibid.

81). ibid.
82). ibid.
83). ibid. p. iii.
84). ibid.
85). ibid. p. 5.
86). ibid. These objections were similar to the ones which have been discussed previously. Some more were put forward in: Gavin, H. (1906) 'Reports on Children Under Five Years of Age'. Child Life. Vol. VIII, No. 29. pp. 27-29.
87). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 31.
88). ibid. p. 32.
89). ibid. p. 44.
90). ibid.
92). ibid.
94). ibid. p. 103. They were trained at, 'the Froebel Institute, Cheltenham Ladies' College, Dulwich High School K. G. Department, Bedford K. G. College, and the Blackheath K. G. College'. See also: 'The Report of the Michaelis Guild and Froebel Educational Institute'. Child Life. Vol. II, No. 6. 1900. p. 125. This concentration of Froebelians in one authority illustrates well the autonomy from the centre enjoyed by school boards and local education authorities with regard to pedagogy.
95). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 103. Barry Council, unusually, paid the holders of the Higher Certificate of the NFU the same salary as certificated teachers.
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96). ibid.
97). ibid. p. 28.
98). ibid. p. 35.
100). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 74.
101). Quoted in Bathurst (1906) op. cit. p. 25.
102). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 79.
104). ibid.
105). ibid. p. 29.
106). ibid.
108). ibid.
110). ibid. p. 175. A similar argument was made in a Froebelian pamphlet published about the same time: Wroe, M. H. (1903) Our Public Infants' Schools. London, J. Heywood. Margaret Wroe was Principal of the Manchester Kindergarten Training College.
112). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 77. The school was at Spilsbury in Oxfordshire where the combined salaries of the three teachers was £100 per annum and the Article 50 teacher received £10 per annum. Lord Dillon
was one of the managers. Bathurst (1906) op. cit. On the general point about the procedures of the inspectorate, the revelation of which by Bathurst upset the Board, Fitch told the Cross Commission that the reports had to be edited. PP. 1887. XXX. Qs. 56,923-56,928.

113). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 25.

114). ibid. p. 11. The content of the diet of the poor appeared frequently in debates about the social question and persisted into the Twenties. Leaving aside its nutritional adequacy, the aspect of it that caused the second greatest amount of consternation amongst the investigators was the reported predilection of the poor for strong flavours. Pickles came in for particular condemnation. ibid. Gorst told the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration that town children were accustomed to 'pickles, bloaters and strong, tasty food...' PP. 1904. XXXII. op. cit. Q. 11825. See also: Low, B. (1926) 'A Criticism of Psycho-Analysis'. Journal of Education. Vol. LVIII, Oct. pp. 712-716. For her, the 'slum-baby' was fed on 'pickles and sips from the beer-can'.

115). Board of Education (1905b) op. cit. p. 13. Fish and potatoes were the first choice of the majority.


117). ibid.

118). ibid.

119). ibid.


121). ibid. p. 29.

122). ibid. p. 100 and p. 129.
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133). ibid.

134). ibid.
139). On the NUT led agitation over this see: Simon (1965) op. cit. pp. 264-269.
140). See: Steedman op. cit.
141). PRO ED 24/207 'Papers of the Consultative Committee'. The matter was referred to the Consultative Committee on 13th April 1907.
143). ibid. Cleghorn had a hand in the formation of the Sheffield Branch of the Froebel Society. Child Life. Vol. XI, No. 45. 1909. p. 26. See also: Child Life. Vol. XVI, No. 87. 1914. p. 93. The other members were: David Shackleton, Labour M.P. for Clitheroe; Ernest Gray a former secretary of the NUT's Education Committee and a Tory M.P. and Dr Norman Moore, a surgeon and a member of the Education Committee of the Medical Council.
145). ibid. p. 56.
149). ibid.

154). Gorst, for one and by his own admission, was a preacher of the 'open-air doctrine'. PP. 1904. XXXII. op. cit. Qs. 11819-11824.

155). Board of Education (1908) op. cit. p. 23. These were described in terms similar to those promoted by the revisionist Froebelians.

158). ibid. pp. 111-112. Her suggested course also included genetic psychology and biology, and represented, in many respects, the academy's appropriation of Froebel.

159). ibid.


161). This did not appear in the Consultative Committee's Report on the grounds that it was completed too late for incorporation. Board of Education (1908) op. cit. p. 39. Note. It was however published by the Board of Education as an appendix entitled 'Notes on the Provision Made for the Teaching of Young Children in Foreign Countries and British Colonies' in Board of Education (1909) Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. 22. pp. 204-281.


