CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT UNDER THE SCHOOL BOARD FOR LONDON: PHYSICAL EDUCATION

by

Jonathan May

A thesis submitted to the University of Leicester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Education, University of Leicester

April 1971
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section One</th>
<th>The Position before 1870</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1</td>
<td>Victorian England</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2</td>
<td>Education during the Victorian Adventure</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3</td>
<td>The Development of Physical Education before 1850</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4</td>
<td>Physical Education in London before 1870</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section Two</th>
<th>The School Board for London</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5</td>
<td>The Education Act of 1870</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6</td>
<td>Building the Subjects 1870 - 1895</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7</td>
<td>A Period of 'Over Pressure' 1885-1895</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8</td>
<td>Towards a Block Grant and a Curriculum 1895 - 1900</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 9</td>
<td>From School Board for London to L.C.C. 1900 - 1903</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section Three</th>
<th>Conclusion</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 10</td>
<td>A Summary of the Work of the School Board for London in Physical Education</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 11</td>
<td>An Assessment of the Impact of the Local Authorities in London on Physical Education, during the School Board Period</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Appendices    |            | 257   |
| Bibliography  |            | 263   |
| Index of Sources |        | 276   |
FOREWORD

As I had considered, in an earlier study, the contribution to Physical Education of one of the major pioneers of the subject in the nineteenth century, Madame Bergman-Osterberg, who worked in the London area for nearly thirty years, it seemed appropriate for me to widen my interest and deepen my understanding by looking at the work of the public authority under which she worked in her first major task in this country.

There is an almost complete dearth of literature in this area of the History of Physical Education in this country. Apart from my own biography of Madame Osterberg, there is only a Chapter, 'Between the Acts', in McIntosh's 'Physical Education in England since 1800' which is of real relevance. In fact, McIntosh is concerned with the national perspective, and his work serves as a signpost for a more thorough investigation.

This thesis, therefore, is an attempt to add to the body of knowledge of the history of Physical Education by a consideration of the contribution to the subject of the foremost amongst the early education authorities in public elementary education in England and Wales, the School Board for London.

During the preparation of this study, I have been given encouragement and support by Mr. R.H. Wight, and Mr. P.C. McIntosh has been extremely generous with his valuable advice. In supporting studies such as this one, the University of Leicester has made a significant contribution to the literature of Physical Education, at
a time when the growth of higher studies has high-lighted a considerable gap.

The Inner London Education Authority, in its archives, holds what remains of the records of the School Board for London. The Authority and its staff have made these available in a most efficient and helpful manner.

If Madame Bergman-Osterberg was foremost amongst the pioneers of Physical Education of her time, then there is substantial evidence that her first employers, the School Board for London, were of similar stature amongst education authorities in this field. Where she led the women of the nation in her subject, the School Board often led the nation itself.

1. This absence of research and literature will be felt during this study in particular, where the developments in physical education under school boards other than the London School Board were concerned. There is, however, some evidence, Thomas R.E, Education Special Enquiries and Reports 1898, that some progress in Manchester and Bristol followed chronologically and in form developments in London, and this is substantiated by my own work on Madame Bergman Osterberg, from Molyneux D, The Development of Physical Recreation in the Birmingham District M.A. Birmingham 1957 it may be inferred that progress in Birmingham was similar to progress in London, but again, chronologically slightly later.
SECTION ONE: THE POSITION BEFORE 1870

Chapter 1  Victorian England

Chapter 2  Education during the Victorian Adventure

Chapter 3  The Development of Physical Education before 1850

Chapter 4  Physical Education in London before 1870
Chapter 1

VICTORIAN ENGLAND

It has often been suggested that the Victorian Era, at least in terms of genius and accomplishment, was one of the greatest periods of British history. It covered the middle and second half of the nineteenth century, coming to a natural end with the death of the Queen and the end of the Boer War. At the time these were seen as the 'Years of Progress', and the Queen herself seemed to epitomise all that was mighty and permanent about Britain and her Empire.

Though all was not well in 1897, in those sixty years past millions had come out of the house of bondage and misery into which the unregulated advent of the Industrial Revolution had plunged its victims. In the same years our people had spread far across the face of the globe, carrying with them, on the whole, justice, civilisation and prosperity where they went. Great men of genius in literature, science and thought had adorned an age when civilisation seemed for a while to be strong both in quantity and quality, and helped to make common during her reign certain standards of intellectual seriousness and freedom. As the little grey figure passed in her open carriage through the shouting streets, there was a sense that we had come into port after a long voyage. But in human affairs there is no permanent haven and we are for ever setting out afresh across new and stormy seas.

Although the lifetime of the school board ran its course during the Victorian Era, in considering the work of the School Board for London it seems appropriate to examine it against the background of the social changes taking place in Britain during the century as

1. Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., The Victorian Era c.1899, School board textbook of the period, sub-titled 'The Years of Progress'.
a whole. The exact beginning and precise end of a century are not always too readily determined with accuracy. With the nineteenth, however, we are perhaps more than usually fortunate in this respect, easily discerning Thomson's 'Great Peace' between two major wars. The first of these, of course, ended in 1815, the second was declared in 1914.

Much of what Thomson has to say, for example about the small part played by wars during the period, is of too specialised a nature to be of relevance in this context. But the three broad phases he observes as comprising the century are valuable. His 'Victorian Adventure' begins the period, with the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire and wars working themselves out, leaving much of Europe devastated with conflict in ideas as well as with military conflict. In Britain, the growth of democratic radicalism born of the French Revolution, the increase in population and industrialisation allied to national inventiveness and the exploitation of large natural resources of coal, steadily built up to the climax of British power, prestige and prosperity, sometimes referred to as mid-Victorian complacency. During this phase, of extended industrial revolution, Britain gradually carried out moderate reforms and seemed to stand before the world as the model of constitutional government as well as the leading producer of cheap manufactured goods. As the century enters its final quarter, and Thomson's third phase, the birth rate in Britain begins to decline, and her commercial and industrial eminence on the one hand and her comparative military strength and naval supremacy on the other become increasingly challenged. Soon, we are able to detect the response to this challenge from competition, mainly from the Continent, and

1. Thomson, D., England in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914)
witness the steady development of the modern democratic state.

These three phases in the development of Victorian England, 1815 - 1850, 1850 - 1874 and 1874 - 1914 serve as a backcloth against which we may see the development of Physical Education in London.

The Battle of Waterloo in 1815 marked the end of one kind of conflict, that of the battlefield, between great nations. It seems also, in retrospect, to serve as a mark for the commencement of hostilities of a markedly different nature, quite as grave for those involved as the Napoleonic Wars themselves. Initially, the conflict was twofold, between on the one hand manufacturing and agricultural interests, and on the other between the owners of mills, mines and factories, and the employees. The first of these led to agitations for repeal of the Corn Laws and the Free Trade movement, the second to a class-warfare most remarkable in that it never became open revolution.

The practically unlimited output of the factories had called into existence a floating mass of workmen living from hand to mouth, attracted one year from the stable industry of the small workshops, to be thrown the next, unemployed, upon the streets of large towns. Here surely was an army ready to wage a form of civil war inconceivable to the England which had made the revolutions of the seventeenth century. ¹

The struggle between Disraeli's Two Nations ² led to acts of open violence such as the much publicised 'Peterloo Massacre'. In the summer of 1819, the mounted yeomanry killed a dozen men

² Disraeli, B., Sybil. The Two Nations 1845
and women demonstrating in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, and wounded some five hundred more. However, the middle classes in general and the mill-owners themselves in particular became aware that repression alone was no answer to the serious social and economic problems of the day. At first the government followed a policy of repression. Gradually at first, and then more frequently and repeatedly throughout the century, reforms were enacted as more suitable alternatives to open riot. These reforms fell into three major phases, two of which are central to the period covered by the study.¹

The coincidence of railway development with the dramatic increase in coal mining and the growth of the iron and steel industries led to progress in the engineering and machine tool industries. The extent of the resulting industrial revolution was only less remarkable than its rapidity. As a direct consequence, England between 1815 and 1850 developed dramatically from a pastoral community into an industrial nation. Despite the Corn Laws, the activities of the improving landlords during and immediately following the war created a large landless working class, much of which had wandered into the new towns seeking employment. By mid-century, the average Englishman was no longer an agricultural worker or countryman but an industrial worker. So swift and massive a change led to an unprecedented social and economic upheaval. This in its turn caused a general and grievous state of distress in the working class. This created what later became known as the 'condition of England question', a question which prompted many gifted and compassionate men and women to seek relevant answers. Advanced thinkers like Robert Owen and John Stuart Mill and the new leaders of the labouring classes such as Joseph Hume and Francis Place responded to the needs of post-war British society.