165). Holmes was responsible for Board of Education (1912) op. cit. which set the Board's seal of approval on the Montessori method. His foray into what was previously exclusively Froebelian territory was sharply attacked by Murray (1913) op. cit.


172). And with respect to the education of the under fives a useful counter to the 'educational assault' of those like Winch. See: 'Nursery Schools: A Retrospect'. Times Educational Supplement. 6th Sept. 1917.


174). Murray (1912) op. cit. pp. 130-132


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Conclusion

This study has been principally concerned with the following three areas; the Froebel movement, state schooling and educational ideology. In this conclusion each of these areas will be discussed in turn. Following that, in the final section, consideration will be given to the relationship between the Froebel movement and state schooling. In this account of the relation between the Froebel movement and state schooling much has hinged upon a particular conception of educational ideology. Associated with this conception is the view that schooling, in all its aspects, was and is a contested practice around and within which a diverse range of interests come into conflict. Even those aspects of schooling which may be considered as technical questions, such as the most appropriate teaching strategies for a particular age grouping, have been shown to be questions which are intimately bound up with views about the individual and about society. The adoption of a particular stance such as this has certain effects upon the writing of history. There is a sense in which in the production of history you discover mainly that which you look for. In other words, if you look consistently for evidence of conflict then you are likely to find it and by the same token if you look for consensus you will find that also. In other words the facts of history exert only a certain degree of force upon explanation. As this contravenes the canons of conventional thought about history which hold that the record of the past is both the necessary and sufficient guarantee of history's truth this argument requires some attention prior to beginning the discussion outlined above.

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Rather than beginning with a defence of the proposition that in historical work you only discover what you set out to, or that the selection of historical materials is guided by ideologies and theories, a glimpse at alternative formulations will be provided. These, which generally involve a commitment to a value free approach to the past, frequently fail in this enterprise. The problem is that the past does not speak for itself without the intervention of theory. For one thing the past in all its complexity is not recoverable and to assume that it is leads to an uninformed antiquarianism or the celebration of historical facts for their own sake. Another common, and connected, strategy is to claim that history may also be free from the concerns of the present. Such claims arise either from self-deception or from a refusal to examine the assumptions which help organize all historical writing. This is not the place to rehearse rather well-worn arguments against empiricism in historical writing or to engage with the continuing arguments about 'presentism' which are currently raging among historians of education in the United States. (1) However, suffice it to say that this study was begun in a spirit of curiosity concerning the Froebel movement and 'progressive' education in general which was fuelled by a concern to explicate the relation between some kinds of pedagogy and groupings and parties of the Left. It was also motivated by a desire to test the adequacy of a theories which might facilitate the explanation of the course which the Froebel movement took and the nature of its relationship with state schooling. While the imposition of theoretically informed principles of selection and organization upon historical materials is inescapable this is not the same thing as using history as a resource from which to to illustrate favoured
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theoretical points. In the first place, the process of collecting evidence is one which is full of surprises. Whatever there is that is original which is found in the archive is not knowable in advance. This appears to be at the heart of what E. P. Thompson refers to as the 'dialogue' between concept and evidence. (2) Without necessarily subscribing to Thompson's view of the historian's craft in its entirety, in his notion of 'dialogue' he has captured an essential aspect of what historical work involves. In this particular study, in order to avoid an arid theoreticist treatment of the historical object and in order to ground the theoretical approaches adopted much attention has been paid to the discovery and provision of historical facts and evidence at all levels from the kindergarten to the level of the formation of state policy. Some of these facts opened up unforeseen lines of inquiry and explanation. For example, although the principal characteristics of the social basis of the Froebel movement were not difficult to establish, in the light of the strikingly obvious fact that the overwhelming majority of Froebelians were women, it was not until some extensive research on leading Froebelians had been conducted that it also became evident that significant numbers were either Unitarians or Jews and that politically the majority were anti-Tory. These historical facts had, nevertheless, to be read through a particular lense, in this case through the concepts of culture, hegemony and power bloc but they still remained discoveries which required, not the imposition of a monolithic explanatory logic upon them, but a new way of seeing the social basis of Froebelianism which, arguably, is more complete than those explanations which have previously been offered. These discoveries permitted a move away from the simple analysis which sees alternative
forms of pedagogy as an inexplicable variant of bourgeois ideology (3) to a view which sees pedagogy as intimately connected not just to class but to gender divisions as well.

If newly emerging facts, in the course of dialogue, engendered different ways of understanding then their selection was not simply a *prioristic*. Nevertheless, the ordering of the discussion is one which is open to that charge. In the Introduction, some of chapter 1 and chapters 2 and 3 the theoretical concepts which inform this study are exposed and discussed. But because they appear at the beginning it would be erroneous to assume that they were all elaborated prior to the collection, sifting, seeking for relations and selection of what constitutes the evidence used here. Instead, many of the concepts were developed, transformed and applied as the work progressed but it seemed useful, from the point of view of explanation, to state the main proposition concerning the social basis of the Froebel movement and elaborate upon it in subsequent chapters.

If there was a major exception to a posture of openness to the sources and a willingness to listen to the evidence it was the conceptualization of much of late nineteenth century debate over the knowledge and skill content of schooling as a struggle between generalists and specialists. In slightly differing forms this appears, as was seen in chapter 2 and elsewhere, in the work of such diverse figures as Weber, Gramsci and Sadler. Gramsci's theory of intellectuals was particularly important in making the link between these debates over and within schooling and wider political currents and trends. This together with a reworking of Williams' 'arguments' permitted the view that this struggle was not simply confined to schooling but was one which was intimately tied to the shifting
relation of forces within the power bloc and to various bids to harness more closely the superstructure to the necessities of production. Nevertheless, such matters are some way distant from the classroom or the kindergarten and the mediations between the levels addressed needed to be explicated carefully; a task which was attempted in chapter 2 and in subsequent chapters. While it could be argued that it was legitimate to discuss, in a consideration of the schooling of young children, the main lines of fracture and cleavage within the power bloc on the grounds that everything in a social formation is related to something else such grounds do not support the writing of history which is, of necessity, selective. Moreover, the task of formulating explanations requires not that all possible determinations be considered but the identification and ordering in terms of their significance, those determinations which are held to be the most central. With respect to debates and struggles over the curriculum content of schooling at all levels - from schools for the young to schools for the semi-adult - during the latter part of the nineteenth century the most significant determinations were, it is argued in chapter 2, primarily political and they emanated from the internal reconstruction of the power bloc and the state.

The Froebel movement.

The way that the state, during this period, has been conceived and its relation to the private sphere of the family was another organizing principle. The increased role of the state in the schooling of young working class children following the Education Act of 1870 greatly altered the conditions in which the Froebel movement operated. Without this increase in the tempo of the state regulation of schooling it is
conceivable that in England Froebelian ideas and practices would have
withered on the vine as those of Rousseau and Pestalozzi had before them.
Admittedly, there would still have been private kindergartens and
kindergartens attached to the girls' high schools. These, however, would
have been wholly reliant for their existence not on the state but upon
the market for schooling among the wealthy. However, as has been shown,
the market frequently did not supply the environment necessary for the
survival of Froebelian enterprises. As a consequence, the leaders of the
Froebel movement were, in the 1880's, quick to alter the nature of their
claims for the kindergarten and to bring them into line with what they
perceived to be the coming dominant ideology of state schooling.
From that point on the Froebel movement ceased to be solely concerned
with the exclusive world of the private kindergarten. While this
institutionalised base in the private sphere continued to be important to
the Froebel movement, particularly with regard to the reproduction of
Froebelian teachers, the main thrust of the efforts of the Froebel
movement was focussed upon the transformation of state schooling and
particularly that which catered for the very young. As was pointed out
in chapters 5 and 6 this strategy had consequences for the content of the
Froebelian message for in order that a form of the kindergarten might be
implemented concessions had to be made which took account of the
conditions existing in elementary schooling. Concessions had to be made
also to the many critics of the kindergarten among those who organized
and ran the school system.
Nevertheless, there were among the Froebelians, as was shown in chapter 5,
true sectarians like Heerwart who rejected the making of concessions to
others. She adopted the position that if the kindergarten pedagogy and curriculum were to enter the state schools it was to do so on the terms laid down by orthodox Froebelians like herself. Others in this period like Courthope Bowen who were less imbued with the religion of Froebel were prepared to compromise. But both orthodox and those who were less inflexible were soon involved, as was outlined in chapter 6, in the quest for an alliance with the grouping which has been identified here as the industrial modernizers. That there was a certain degree of opportunism about this on behalf of the Froebelians has been fairly well established. But it is also clear that the same might be said of the industrial modernizers. The industrial modernizers use of the language of the Froebelians enabled them to present an educational legitimation for their utilitarian plans for the schooling of the working class. Opportunism aside, such an alliance may also be seen as 'natural' because, their social and political connections notwithstanding, both parties were agreed on the superiority of learning by doing to learning through instruction. Moreover, this kind of affinity between supporters of certain versions of child centred education and industrial modernization seems to be a recurring feature of the periodic schools/industry debates which have occurred since the 1880's.