¹ Appendix A.
Together they all constituted the forces of change which, despite all complications and degrees of opposition, were to lead to a transformation of British government and social policy during the second half of the century.

The provision of public education, as we shall see, became a central issue in the 'condition of England question', and Physical Education proved to be one of the most vital answers. London became the focal point of the whole of Britain and her Empire, and later the Commonwealth. In examining Physical Education under the School Board for London we shall be considering the contribution made by this subject to elementary education at the heart of one of the great civilisations of the world at the height of its power.

The contrast between what one might expect and what is actually discovered is very much part of the startling contradictions which were essentially part of the Victorian Era.
Chapter 2

EDUCATION DURING THE VICTORIAN ADVENTURE

By the end of the nineteenth century, such progress had been made in the sphere of social reform that one can determine the emergence of the modern democratic state. At the beginning of the period, however, no obstacle in the path of progress, in the provision of popular education, was greater than the generally accepted political doctrine of laissez faire.

Edmund Burke voiced the opinions of the governing classes of Britain, thoroughly shaken by events in France during the Revolution, with his references to the 'swinish multitude'. They were, in general terms, in a mood to grind the faces of the poor. Adam Smith led the way with his 'Wealth of Nations' in 1776, and during the early nineteenth century the doctrine of laissez faire was developed by, amongst others, Walthus, Ricardo and Mill. The policy implied opposition to official interference in liberty, a belief in unfettered competition and a complete acceptance of the freedom of the individual. In 1806, a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons reaffirmed:

The right of every man to employ the capital he inherits or has acquired according to his own discretion, so long as he does not infringe the rights and properties of others, is one of those privileges which the free and happy Constitution of this country has long accustomed every Briton to consider as his birthright. ¹

It should be noted at this stage that the doctrine was seldom quoted in the early decades of the century except to stress the undesirability of the state intervening on behalf of employees insisting on a living wage. ²

---

2. Trevelyan, G.M., British History in the Nineteenth Century and After: 1782 - 1914 n. 206
The doctrine very much suited the purpose of the capitalists by furnishing them with a convenient economic justification for the exploitation of the advantages they already held. Often the working classes themselves were party to the exploitation.\(^1\) The Industrial Revolution had destroyed much of the simple culture of the countryman and even rudimentary home education had disappeared. The policy of laissez-faire, together with rapid industrial development, induced a chaos which was, to say the very least, extremely disadvantageous where the education of the young was concerned. The poor were left quite unprotected by the state from the evils of the conditions in the factories, mills and mines. They were free to be exploited whilst the employers were at liberty to do as they pleased. This led to an oppression on the part of the employers in keeping with their general attitude to the proletariat.

Not only the people themselves acquiesced. The Factory Acts, the first in 1830, permitted the employment of children (in disgraceful conditions) for long periods for little money.\(^2\) The parents had little choice in the matter, in that the modest pittance gleaned by their youngest child could mean the margin for the family between miserable survival and starvation. This curious and perhaps unexpected phenomenon, a general demand for child labour, was due to the realisation that one adult with the assistance of a few children could operate one of the new factory machines. The removal of the children might well have led to the unemployment of the men concerned. In this situation, even parish apprentices were enticed from the workhouses by factory owners. Not all employers, certainly, were unenlightened, but, generally speaking, children were cruelly treated in conditions which were never inspected and in which little provision was made for safety or welfare.

---

1. Tressell, R., *The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists*
2. Novelists such as Dickens, Thackeray and Alexander Cordell are amongst those who did much to make the condition of the poor widely known, or who have attempted to re-capture the scene since.
The ruling classes preached and even practised private charity to an extent which to modern eyes appears ludicrously modest. Even this was seen as a bonus rather than a desperate necessity.

Let compassion be shown in action, the more the better according to every man's ability, but let there be no lamentation of their condition. Patience, labour, sobriety, frugality and religion should all be recommended to them.¹

The rapid rise of many self-made men seemed to justify the belief in self-help and voluntary work in social welfare. It seemed that the opportunity was there for any man to exercise his freedom, and by his own individual effort to raise his condition. In keeping with laissez faire and the current liberal thinking, the pattern of events would work themselves out and eventually all members of society would raise themselves and society to new and fully acceptable heights. Jerry-builders, for example, according to the doctrine, were engaged in forwarding general happiness.

These pioneers of 'progress' saved space by crowding families into single rooms or thrusting them underground into cellars, and saved money by the use of cheap and insufficient building material, and by providing no drains — or,

¹ Burke, E. Works Vol. VII, p. 377
worse still, by providing drains that oozed into the water supply.\textsuperscript{1}

As Trevelyan points out, the philosophy of laissez faire was not always at force in every direction at once. Nevertheless, it was powerful enough to cause one opponent, Tom Paine, author of 'The Rights of Man', to flee the country. The doctrine also obstructed any substantial development of social or educational provision, and it set the pattern of the very circumspect and piecemeal advance, which was all that was possible, as the century unfolded.

The educational inheritance, if it can be called that, from the eighteenth century, is best recalled within the class division. For the upper classes there were the unreformed public schools, private tutors, non-conformist academies and private academies. For the middle classes there were the lesser public schools and endowed schools of various kinds. Some of the endowments were long outmoded, structured to cater for a society which had ceased to be; others provided schools not far removed in provision and purpose from the public schools and their imitators. Provision for the poor had been made largely from religious motives, specifically to enable the masses to read the Bible. Places too were created

\textsuperscript{1} Trevelyan, G.M., \textit{Illustrated English Social History} p. 127
for many pauper children. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge initially dominated the charity school movement, but its influence was declining in the early nineteenth century. The Sunday School Movement, from the end of the century, was the only thriving source of elementary education, but by definition was very limited in its scope and extent. There were some endowed schools at this time which catered for the needs of the working classes, but they were few in number. Some dame schools continued to survive, but they were often simply creches which enabled mothers themselves to join the rest of the family in the factory, and little if any education was attempted. For the children of paupers in need of relief and for orphans there were the schools of industry.

Contributions to the existing voluntary provision of education were many, various, uncoordinated and inadequate. The eighteenth century had shown glimmers of concern where the problem of popular education was concerned. Rousseau's 'Emile' appeared in 1762, and the influence of Pestalozzi and Oberlin was also felt in the early seventies. John Locke had called for schemes catering for working schools for the compulsory training of the children of poor in need of relief from the age of three and in 1798 Halthus, although an advocate of the philosophy of laissez faire, considered it

---

1. Locke, J. On Education 1692 Ed, Quick, R.H., Educational Reformers 1868
a national disgrace that the education of the poor was left in the hands of a few Sunday Schools.\(^1\)

The problems in much graver form were those that have bedevilled education in this country to this day. The total inadequacy of teacher supply, far too many children for the institutions available or likely to be so in prevailing conditions and, of course, too little available money. As early as 1797, however, several charity schools in London, St. Botolph's School, Aldgate, amongst them, had tried Bell's experiment in education, the 'Madras System'\(^2\) and in 1798 Lancaster opened his first monitory school in Southwark. Here at least was a vehicle which proposed a comparatively cheap system of mass education. Under different circumstances its impact might have been far wider.