However, as was argued in chapter 6 this route proved to be an arduous one for the Froebelians. At the level of the power bloc the compromise between industrial and commercial, financial and landed capital which led to the subordination of the former prevented the wholesale transformation of the state into an instrument solely of industrial capital. Across a range of sites within the state the industrial modernizers suffered a series of, if
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not outright defeats, then serious reverses which curtailed their ambitions. In addition, it is debatable as to how far the machinery of the state educational apparatus was capable of enforcing any particular line even if the industrial modernizers had captured it. As the surcharging of the London School Board for setting up industrial training classes (chapter 6) demonstrated, the state was not a thing to be seized but more of a framework within which struggles occurred. In addition, the very nature of the state educational apparatus was so unwieldy and so highly decentralized, as Morant and his allies were only too well aware, that it is doubtful whether any policy could have been implemented in its entirety if it aroused opposition within the various levels of control.

For the Froebel movement the closure of the path towards industrial modernization was not a severe setback as, at the same time, a series of events and the operation of other forces opened up a new sphere of activity not in the schools so much as in the colleges. The Froebel movement due to its own pattern of reproduction in its own colleges and the NFU, as was seen in chapter 7, was uniquely poised to take advantage of this new opening. In the training colleges, but especially within what has here been termed the academy, as was shown in chapters 8 and 9, developments in the production of educational theory enabled the Froebel movement to gain a powerful institutional base and to develop a position of leadership within the sphere of infant schooling. This, it was argued had a number of consequences for Froebelian ideas and practices for in the encounter with what passed for educational science and also with the popular movement - in terms of the pedagogic community - around child study, Froebelian ideas and practices were rationalized and many of their
metaphysical elements were stripped away. As was seen in the work of Lilleen Hardy and Margaret McMillan which was discussed in chapter 10, this process of rationalization was a highly uneven one. The religious elements did not disappear at a stroke but became submerged and sedimented within the new rationalized version of Froebelianism. What emerged was a practice centred on play which was more easily universalized and in order to substantiate that judgement in chapter 10 the deployment of that practice, across a variety of sites linked by their focus on the working class child was mapped. Notably one feature that all these sites had in common was their voluntary nature however it was not a principled voluntarism of the COS type but one which was marked by a strong and often illiberal emphasis upon the necessity of state intervention.

Thus a chronology of the Froebel movement has been suggested which takes the following form:

Prior to

1880: Froebel movement confined to the ghetto of private schooling.

1880-1890: Froebel movement gains an institutional base in the girls' high schools. The demands of the large School Boards and the industrial modernizers within and outside them encourage the hand and eye faction which responds with Sloyd.

1890-1900: State approval of the kindergarten strengthens the legitimacy of the Froebel movement. Revisionist currents respond to the child study movement and the critique of Dewey.
Where Montessori differed most from the Froebelians was in her claims to be scientific. As has been seen, the Froebelians made great efforts to give their ideas and practices a scientific gloss but Montessori was herself a trained scientist and while her writings are heavily laden with religious symbolism, her claims to scientificity are prominent and, more importantly, were generally accepted. Secondly, she advocated the teaching of reading and writing to young children which was anathema to Froebelians of all factions but was nevertheless more in line with prevailing notions of what schools were for than was the Froebelian stress on play. Thirdly, she emphasised an individualistic pedagogy. Unlike the kindergarten in which children played and worked together in groups, the children in the Montessorian school worked alone on their mats. Moreover, Montessori claimed that her system was one which gave greater freedom to children than any other. By basing the work of the children on auto-didactic apparatus the teacher’s role in the Montessori class was much less intrusive than in the kindergarten. In the kindergarten, children were manipulated. In the Montessori class it was their environment which was manipulated in order to sustain the illusion of free choice of activities. In this sense, the children had, in appearance at least, more freedom than in the kindergarten.

There was something highly ironic about the fact that just as the Froebelians had thrown away their pedagogic apparatus and uncovered the 'rational kernel' of Froebel's work, a new movement arose which made a virtue out of apparatus. But the strength of the appeal of Montessori as opposed to the Froebelians, lay in the stress on the teaching of reading and writing and the mobilisation of the slogans of freedom and
that Froebelian ideas had not entered the common sense of many teachers of the older pupils in elementary schools by the end of the period but among the trained teachers of infants it had made some headway.

Rather than seeking to demonstrate the influence of the Froebel movement the question that has been consistently posed, regarding the relationship between state schooling and the Froebel movement, has been that of conditions. In other words, what changes in state policy towards schooling and what wider processes may be held to have provided the conditions for Froebelian advance? Among those which were identified were a move in official discourse concerning elementary schooling away from a sole preoccupation with the moralization of the working class to a concern to also prepare certain kinds of labour power and, with the assistance of selection, to produce citizens. This latter shift, in particular, has been linked with a wider movement in the distribution of coercion and consent in the way that hegemony was secured. In the same way as the industrial modernizers wanted self-motivated workers, in official discourse on schooling, the state wanted self-disciplined citizens. While the Morant era at the Board of Education witnessed the installation for the mass of the population of an education for followership it was also one that desired that the 'followers' consented to follow and did so due to their internalization of regulatory mechanisms subsumed under the heading of 'character'. As was argued in chapter 10, the Froebelians with their own notion of self discipline were able to show the affinities between the practice of the kindergarten and the new kind of citizenship.
Another of the favourable conditions which was identified in chapters 8 and 9 was the rise of teacher professionalization and the connected search for educational theory. In chapter 3, strategies of professionalization were adopted by the Froebel movement in order to gain control over the market for private schooling and in order to enhance the position of middle class women in a male dominated world. State sponsored professionalization, on the other hand, had different roots. This project was riven with contradiction, as the increased employment of Article 68's demonstrates, but in chapter 7 state sponsored professionalization was shown to have been tied closely to notions concerning the need to produce teachers who were better able to exert a guiding influence over their working class pupils than their less well educated predecessors. This, in turn, required a different form of teacher training and a different kind of college staff. Professionalization also required that a body of professional knowledge be developed which could legitimate the practice of the new style teacher. Here again the shift towards consent at a general level was important for the need to legitimize actions only becomes pressing when there is a perceived need for accountability and a need to win public approval. In all of these areas; training, staff and professional knowledge, Froebelians had assets due to their class and gender position which they were able to exploit and, for a while, to achieve hegemony over the field of theories concerning the schooling of young children.

Last, in this list of conditions favourable to the Froebelians, was the tendency towards specialization and differentiation within state schooling. As early as the Cross Commission, as was seen in chapter 4, teachers were
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demanding the break up of the system of Standards and their replacement by classes organized by ability. This demand arose primarily as a teacher's coping strategy but it meshed neatly with the line proposed later by Webb, Morant, Sadler and others for a more differentiated system of organization both within schools and between them. These voices were joined by others demanding differentiation and selection and among them were the Galtonians; eugenicists concerned to separate the fit from the unfit. Some Froebelians, unable to transform the state system of schooling, launched their own scheme for differentiation at this time from which emerged the nursery school differentiated by age but also by social class.

The history of the development of the nursery school and the other initiatives discussed in chapters 10 and 11 appears to provide little evidence of 'normalization' or of success for the national efficiency movement in this sphere. As has been seen, there was no lack of proposals which aimed at intervention into the family of the urban poor or which intended to nurture children of the state. But the state would not play the role demanded of it. In part this was due to reasons of finance. The Treasury simply would not support such schemes even though they had support from within the state. The cynical use of the *Reports on Children Under Five* to exclude the under fives is a good instance of Treasury parsimony shaping policy on schooling. But in addition there were other reasons for the failure of these initiatives and these had to do with the relative strength of the private sphere. With regard to young children, the dominant message which was relayed by the Consultative Committee among others was that children were the responsibility of their parents but their mothers in particular. There were exceptions made but they concerned
the children of the poor who were weak and powerless. The state did not, therefore, grow at the expense of the private sphere; instead it reconstituted and defended it where it had the power to do so. The qualification is necessary because, as in the instance recorded in chapter 11 where HMI was subverted by an 'aristocrat', the private sphere was sometimes more powerful than the state. Only in one instance, that of medical inspection were the initiatives on schooling launched by the efficiency experts and their allies taken up by the state and even then there was no commitment to defraying the cost of medical treatment.