The plan of employing 'monitors' in Sunday schools, however, found warm advocates, and in some cases was adopted with apparent success. Had the time been ripe, it might have developed into a means of training elder scholars for the work, and so have made, as one contemporary writer actually phrased it, 'a nursery for teaching'. In its crude form, however, it failed to command the approval of the

---

2. Bell, A., *An Experiment in Education*, Male Asylum, Madras 1897
conductors of Sunday Schools, and gradually fell into desuetude.¹

In 1805 perhaps the first turning point was reached when George III became a patron of Lancaster's school. In the same year, Mrs. Trimmer also brought public attention to bear on the work of the monitory schools. She had already written on the work of the charity schools.² Now she published a text on Bell's system and accused Lancaster of copying Bell and of basing his work on a false doctrine. Not only was Lancaster a Quaker, but he would not provide in his schools for the teaching of the catechism. Three years later Lancaster's supporters rallied round him to save him, it was alleged, from his own extravagance, and founded the Royal Lancastrian Society. Later, when he quarrelled with his sponsors, this became known as the British and Foreign Schools Society. Also significant in 1808 was Bell's published plan for the establishment of a national system of schools under the auspices of the Church of England. As the century entered its second decade, prominent members of the Church of England formed the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, by means of monitory schools.

¹ Groser, W.H., A Hundred Years' Work for the Children The Sunday School Union, London 1903 p. 19
² Trimmer, Reflections upon the Education of Children in Charity Schools.
To communicate to the poor . . . by means of a summary mode of education . . . such knowledge and habits as are sufficient to guide them through life in their proper stations . . . and to train them to the performance of their religious duties by an early discipline.  

We now have, in the monitory system, a method which might make possible the development of mass education for the poor. We have too the particular problems of the nineteenth century already noted. Continued unrest following the French Revolution, the growing desire to permit a modest provision for the advancement of the poor without giving them ideas above their station and an increasing demand for child labour combined with the continuing problems of urbanisation, all led to two main results. Firstly, there was a general belief that any provision of education for the poor should be short, practical and unpleasant. Secondly, we detect from 1805 the germination of religious antagonism which was for many years to be perhaps the dominant single factor in educational development.

In this situation, with most education for the lower classes in the hands of the Churches, with the government in no way concerned, a growing need was making itself felt. To

1. Minutes of the first meeting of the National Society 1808
facilitate unimpeded industrial development, there was a need for more literate workers who could read simple instructions; and there was an increasing awareness of the necessity to alleviate educational destitution amongst the working classes. Samuel Whitbread had made the first attempt in the House of Commons when he introduced his Parochial Schools Bill in 1807, seeking direct state intervention in elementary education. He had been successful in the Commons, but the Lords rejected his proposal. They felt that education would make the poor discontented and seditious, and that from the religious point of view it was unacceptable.

However specious in theory the project might be of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments. Instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them fractious and refractory, as it was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books, and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors; and in a few years the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them.¹

¹ Giddy, D.M.P., Hansard, Vol. IX 1178, August 11th, 1807
The Church of England was uneasy, of course lest the state should take control of education, hitherto very much its own province. Other religious interests were suspicious that any national system would be dominated by the established Church.

On the 28th June 1820, during an interval in the trial of Queen Caroline, Lord Brougham brought before Parliament a complete scheme of elementary education through schools erected under the auspices of the Justices of the peace in each parish. Finance was to be from a fee of between 2d and 4d, a school rate and an annual state grant of £250,000.¹

The instruction was to be religious but not dogmatic. The last provision aroused the distrust of the Anglican clergy, to whom it was inconceivable that there could be any religious instruction which was not dogmatic. At the same time the Dissenters were in arms against Brougham's proposals, which, they considered, gave the Anglicans a monopoly of primary education to the detriment of Non-conformity.²

Lord Brougham's Parish Schools Bill was met with similar opposition to that experienced by Whitbread and Roebuck's Bill providing for compulsory education for children between the ages of six and twelve, which was rejected in 1833. In that year, however, in the mood of reform which followed the legislation of 1832, a half

² Ibid., p. 107
empty house agreed to Lord Althorp's compromise, and a sum of not more than £20,000 was voted 'in aid of private subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain, to the 31st day of March 1834; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever.'

The grant was to be administered through the National Society and the British and Foreign Society, and the Treasury contribution was to be dependent upon subscriptions of a like amount. There was still at this stage no intention on the part of the central government of becoming involved in questions of educational policy. We still relied on a Church dominated system, not grant aided by the state. Another step was taken in 1837 when the Council and School of Design was established. Here, the Treasury was to give grants through the Board of Trade. The intention was to give training for workhouse children, which had previously been given under the apprenticeship system, and it was to be administered by the Poor Law Commissioners.

By 1839, the Treasury grant had grown to £30,000 per annum. The government of the day decided to set up a Committee of the Privy Council on Education 'to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting

1. Hansard, Vol. 20 1833, Col. 153
The Secretary of the new Committee, Dr. Kay, later Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, instituted enquiries into the school system and gained the right of inspection in spite of the Church's reluctance to grant it. It was clear from the outset that the Committee saw their role as a far wider one than the administration of the annual grant. However, from the legal point of view, this purely supervisory function of the state in public education in this country continued until the Butler Education Act of 1944, when the Ministry of Education was established. Religious antagonism continued to bar attempts at further progress.

In 1843 the government of Sir R. Peel with a majority of 90 introduced an Education Bill, rather large, and meant to provide for the factory districts. The non-conformists at large took up arms against it, and after full consideration of the Cabinet (one of my first acts in the Cabinet), they withdrew it rather than stir up this religious flame.

Two changes in the policy of the select committee were made in 1846. Grants were increased to finance a pupil-teacher scheme, the first attempt to improve upon the monitory system, and the principle of maintenance grants was established. The money was paid direct to the teachers 'to secure an improvement in the qualification ... and an increase in the supply'.

The following year there was a large increase in the annual grant to £100,000 due to this financing of the pupil-teacher system and the purchase of new equipment.

By mid-century, the end of 'the Victorian Adventure', the allocation of money to education and the provision of places and schools had increased significantly.

To thinking men, however, the great educational landmark of 1851 was not so much the exhibition in Hyde Park as the census. This showed that the population was now 17,927,609: an increase of 101% since 1801. Special educational questions had been inserted in the census. These showed that the 2,144,376 children at 47,042 day schools in England and Wales represented a proportion of 1 to 8.36% of the total population. This was a great advance on 1813 when the proportion was 1 to 17.25%, the day scholars being 674,683, the day schools 19,230 and the total population 11,642,683.1

In 1833, the grant had been £20,000; there had been 1,300,000 pupils attending 40,000 schools. In 1851, £150,000 was being granted annually, and 2,000,000 scholars received their education in 45,000 schools. The National Society led the provision of places with 956,000 in 1851. In 1850 the following numbers of children attending schools of other religious denominations were

quoted in Parliament: British and Foreign School Society, 200,000; Wesleyan School Society, 38,000; Roman Catholic School Society, 34,000, and the Congregational School Society, 6,000.

Although there had really been only a modest growth in the number of places (after twenty years little more than a third were additional places) and the education offered was rudimentary in the extreme, a great deal more public money was being spent than had been intended at the outset. The annual grant was over seven times what it had been in 1833. Accordingly, the government set up a select committee to look into the expenditure of money on public education. The staff of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education had become saturated with the duties involved in the administration of the increased sum to so many institutions.

... the Committee of Council was in constitution and principle one of the worst modes of administration. The members were ill-assorted; some could not attend for want of time; others had not the knowledge or opportunity of understanding the functions that nominally devolved upon them; and, as the result, the real power was in the hands of subordinate persons.¹

The Select Committee suggested an overhaul of the relationship of the Education Committee with the Privy Council. It recommended the establishment of a separate Education Department with its own

---

¹ Holman, H., *English National Education* Blackie 1898 p. 148
staff, which would be responsible for building and equipping schools and the distribution of grants. The link with the Privy Council would be maintained in that the President of the new Department would be the Lord President of the Council:

The Vice-President was selected by the Prime Minister when he chose his Cabinet, and thus his term of office ended when the particular party in power, of which he was a member, ceased to have a majority in the House. Thus the progress of education came to be definitely linked with politics, and on many occasions the tendency has been to regard education from the point of view of the policy of the party in power rather than from its relation to the children of the country. 1

The administrative staff of the Privy Council would be freed of responsibilities for education, and instead, a separate administrative staff would be paid for out of education finances. The Education Department Secretary would be responsible for all business and policy. He would be aided by two assistant secretaries, a number of examiners, who would standardise examinations for grant purposes and act as senior clerks, and a number of supplementary clerks who would check claims for expenditure and generally help the inspectors.