On ideology.

In the Introduction to this study it was noted that in its most general usage ideology denotes the social determination of knowledge. Associated with this view, in much of the writing within the Marxist tradition, is the notion that ideologies consist of ideas which serve the interests of social groups. This is principally what takes the concept of ideology beyond the sociology of knowledge and it has been central to the argument which has been presented here. Froebelian ideas have been shown to have been promoted by women who were mainly middle and upper class - in a descriptive sense - but who were, for the most part, outside of the hegemonic culture associated with landed capital: the established church and the Tory party. In chapter 3 it was argued that Froebelian ideas were used to express the opposition of these relatively powerless women to dominant ideas about childhood and schooling which were informed by the view that children were born sinful. Hence Froebelian ideas were alternative as Froeblians, in common with the upholders of the dominant view, that children should first and foremost be moralized but they
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disapproved of the accepted ways of attempting to do this. But the alternative elements were not simply alternative to the dominant culture of schooling and childhood. They were also alternative - and sometimes as was shown in chapter 11, oppositional - to male domination. Using feminist theories which highlight the subordination of women to men as well as the evidence of women like Maria Grey and her sister, it has been argued that Froebelian ideas functioned to express the interests of middle class women. The principal interest of such women have been imputed but also were declared to be the construction of a sphere in which they could gain paid work. This objective was directly opposed to the prevailing domestic ideology which contained the view that the best place for middle and upper class women was in their homes. Hence what those interests consisted of were formulated within a broader ideology of social motherhood which had as its aim the creation and maintenance of spaces for middle class women within the public sphere of work which was deemed by men to be the sole preserve of them and/or working class women. Closely linked to the ideology of social motherhood were notions of professionalization and both took male power and dominance as a given that needed not to be overthrown but somehow circumvented. Social or spiritual motherhood accepted male domination but contained the demand for a different sexual division of labour which permitted middle class women an occupational sphere of their own.

Because a set of ideas function in a particular way it does not follow that its origins are to be sought in that function. Neither does the social composition of the bearers of those ideas necessarily effect their truth or falsity. Thus this study of Froebelianism as an ideology is
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not held to have produced an exhaustive account of the relation between Froebelian ideas and the Froebel movement or the relation between the Froebel movement and state schooling. Furthermore, it has not been argued that Froebelian ideas can be simply reduced to the social position of middle class women at the end of the nineteenth century. How those women became attached or recruited to those ideas has not been a principal concern of this study. Often, it appears that it was the attraction of Froebel's metaphysics rather than his pedagogy which was stressed in Froebelian texts. In chapter 1 it was suggested that it was probable that Froebelian ideas were sometimes taken up on grounds, other than the fact that they served a material interest. There, as well as in the following chapter, Froebelian ideas were viewed as having features in common with religion and the argument was made that the metaphysical content of those ideas may have had significant effects upon those who encountered them. Furthermore, as Adams said, the Froebelian pedagogy appeared to work better than the drill methods which it opposed. Nevertheless, although the notion of the interests of a particular group of women may not explain everything concerning the Froebel movement it does go some way towards explaining how this tiny sect-like middle class group was able to dominate discussion of the schooling of the young and control, unchallenged until the advent of the Montessorians, the means and sites of the production of those ideas.

Educational ideology.

There are still a number of questions concerning ideology which need addressing. In the Introduction it was argued that there are a number of problems with theories of ideologies and with theories of educational
ideologies in particular. What light has been shed on these problems here? Firstly, it has been shown that during the period investigated the area of schooling was one which was riven with competing theories, notions and ideologies not only about what schools were for but also about pedagogy and curricula. It has also been shown that these debates were intimately linked to relations of power within as well as outside the school system. Secondly, these theories, beliefs and notions have been treated as ideological in the sense that they were connected to power relations and they expressed the interests of social groups. This conception of ideology is an inclusive one. While, in principal, it might be possible to distinguish between science and ideology, the historical record shows, for example in the child study movement, that scientific views of childhood were saturated with untested and unexamined assumptions drawn from systems of belief which were at variance with what is generally regarded as science. Of these, race recapitulation is a prominent example. Moreover, it is not simply a question of the content of these theories - how much they obscure and how much they reveal - but the fact that interests were pursued within and through them.