The Education Department, as recommended by the Select Committee,

was established in 1856, but its responsibilities were confined to the provision of elementary education in the 'three Rs' for the lower classes. It might be noted at this stage that already there was a proliferation of bodies interested in education from public funds. In addition to the new Education Department itself, there were also the Commissioners of Trade and the Department of Practical Art interested in apprenticeship schools and schools of design; government departments administered Army and Navy schools, and so on, and the Charity Commissioners controlled a large number of bequests, many of the purposes of which had long disappeared. After the criticism of British invention and design in the Report of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the Commissioners of Trade and the Department of Practical Art combined to form the Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade.

By mid-century we now have continued state support for the voluntary societies in education for the labouring poor. Many notable contributions have been made by such men and women as Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer, Robert Raikes, Richard Edgeworth, David Stow, Robert Owen, Jeremy Bentham and Samuel Wilderspin, each adding to the pool of relevant ideas and practical provision. The general climate of opinion, too, has begun to change significantly. No local government agencies are responsible, in the national sense,
for elementary education and, although from 1856 more coordination seems possible from the Education Department, the function of this new device is purely supervisory in character. There is, as yet, and for some years, no question of secondary education as we now know it, other than for the upper and middle classes, nor any evidence of state provision of schools. No national system of education seems likely and religious issues dominate attempts to alleviate educational aspects of the 'condition of England question'.

So deeply ingrained, though, was the English conception of education as a private and voluntary and religious affair and no business of the State; so self-contained were the English as a people; and so little did they know or heed the progress made in other lands, that the arguments for national action encountered tremendous opposition from the Conservative elements, and often were opposed even by the Liberals.¹

However, the inspectors of the Education Department make valuable reports where we can examine in more detail the development of education.

Lord Macaulay, in 1847, defending a proposal by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education for a national system of education, held it to be 'the right and duty of the State to provide for the education of the common people, and warned the Commons of dangers

to come if the progressive tendencies of the time were not listened to. ¹ On the other hand, attempts at State intervention had barely scratched the surface.

¹ Cubberley, E.P. A History of the Practice and Progress and Organisation of Education p. 346
Chapter 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION BEFORE 1850

There have been several valuable attempts to consider the contribution of physical education during the history of mankind. Because of their extremely ambitious nature, some of these works appear to read rather presumptuously into the scanty information available about many periods of World history, and occasionally some of the conclusions drawn are little better than unsubstantiated generalisations.

The chapter on 'Physical Education in Education for Primitive Survival', in Van Dalen's book, for example, is an interesting exercise in examining the roots of what we have come to call Physical Education. Van Dalen studies the past in terms of modern criteria of aims and teaching methods, and although this may have a certain value, it is of dubious use for our purpose.

1. Notably:
   Hackensmith, C.W., History of Physical Education 1966
   Leonard, F.E., and Affleck, G.B., The History of Physical Education 1947
   Rice, E.A., A Brief History of Physical Education 1926
   Van Dalen, D.B., Mitchell,E.D.; Bennett, B.L., A World History of Physical Education 1963

2. e.g., 'Instinct and opportunity to play are more pronounced among primitive people than among those of civilised nations' Rice, Hutchinson & Lee, 'A Brief History of Physical Education' p. 3
We simply note the known facts of utilitarian training for survival. If contemporary commentaries were available we might be able to consider relevant values and attitudes. Even modern studies in surviving primitive societies have received a great deal of criticism as to the validity of the conclusions drawn on the basis of very limited research.¹

With considerable caution, therefore, as to the limitations of available literature, we confine ourselves to noting the interesting patterns of the development of Physical Education which do emerge through the unfolding of the various texts. We may observe the importance of the field, for example, in Greek and Roman times. In Sparta, we find great importance attached to the training of the future citizen-warrior, the boy of seven years of age and over, in a broad programme of physical activities such as wrestling, running, jumping, throwing, marching and swimming. More humane than the Spartan 'survival of the fittest' was the approach in Athens, where, at the father's discretion, games and gymnastics could occupy much of a boy's time at the Palestræ. Here, harmony and balance, 'the avoidance of any excess', the interdependence of mental and physical health, and the development of a healthy mind in a healthy body, were some of the contributions to thinking in Physical Education which, we may suspect, have made a lasting impact on the development of the subject.

¹ The work of Margaret Mead in her 'Coming of Age in Samoa' and 'Growing up in New Guinea', frequently used by educational sociologists today, has been severely dealt with by many of her contemporaries.
We may even find evidence of conscious use of physical activities in the socialisation of members of a given society during classical times.

Our infants soon born to the rivers we first convey, and in the rigid icy stream we harden. In the chase our boys are keen and harrass the woods: their pastime is to manage steeds, and dart the arrow from the bow. Our youth engain of labour patient, and to frugality is used, either by the harrow subdue the ground, or batter towns in war.¹

More recently another commentator recalled the approach of the Greeks to physical activity:

To the Greeks, sport was not merely a pleasant form of relaxation; it was a highly serious business, involving a whole complex of affairs concerned with hygiene and medical athletics and ethics.

Thus, physical training remained an essential part of the process of initiation into civilised life - this is to say, of education: hence its prominent place in the ephebia, which was the highest rung on the educational ladder.²

Perhaps what is of most importance to us about physical education in classical times is, firstly, the importance of that area of education we have become accustomed to call Physical Education in, as far as we can see, most of the civilisations of ancient times, and secondly, a tradition which grew up, of what

¹ Quoted in Van Dalen, Mitchell & Bennett as the aim of physical education in early Roman times (Aenide, IX 603-608, Virgil)
might be called classical physical education, with values and attitudes which contributed something to the thinking of physical education many generations later.

Without being beguiled by the delights of historicism, it is interesting to witness the unfolding of the story of Physical Education at the pens of its historians. With the emergence of the Church of Rome, asceticism became the aim of Roman Chivalry, and mortification of the flesh, strict discipline, penance, and manual labour were features of a tradition quite incompatible with Physical Education. The body was no longer to be developed in harmony with the mind. It was now to be brought into subjection. The Emperor Theodosius, one of the early Christian Emperors, abolished the Olympic Games, as a pagan influence, as early as 394 A.D.

As the Teutonic hordes invaded and destroyed dissolute Rome, learning, with much of the comparatively advanced cultures of Hellenic and Roman times, stagnated and declined, preserved only in the monasteries which were by now strewn thinly through the known world. Physical Education, with mankind, entered the Dark Ages. 'In no school of the Middle ages could physical education have found a place; education, its aim, method and content was dominated by asceticism.'

1. Rice, E.A., A Brief History of Physical Education p. 52
With the decline of government by State or Empire, as in Greece or Rome, Western Europe, devastated by the insurgence of the barbarians, turned to feudalism. The poor turned to their masters. The strong protected the weak in return for total loyalty and service. This protection was enjoyed until a mightier warrior than the local liege lord chanced along. During the Age of Chivalry, training for the Knighthood was very much concerned with preparation for war. The pages swam, ran, jumped, fenced, boxed and climbed. The Squire joined in endurance races, swimming, climbing (encased in armour) and swordsmanship. The knight, of course, enjoyed tournaments and jousting, and for his recreation wrestled, hunted and developed his prowess at horsemanship. These activities have been seen by our standard works as the Physical Education in its middle years. During these times, they all record, knightly pursuits and later gentlemanly sports became firmly part of Physical Education. Whether this training constituted Physical Education in terms of the modern concept of education is an interesting question which will, no doubt, in time receive more thorough attention than it has had hitherto.

The impact of the man-at-arms was felt mainly during the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. Then, gradually, the missile became more important, with the invention of the musket, and there followed
a decline in the importance of man-to-man combat. When one ponders on the role of the infantry in two World Wars and this nuclear age, one doubts the veracity of some of the assumptions that have been made which nicely suit a simple history of Physical Education.

With the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, we have the Renaissance and the development of feudalism into Monarchy. There is a return now to classical studies in philosophy, literature and art. The humanists detected the importance attached to physical education in antiquity, and most of them wrote of the desirability of some form of physical education. Da Feltre, Vergerii, Elyot, Aschan and Mercurialis all saw the need of recreation for mind and body, and the desirability of dividing periods of study with exercise or play. Activities strongly relevant to the thinking of the times were tennis, fencing, dancing, archery, wrestling, running, riding, swimming and exercises with dumbbells. Here, quite rightly, our historians recognise the impact of Greek and Roman influence on educational thought.

With the Reformation came further approval of physical education, keenly noted in modern times. Luther himself approved of gymnastic exercises and Bugenhagon and Melanchthon, whilst not approving of physical exercises, welcomed out-of-school games and athletics.
Much has been written of the impact of Realists and their writings. Erasmus Milton, Montaigne, Locke, Mulcaster and Comenius were amongst those who brought the 'central light of reason' to bear in their educational thinking upon, amongst very many other things, P.E. Rabelais, who, in working out the education of Gargantua under Ponocrates, for example, saw that he enjoyed almost every conceivable activity.¹

The Age of Enlightenment brought the contributions of the Naturalists, notably Voltaire and Rousseau. The writing of 'Emile' ² had perhaps the most long term influence on physical educationists. It influenced not only the first practical experiments in Germany during the eighteenth century, but also, most significantly for us, developments in post World War 2 Britain.

Generally speaking, it seems agreed that the credit for the first practical contribution to physical education in its modern form must go to Basedow, who opened his Philanthopinum at Dessau in 1774. Although this venture was short lived, gymnastics was, significantly, included in the daily curriculum. Simon, an assistant master, was the first to teach physical education. In his programme were many games, including shuttlecock and tennis, gymnastics and exercises and beam balancing, manual labour, and the knightly sports of dancing, riding and fencing. Du Toit, Simon's successor, added exercises on ladders, swimming, skating and archery. Our world histories do not establish the influence of physical education from ancient times on these experiments, but they seem

² Rousseau, J.J., *Emile* 1762
physical education from ancient times on these experiments, but they seem to assume that it must have been there. They also agree as to the influence of the writings of most of the thinkers listed in the paragraph above, and more.

The Schepfenthal Educational Institute, opened in Gotha by Salzman in 1785 was modelled on Basedow's Philanthropinum. André was responsible for physical education and he adopted most of the activities of Simon and du Toit. He added throwing, racing, pole-vaulting and Sunday afternoon games and gymnastic sports. In bad weather, André conducted pastoral exercises indoors. Gutsmuths succeeded André and made his own contribution to the programme of activities. He added, for example, climbing ropes, masts and rope ladders, and long hikes. He also was the first to keep records of the progress of his pupils. Gutsmuths' main and lasting contribution, however, lay in another new direction: in his writing. His 'Gymnastis for the Young' was, in fact, the first manual by a practising physical educationist. The impact of his work is easily seen by the impressive list of his publications in various countries.¹

At this juncture we might profitably leave the general histories and the main stream of the development of Physical Education through

the work of Jahn Speiss in Germany, Nachtegaal in Denmark and Ling in Sweden, and follow the thread leading into Britain, noted by work of a somewhat more scholarly nature. McIntosh finds difficulty in assessing the influence of the writing of Gutsmuths in England, but assumes it must have been there. He points out that in 1822 the military authorities appointed Cliss to organise courses in gymnastics at R.M.C. Sandhurst, R.H.A. Woolwich and R.H. Asylum Greenwich, and that Cliss was a disciple of Gutsmuths. The following year, Cliss published an English version of his master's work.

A decade later, Walker attempted to adapt the work of Gutsmuths and Cliss to suit the needs of English people. The first half of his book dealt with running, leaping, vaulting, pole-leaping, balancing, skating, carrying, climbing and swimming. The second half was devoted to his celebrated line drawings of swimming and life saving, which appear to McIntosh to have been directly pirated from Gutsmuths. Walker also published a series of exercises for ladies in order 'to improve beauty and correct postural defects'. Walker's books were both written

1. McIntosh, P.C., P.E. in England since 1800 p. 80
2. Cliss, P.C., An Elementary Course of Gymnastics 1823
3. Walker, D., Manly Exercises 1834
4. McIntosh, P.C., Ibid. p. 83
5. Walker, D., Exercises for Ladies London 1835
primarily for adults, as their titles suggest, but according to McIntosh\(^1\) they also provided the inspiration and the basis for the physical exercises conducted in some elementary schools in Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century. He indicates that by 1834 'it was common for pupil teachers to conduct classes of children in exercise, either in elementary movements or more complex combinations, according to their ability'.\(^2\)

Hackensmith, in one Chapter, manages to summarize Physical Education in 19th Century Europe, Gymnastics and School and Society, without references and with breathtaking brevity. The Chapter reads,

As the military pressure for physically trained men abated and the training of gymnastics leaders for the armed services became routinized, gymnastics leaders turned their attention to the field of education. In some cases the shift from the military to the school was made without modification. Other leaders soon discovered that a programme suitable for army personnel was beyond the capacity and foreign to the interests of children in school. Although many instructors recognised the fact that children like to play, they were guided in their choice of school programmes by the mechanistic theory of bodily exercise inherited from the past. They found such programmes were suited to people accustomed to regimentation by the State.\(^3\)

---

1. McIntosh, P.C., *Physical Education in England Since 1800*
2. Minutes of Committee of Privy Council 1839 - 1840
3. Hackensmith, C.W., *History of Physical Education* p. 132
There may indeed be some truth in this contention, but it is comforting to find that McIntosh is somewhat more circumspect. He, in fact, simply hints that, in England, the military flavour of Clias later appeared in Physical Education in elementary schools.¹

If Hackensmith's gymnastics leaders did turn from military to educational gymnastics in the way he suggested, and if Clias did represent a link between Gutsmuths and, ultimately, our elementary schools, these were by no means the only influences. Many thinking men and women were aware of the value in education of physical training. Smith, for example, saw physical exercise as a valuable counter to the adverse effects of indoor occupations.² Wilderspin considered the playground to be the 'uncovered school-room' as vital as the rooms inside the school. 'I would rather see a school where they charged two-pence or three-pence per week for each child, having a playground, than one where the children had free admission without one.'³

James Hill agrees that John Stuart Mill favoured physical training, although he cautions that this was more as an aid to

¹. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England since 1800, p. 84
². Smith, Adam, Health of Nations Bk. V, Ch. 1, Pt. 3, Art. 2, 1776
the development of intelligence than as an activity to be pursued
for its own sake.\textsuperscript{1} Robert Owen, the founder of British Socialism,
providing free education for the children of workers, opened his
unique infants' school in 1816. Under the guidance of James
Buchanan and Molly Young the children were taught dancing and
singing and encouraged to play games to 'improve their powers of
conversation'.\textsuperscript{2} Although Owen had met Pestalozzi, and had visited
Fellenberg, his own ideas had been worked out in isolation. Curtis
follows the influence of this experiment to Westminster where an
infants school was established on the lines of the New Lanark
infants' school, sponsored by Brougham, James Stuart Mill,
Zachary and T.B. Macaulay.\textsuperscript{3}

Kay, too, with his own work at Battersea, concerned himself
with Physical Education.