Thirdly, following from the adoption of an inclusive conception of ideology it becomes possible to treat all theories and beliefs within a particular sphere, in this case that delimited by Skilbeck's 'pedagogical community' as ideological. However, theories and beliefs within a sphere of social practice are fundamentally bound up with practices. Thus Froebelian ideas and practices have been treated as inseparable and this inseparability of ideas and practices within the pedagogical community is arguably a key distinguishing mark of an educational ideology. What has been described as
the Froebelian educational ideology was an unstable and contradictory combination of elements. In chapter 1 it was argued that contradiction should be regarded as a particular strength of an ideology as it permits the mobilisation of diverse constituencies around it and it also maximizes the number of other ideologies to which it can become attached. The elements are unstable because the boundaries of an ideology are permeable. Thus new elements may enter the combination and existing ones, as in the case of the industrial modernizers, may be articulated to other projects. Furthermore, an ideology is functional for its bearers if its elements can bear differing emphases at different times and within different contexts. Thus, during the period of hand and eye it was the potential for training the hand and eye which the majority of Frobelians pushed to the foreground. In the period of national efficiency, the virtues of structured play as a means to regulate and control children where extolled by Froebelians.

Fourthly, Skilbeck's point about the relative autonomy of educational ideology has been shown to have some merit. The pedagogical community is not simply a mirror in which other ideologies are reflected. Ideologies about pedagogy have a logic specific to that field. In the case of the Froebelians, their ideology was so specific as to lack virtually any elements which referred to society. The vague reformist thrust of the Froebelian ideology saw social change, if at all, as a matter of producing self developed individuals. Obstacles to that project only occurred to those like the Free Kindergarteners who came up against the realities of class divisions in the slums. However, Skilbeck's notion of an undifferentiated pedagogical community is unacceptable. It was in this
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period at least as divided by class and gender as any other sphere of social practice. In order to highlight this the historically specific notion of the academy was introduced and this in turn permitted an explanation of the divorce between theory and practice which characterized pedagogy at this period. In addition, this study throws some light on the way educational ideologies become appropriated by social groups outside the pedagogical community. For the most part, the attitude of such groups is rather like that of Sidney Webb, leave it to the expert. Certainly that has been the case with regard to the Left and educational Progressivism which led to the neglect of the Left for long periods of questions around pedagogy and school knowledge. The appropriation of Froebelian themes by others also demonstrates the proposition that, to an extent, ideological elements have no particular class or other social group belonging. Thus, the Froebelian ideology was acceptable to liberals of the individualist variety as it was to collectivists like Morant and Gorst.

Finally, there is the notion of ideology as a distorted representation of reality. For the most part this question has been avoided in favour of a concentration of how the Froebelian ideology functioned and the argument that teachers in seeking an ideological justification or rationalization of what they do may not be overly concerned about the coherence or truth of that ideology. Furthermore, armed with hindsight it is all too easy to demonstrate that Froebel was wrong about the order in which the senses emerge and other matters but this ignores the context in which such ideas are promoted and the state of knowledge at that time. A more pertinent question is whether or not the Froebelian ideology masks and conceals social contradictions. With regard to schooling, this has been suggested
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particularly with respect to the asymmetric power relations between teachers and pupils and the ensuing conflict between them. It is also possible to see in the work of Margaret McMillan and the leading revisionists a recognition that Froebel's work did not have application to urban, industrial society. The use of it, to an extent, masked the realities of that society. Equally, Froebel's work could be seen to present a vantage point, akin to Romanticism, from which to criticize and lay bear the lineaments of that society. At a wider level, Froebelian ideology was class and gender blind, with the exception of the Free Kindergarteners whose perceptions of class which were discussed in chapter 10 prefigured the debates about compensatory education of the 1960's. Also, the absence of any notion of school society links in the Froebelian ideology may be held to conceal contradictions. Perhaps, however, the Froebelian ideology was most concealing in those areas which it shared with liberalism. In particular, the notion that all round self-development is attainable by all within a capitalist society which distributes rewards and opportunities unequally and that schooling can bring about social transformation through the transformation of individuals.

Conclusion.

What has emerged has departed from previous accounts in a number of significant ways. Firstly, it has been argued that, until the eruption of the Montessori movement, the Froebelians exercised hegemony over the movements which constituted what is often referred to as the new education in as far as they concerned young children. All those movements, for practical education, for child study and scientific education contained
Froebelians. They had the organization and the institutions that the others lacked and this gave to them the ability to take the lead. Secondly, it has sort to demonstrate that the portrayal of good Froebelians locked in combat with a irredeemably bad system of schooling is far too simplistic and too much like apologetics for the Froebelians. This image has also been challenged through the consideration of the Froebelians' attitudes to the working class mothers and children of the slums. Like other aspects of welfarism their approach was decidedly double edged. Thirdly, if educational ideologies have a social basis then it is incumbent upon those who utilize the concept to reveal that social basis. Far too many typologies of educational ideologies exist only in the heads of the observers and not in the real world. Finally, there are currently two main schools of thought regarding the Froebel movement. One sees it as a humane and a benign influence the other, associated with revisionist historians in the United States, sees it as an element in a collectivist project to control the working class. While some necessary correctives have been made to the former view the latter has been shown to be barely applicable to the English context. Undoubtedly the Froebelians in the Free Kindergartens did aim at the reconstruction of the culture of the urban poor and at their regulation but the state showed little desire to support these initiatives. With respect to mass schooling the kindergarten ideal which was strongly anti-utilitarian did gain a foothold within many infant schools almost by default but in the majority of schools the ideal was never tried.
1). For a critique of the 'revisionist' historians and an attack on presentism see: Ravitch, D. (1978) The Revisionists Revised. New York, Basic Books. For a defence of presentism see: Feinberg op. cit. pp. 3-4. Presentism is not only a contemporary concern. It has itself a history as may be seen from Dewey's assertion, in his Logic: The Theory of Inquiry, that:

All history is necessarily written from the standpoint of the present, and is, in an inescapable sense, the history not only of the present but of that of that which is contemporaneously judged to be important in the present.


Appendix A

PROEBELIAN FREE KINDERGARTENS.

Following the establishment by Miss Wragge of the Woolwich free kindergarten a number of others were started. In 1903, the Reid's Court Free Kindergarten opened in Edinburgh financed by a bequest left by a former infant school teacher. One of the two teachers at this kindergarten, Miss M.A. Clapperton, was active in the local child study movement and had been in the group which visited the World's Fair in Chicago. In the same year, Miss Hilda Maufe, a former Sesame House student opened a free kindergarten in London which in 1907 was housed in a tenement in Millbank, Westminster. In 1904, the People's Free Kindergarten was opened at Greet in Birmingham by Julia Lloyd who had spent a year at the Pestalozzi-Froebel House. The Kindergartner in 1909 was Miss Daisy Higgs who had trained at Sesame House. The St Saviours Child Garden opened in Edinburgh in 1906 and in 1907, the Birmingham People's Free Kindergarten Association opened a second kindergarten at the Women's Settlement in Summer Lane. In charge of this kindergarten was a Miss Lang who held a Pestalozzi-Froebel Certificate. That year also saw the opening of a free kindergarten in the unlikely setting of Thornton-le-Dale in Yorkshire. This was the work of Ethel Priestman, another former Sesame House student.

Three more free kindergartens were opened in 1908. One in Edinburgh, was managed by the Provincial Committee for the Training of Teachers. A second was begun in a mission hall in Salford and the third, which was called the Michaelis Free Kindergarten was opened in Notting Dale in London. This venture was financed by the Michaelis Guild which consisted
of former students of the Froebel Educational Institute and Esther Lawrence who succeeded Michaelis as Principal of the Froebel Educational Institute. Lawrence also opened another free kindergarten called the Somers Town Nursery School at St Pancras in 1910. This, appropriately, was near the School for Mothers in Chalton Street. Also in 1910, the friends of the Bermondsey Settlement opened a free kindergarten at the Settlement.

After the Education Act of 1918 which permitted local education authorities to support nursery schools a number of free kindergartens became nursery schools. Among them were the kindergartens at Somers Town, Salford and the two at Birmingham.
Appendix

Appendix B

The religious character of the Froebel movement as well as its sentimental view of childhood is well captured in the following song written by the Treasurer of the Froebel Society Mr H. Keatley Moore.

1. Carmen of the Froebel Educational Institute

   To Froebel’s lofty soul
   A loving tribute pay
   Come let us for our children live
   Since he has taught the way
   To guide the whole young life
   On one harmonious plan
   Our master bids, that with God’s help
   We make a perfect man (repeat)

2. By Froebel’s care the child

   Each forward step shall win
   Until the Unity with out meets Unity within
   We bring the pure, sweet food
   To each new budding power
   Till our child garden gives to God
   Another fragrant flower (repeat)


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