Another reform which was quickly introduced and which
clearly bore testimony to Kay's early training as a
doctor was an attempt to improve the physical training
of the students. With this end in view, therefore, a
gymnastic frame and parallel bars were purchased and
'marching exercises' and 'extension movements' practised
with great regularity so that every youth should acquire
both muscular vigour and good deportment. A slouching
gait, Kay maintained, 'was a sign of vulgarity' and
should be corrected as soon as possible, for 'by giving

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Hill, J.S., \textit{Essay on Education} in 4th Ed. Encyclopaedia Britannica
\item[2.] Curtis, S.J., \textit{History of Education in Great Britain} p. 210
\item[3.] Ibid.
\end{itemize}
a child an erect and manly bearing, a firm and regular step, precision and rapidity of his movements, promptitude in obedience to commands and neatness in apparel and person, a teacher was insensibly laying the foundations of correct moral habits.¹

Kay had been 'made increasingly aware' of the importance of Physical Education when visiting a Normal School in Canton de Vaud. He noted that the relevant 'truths' had long been recognised in Germany and Switzerland, and he copied the methods and apparatus he saw in Switzerland, at Battersea.²

As may be seen then, the gymnastic exercises of the pupil teachers and students had not reference solely to health. They were considered an important element of the discipline and moral tone of the college.³

Gymnastics leaders, continental physical educationists, British writers and teachers and administrators and perhaps many more made contributions, during the first half of the nineteenth century, the impact of each of which is almost impossible to determine. It might be more fruitful, therefore, at this stage, to look at the position in the elementary schools during the period to establish some kind of perspective. The Reports of the Committee of Council Inspectors had begun to trickle in from the

2. First Report on the Training School at Battersea p. 318
first years of Kay's administration, somewhat enigmatically called Education Department Reports. These, in their turn, were succeeded by the Reports of the Inspectors of the Education Department, after 1850. These reports, covering the years 1839 - 1870, fell into two main categories: 1839 to 1861 was a period of inspection; thereafter, the Revised Code led into an era of inspection and examination. The first of these two approaches was characterised by apparent liberality, but had no foundation of excellence and was, as a result, sterile in the extreme; the second was equally disastrous, leading as it did to mechanical routine at a low level.¹

Before 1839 the curriculum was modest indeed. The education of boys was considered to be concerned with reading, and in many cases with arithmetic. Writing for them was regarded as an extra subject. Girls spent most of their time sewing, and if time could be found then a little reading was fitted in.² Characteristic of the reports of these years was the domination of religious influence. Reading meant reading the Bible; writing comprised copying from the Psalms. The girls' sewing was very much vocational education.

2. *Education Department Reports* 1842 p. 48
By 1840 the view of the inspectors at least had widened.

'The great majority of National and Lancastrian schools profess only to teach reading, writing and arithmetic and that a knowledge of the English language, natural history, geography, physiology and the history of their country are all excluded subjects.'¹

The H.M.I. concerned, the Hon. Baptist Noel, found widespread educational destitution even amongst accepted subjects. Often even the highest classes in a school could not read (the New Testament) correctly. Few girls were able to write and few girls' schools taught arithmetic. Boys, although on the whole taught to write, were seldom able to demonstrate 'a good hand' and in the few classes where boys learned arithmetic, many were deficient in the simplest rules. Of all the children in one particular school, only six boys were able to do a simple sum. Five got it wrong.

When reading these early reports, one is not surprised to notice evidence of the dominance of religion in most of what was attempted in schools which were part of what was still a voluntary system. One is also struck by the dismal efforts being made with bare literacy of the labouring poor, as the extremely limited aim. If this was education, then certainly

¹ Education Department Reports 1840 p. 173
the masses would be given no ideas above their station. In this situation, it would be unreal to consider the development of what might be called a curriculum, and even less profitable to seek the inclusion of Physical Education. Had there been anything approaching a liberal curriculum, then perhaps we might have searched out attempts to secure the natural place of Physical Education amongst the subjects contributing to it. From the outset, instead, Physical Education was held to be a separate consideration, concerned with the health and welfare of those poor children, their discipline and their moral welfare. For many years, the generally accepted concept of Physical Education was other than that of an accepted subject on the curriculum of the elementary school.

We are again fortunate in being able to turn to McIntosh, who points out that from its inception the Committee of Council took an interest in Physical Education. Inspectors were instructed to encourage the provision on school sites of means of recreation and exercises.¹ In existing schools they were to report on the exercise ground and the competence of pupil teachers to conduct classes in physical exercise.² McIntosh also points out that this appears to be the first statement of government policy on Physical Education.

¹McIntosh, P.O., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 85
²Minute of the Committee of Council on Education 1839-1840 pp. 19-20
In selecting the site, it is very important to provide a closed exercise ground for the children. In the absence of a school playground the street becomes the resort of children after school hours; there they are remote from the influence and superintendence of the master; they meet with vicious men and women, and with children of their own age who have been corrupted by vicious parents, or other bad example or even children trained to desperate courses by thieves. In a rural parish there is little chance of their meeting with children except in vice and knavery; but if the master be unprovided with an exercise ground, he is without the most effectual means of ascertaining, by being a spectator, or joining in their sports, the characters of the children under his care, and of training their habits. At the best the teacher of the day school cannot hope altogether to correct the effects of evil example at the child's home; and therefore to increase the beneficial influence of his own more elevated mind on the thoughts and habits of his scholars he should possess the means of attracting them to spend a large portion of the time devoted to exercise in the neighbourhood of the school-house, where the development of character may proceed under his better than paternal care.

The physical training of the children may therefore be usefully provided for on other grounds than its
tendency to develop the muscular powers, and to render
the scholars robust and vigorous. The physical
exercises of the playground extend the moral influence
of the teacher, by encouraging the children to remain
under his care during the hours of recreation.¹

The following year, 1841, inspectors were asked to discover,
by means of specific questions, the amusements of children in
infant schools, what games were encouraged, if children were
trained methodically in walking, marching and physical exercises,
what was the result, and how often recreation occurred.

Compared with the reports of the extremely limited progress
on the central 'three R's' outlined above, the spirit of these
minutes concerning Physical Education, no matter how far sighted
they may seem to us today, and how welcome they must have been to
those interested in the physical health and welfare of elementary
school children of these years, was, to say the least, a trifle
unrealistic. Any education at all for even a minority of the
children was in doubt, provided by voluntary societies largely
from religious motives, and supported by the state, which was
concerned mainly with the essentials of literacy.

As the reports of the Inspectors came in, the hopes
and intentions of the Education Department were seen

¹ Minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education
1839-1840 p. 71
to be unduly optimistic. At a few schools, like the Abbey Street School, Bethnal Green, a new school opened in 1839, the schoolmaster took children in gymnastic movements in the playground after school hours, but at most schools the master could not have done this even if he had wished to do so. Of thirty-five schools of the British Society in the Metropolitan District, inspected by H.M.I. Tremenheere, only three had playgrounds of any kind. Similar conditions were found by Her Majesty's Inspectors in other parts of the country.

Physical Education did not receive much further attention from the Education Department for many years. The appalling physical condition of the schoolrooms, the lack of books and equipment, the poor quality of the teachers, and the abysmal ignorance of many of the children at the schools presented problems more pressing than the lack of physical education.¹

The reports of H.M.I. Cooke in 1845 gave rise to slight optimism. He detected some improvement in the style of reading, and witnessed attention being given to English Composition, Geography, Grammar and History.² The Department Report the following year, however, included some telling details. One boy in ten, for example, could read with ease, although four-fifths of the girls were able to do so. Only one boy in two hundred and one girl in twenty could read with expression. Only half the boys in school were being taught arithmetic, and rather fewer girls.

1. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 84
2. Education Department Report 1845 p. 143
Geography was being taught by now to 25% of the boys and 20% of the girls, English Grammar to one sixth of the boys and one tenth of the girls. Although some Science and a little History was being offered, this was only to the slightest extent in the upper classes.¹

A summary of the progress made, in the Reports of these years, shows little success in the teaching of the most rudimentary subjects, with teaching superficial in character and unsatisfactory in result. Against this background, apart from a very few isolated and modest exceptions Physical Education had made very little progress in elementary schools in this country by mid-century, and we are left with McIntosh's warning that the Education Department was not to afford further attention to the subject for many years.

¹ McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 39
Chapter 4

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN LONDON BEFORE 1870

In 1865 Britain, 'victorious' and, as we have seen, comparatively untroubled by the ravages of war, was well launched on her Victorian Adventure. Despite the despoilation of much of society by industrialisation and urbanisation, all was well, or thought to be so, at the heart of the Empire.

London to a great extent escaped both the torrent of pauperisation which deluged the greater part of agricultural England, and the catastrophic fall in wages which occurred in many places. The transition from war to peace undoubtedly brought much misery and unemployment; it was a shrinkage from a period of commercial and industrial expansion under war conditions - a period of chequered and hectic prosperity. But in spite of this, there is much evidence against a general set-back in social conditions in London. Foreigners generally commented on the sturdy, well-dressed appearance of working people. Doctors testified to the improvement in health and cleanliness. There was much poverty, but it was being more comprehensively dealt with by the poor laws, and by charities, than ever before. The death rate for London as for the whole country continued to decline.1

1. George, M.D., London Life in the XVIIIth Century p. 18
Certainly, London, like any other city, was not without its problems, but, with the nation as a whole not as acutely aware of the condition of England question as it was to become, there was a tendency to accept the two nations as much in London as elsewhere. 'Sweated labour and cellar dwellings, it was felt, were not invented by the men who made the industrial revolution. Rather, they discovered them, discussed them and in the end partially remedied them'.

London, of course, had its other side. In the days of the Regency it became even more conspicuously than usual the centre of fashion. And of what fashions! It was the age of the dandies and their feminine counterparts, the dandizettes, with their exaggeratedly foppish costumes and habits; of Beau Brummel and the popularity of Brighton; of dignified gentlemen flying along the roads on their hobby-horses - a new craze which was a cross between a scooter and a bicycle, propelled by the feet on the ground. Miss Jans Huslin and Sir Walter Scott were bringing out their oddly contrasted novels, but the most eagerly awaited news of the day for most people was the results of the horse races and the prize fights.

It is interesting to note that it was in sport that the two classes, divided by wealth and station, came together: at the ringside of the pugilists of the day, they admired the feats of Belcher, Cribb and Spring.

2. Ibid.
When the date and place of a prize fight had been announced, hordes set out, driving, riding and walking to the spot from all parts of the island. Sometimes twenty thousand spectators assembled. In one aspect these vast outdoor assemblies were festivals of the common people. But the priests of the national cult were fashionable members of the aristocracy, who presided over the ceremonies and held the rough and often turbulent multitudes in awe.¹

The years saw a gradual decline in prize fighting, with the involvement of fighters of dubious reputation and the fixing of fights. This decline also coincided with the growth of humanitarianism and religiosity. In duelling, the skills of fencing had been expressed through the rapier during the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth the pistol replaced the blades. As the century wore on, evangelicalism and respectability saw duelling, like 'the ring', fade and die away.

London, of course, saw the march of the industrial revolution and irrevocably felt its impact. The 'wen' of Greater London was Cobbett's hate.

The inexorable 'march of bricks and mortar', burying for ever the green farmlands of Middlesex, was creating residential areas for the businessmen

¹ Trevelyan, G.M., *English Social History* p. 73
of the capital and for the stock-jobbers and fundholders. With his heart in the old Yeoman past of his country, Cobbett could not abide the sight of this new featureless swamp of houses, and this new artificial society with no roots in the soil. Yet of such towns and such people the England of the future would largely consist.¹

In these early years, London certainly experienced the troubles of fast developing cities in rapid industrial growth. As the railways scythed into the suburbs, few realised that new slums were being born in the mean houses adjoining the tracks,² and the condition of the poor in the metropolis continued to deteriorate.

In contrast to the reflection of the general malaise affecting the lower classes was the image of growth of the elements of its alleviation, already afoot throughout the country.

In early Victorian times, London had reasonable representation by way of local government. The activities of the 'Peelers' was such that the 'elements of crime and disorder dispersed, partially, to other towns'.³

The London merchants were significant in the development

1. Trevelyan, G.M., English Social History p. 57
3. Thomson, D., op. cit. p. 67
of principles of national economic policies. Charles Dickens grew up on the streets of London in the twenties. In 1836, Lovett broke new ground with the founding of the London Working Men's Association. The Chartists were organised on a tripos basis, based in Birmingham, Leeds and of course London. The year 1838 saw the beginnings of the work of Chadwick, who launched a series of enquiries by a board of doctors into the causes of destitution and disease and death, first of all in London. This led directly to the Public Health Act of 1848. These and countless more were the beginnings of the first rivulets of the flood of social and political reforms which were to transform Britain by the turn of the century.

As attempts were made to help the poor, closer scrutiny was made of their conditions, and slowly the position became clearer. Increasing publicity began a snow-balling effect.

In London, Lord Shaftesbury discovered a room with a family in each of its four corners, and a room with a cesspool immediately below its boarded floor. We may even regard it as fortunate that cholera ensued, first in the year of the Reform Bill
and then in 1848, because the sensational character of this novel visitation scared society into the tardy beginnings of sanitary self defence.¹

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the population of what, today, we would call Greater London had risen from eight hundred and sixty-five thousand to over one and a half million. By 1851 there were another million Londoners. This 'piling in' of all these additional inhabitants of the metropolis 'by overcrowding and by lateral expansion to houses, mainly two-storied, built on estates it was decided to develop and ribboned along roads' has been recalled well by Quennell in his valuable representation of Mayhew's 'London Labour and the London Poor'.²

As the population thickened, so did its occupations grow more and more miscellaneous, its character more amorphous. Parasites fastened on parasites; the refuse and leavings of one class helped, literally as well as figuratively, to provide a means of livelihood for the class immediately beneath it; and, while the poor but 'respectable' members of commercial society, the clerks and small employees, tended to gravitate towards pretentious gimcrack suburbs, polluting uncontrolled upon

¹ Trevelyan, G.M., English Social History p. 127
² Quennell, P., Mayhew's London p. 19
London's shabby outer edge, the lowest and weakest of its citizens, the scavengers, rag pickers and pedlars, drifted into its notorious central slums, into one or other of the many 'rookeries', clusters of dilapidated ancient houses — such as 'Tom All Along's', under the shadow of Westminster Abbey, scathingly described as 'Bleak House'.

Mayhew himself paints a living picture of mid-century London. He recalls for us the costermongers of the time, the crossing-sweepers and chimney sweeps, the street musicians and the mudlarks, the criminals and scavengers, the tally packmen and the rest. One is struck by the immense number of his characters who would today be in school. The man who suggested asking the whereabouts of Naples in Euston Square, who felt the moon was higher than St. Paul's at times, who knew nothing of a Redeemer other than at 'uncle's', gives an interesting insight into the educational destitution of the times; so does his definition of education: 'Among the costers that term education is merely understood as meaning a complete knowledge of the art of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest'.

From Mayhew, too, we learn of the amusements of the costermongers. He notes that excitement or amusement are

1. Quennell, P., Mayhew's London p. 81
indispensable to uneducated men. Card playing for beer for the players and wagers for the onlookers; shove-halfpenny, and skittles were all popular. Sparring and boxing lingered on, no longer for money but for beer and a 'lark'. Peep shows, rat-killing, dog fights, pigeon fancying and infinite variations of gambling were all popular, whilst the bravest act by which a costermonger could distinguish himself was 'sorting out' a policeman. Mayhew's pictures are sometimes deeply disturbing, but Quennell has a timely optimistic word:

But the public conscience was already aroused, for the 'Victorian Age', in spite of its numerous detractors, was neither self-complacent nor insensitive, and plans had been made for at least a preliminary attack on the gigantic Augean stable that London, at its then rate of development, was in danger of becoming.

It is at this stage that we may join together our strands from Chapters 2 and 3. These were the years of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, and were to be followed by the two decades during which, as McIntosh has pointed out, the Education Department was able to do little for the subject of Physical Education. As we move into the period which culminates in the vital Education Act of 1870, we may well remind ourselves that 'London had become, if not the hub of the universe, at least the focus of the world'.

1. Thomson, D. op. cit. p. 100
Indeed, as Great Britain moved into the second half of her century, all eyes were trained on Hyde Park.

There was yesterday witnessed a sight the like of which has never happened before, and which, in the nature of things, can never be repeated . . . .

In a building that could easily have accommodated twice as many, twenty-five thousand persons, so it is computed, were arranged in order round the throne of our SOVEREIGN. Around them, amidst them rose a glittering arch far more lofty and spacious than the vaults of even our noblest cathedrals. On either side the vista seemed almost boundless . . . .

Some saw in it the second and more glorious inauguration of their SOVEREIGN; some a solemn dedication of art and its stores; some were most reminded of that day when all ages and climes shall be gathered round the throne of their MAKER, there was so much that seemed accidental and yet had a meaning that no one could be content with simply what he saw . . . all contributed to an effect so grand and yet so natural that it hardly seemed to be put together by design, or to be the work of human artificers.1

This is perhaps the most poignant juncture of all at which to note the contradictions of the times. The educational policies to follow were consciously designed to establish different types of school for different social classes.2

1. The Times, 2nd May, 1851.
2. Simon, B., Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920 p. 97
In that year, when the Great Exhibition spread its hospitable glass roof high over the elms of Hyde Park, and all the world came to admire England's wealth, progress, and enlightenment, an exhibition might profitably have been made of the way in which our poor were housed, to teach the admiring foreign visitor some of the dangers that beset the path of the vaunted new era. Foreign slums were indeed, many of them, as bad or worse, but a much smaller proportion of the population of Continental states had been removed from the wholesome influence of the countryside.¹

A few years previously, the picture in the National Schools in the metropolitan area, where the education of the children of the poorer classes was concerned, was modest enough. Of five thousand children attending the schools, two thousand only could read letters and monosyllables, some 1,896 were able to read very simple narratives and barely one thousand could read the Acts of the Apostles with ease. Writing was an accomplishment only of a minority of the children. A thousand and a half could write the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and less than four hundred were able to copy passages from reading books with accuracy. There is no evidence of girls learning arithmetic, and of the boys approximately 1,500

¹. Trevelyan, G.M., English Social History p. 129
knew elementary rules, five hundred were capable of reduction and compound rules, and one hundred and forty-eight knew the 'rule of three'. Something in the order of 1,700 boys and girls were not able to write and almost 900 boys were not learning Arithmetic. Some Geography was by now being taught in many schools. English Grammar was also being taught, but results were poor, with few children able to tell the parts of speech.¹

By 1852, the extension of the teaching of 'higher subjects' seems to have been rapid, at least on the surface. English, History, Geography and Grammar were being taught more widely, but Inspectors' reports indicate disturbing evidence of superficiality.² In fact this seems to be characteristic of the time. In the quarter century following the foundation of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, the general summary of progress was that in the teaching of the rudimentary 'three Rs' success was not great, and that in other subjects instruction was superficial in character and unsatisfactory in result.³

¹ Education Department Reports 1844, Vol. III pp. 137-8
² Education Department Reports 1852-3 p. 387
³ Education Department Reports 1853-4 p. 839, 1859-60 p. 174
The new concept of the times where the finance of education was concerned was that of 'capitation'. Originally intended for the poorer areas, it meant that the Education Department paid its grant to any school with 75% average attendance, which had a certificated teacher in charge. In 1856 it was extended to all districts. The major disadvantage of this method of distributing the education grant was that it offered no guarantee that the instruction given would be efficient or even adequate.

The provision of the newly constituted Education Department was short lived. As the grant increased, for example from £541,233 in 1857 to £836,920 two years later, the Department became exclusively devoted to the administration of it. However, the investment was proving worthwhile in at least one respect. In 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition, when the population numbered eighteen million, there were 45,000 schools and two million pupils. Within a decade, 59,000 schools offered places to an additional half million children. By 1861 however, the population had risen to nineteen and a half million, and the problem had grown significantly.
During the fifties and sixties, 'educational destitution' became increasingly emphasised. The major political parties were agreed that the problems of such destitution demanded solution. They were, however, at odds as to the extent of the problem and the measures necessary to deal with it. Towards the end of the fifties, the first of three Commissions was set up under Henry Pelham, Duke of Newcastle, to 'enquire into the present state of popular education in England and to consider and report what measures if any are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people'.

It reported in 1861 and three years later a second Commission reported on the Public Schools. The Earl of Clarendon was Chairman, with the task of enquiring into 'the revenues and management of certain Colleges and Schools and the studies pursued and instruction given therein'. As a direct result of the reports of the Newcastle and Clarendon Commissions, a third was set up to enquire into endowed, private and proprietary schools. By 1868, therefore, the government had to hand substantial evidence of the provision of education for the labouring poor, the upper classes and

1. Report of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the state of Popular Education in England 1861
2. Report of the Public Schools' Commission 1864
3. Report on Schools Inquiry Commission 1868
the middle classes respectively, in the Newcastle, Clarendon and Taunton Reports.

For the moment, the Report of the Newcastle Commission is most significant for our purposes. The use of the words 'sound and cheap' were only to be expected of a country which had been involved more deeply than had been imagined in the Crimean war. The Report suggested a system of 'payment by results'. Implementing the proposal, the new Vice-President of the Education Department, Robert Lowe, said, 'I cannot promise the House that this system will be an economical one, and I cannot promise that it will be an efficient one, but I can promise that it should be one or the other.'

Two factors now determined the size of grants. Average attendance was to remain significant, but now performance in examination was equally so. The annual grant in 1862 amounted to £813,441. In 1865 that figure was a mere £636,806, a decrease due to the effects of the 'Revised Code of 1862' which put the 'payment by results' policy into operation. Lowe had warned that popular education would not prove

both sound and cheap. By 1865 it was, in comparison with previous years, cheap. We may therefore expect to question its soundness. Kay Shuttleworth and Arnold saw clearly the shortcomings of the Revised Code. The examinations led to over-pressure on the children. To achieve results, the teachers became demoralised. The feeling of hostility which grew up between inspectors and teachers, according to Barnard, 'is hardly dead in some quarters yet!'\(^1\)

Nevertheless the late fifties and early sixties constituted a period when the belief in the value of examinations was greatly strengthened.

McIntosh points out that the Report of the Newcastle Commission, which inspired the 'payment by results' system, was little concerned with physical education or playgrounds.\(^2\) The instructions to assistant Commissioners made no mention of such things and in the Report the evidence of Rev. James Frazer was the exception:

The playgrounds attached to the schools are of very slight utility for any purpose of recreation

---

1. Barnard, H.C., *A History of English Education from 1760* p.113
2. McIntosh, P.C., *Physical Education in England Since 1800* p.89
beyond affording a place where the children can be turned out between lessons to get a mouthful of fresh air. A solitary pole for a giant's stride (at the time of my visit, which was in the winter, with the ropes generally missing) is the only feature to indicate that the ground before you is for purposes of play. In one or two places there is a covered shed, nominally for use in wet weather. The games played seemed generally aimless, as though there were no one taking any interest in them or directing them - for good games need to be taught as well as lessons - and I do not think that the encouragement of healthy sports such as cricket, football, etc., has yet found the legitimate place in the education of boys of the class which Public School men would desire, who vividly remember how much it contributed to their own.

As games of this kind are unsuitable for girls, they or at any rate the elder ones, might find a little wholesome physical exercise, meanwhile, in cleaning out the school.\(^1\)

However disappointing the Report of the Newcastle Commission might seem from the point of view of Physical Education, it seems almost reasonable, in the wider context, that Physical Education should have been almost totally ignored.

1. Report of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of Popular Education in England. 1861
in its many pages. With the coming of Lowe and his new plans, even the rudimentary subjects concerned with bare literacy made little progress. In the twelve months following the Revised Code of 1862 the Department inspectors found that there had been deliberate steps to restrict the teaching of Geography and other subsidiary subjects upon which no direct financial inducement was placed by the Code. Even more disappointing was the absence of evidence that this had been compensated for by improvement in the teaching of elementary subjects.¹

Half a decade later, Sadler found a similarly gloomy picture:

I find in them in general, if I compare them with their former selves, a decadence, a slackness and discouragement which are not the signs and accompaniments of progress . . . . The mode of teaching in the Primary schools has certainly fallen off in intelligence, spirit, and inventiveness during the four or five years since my last report. It could not be otherwise. In a country where everyone is prone to rely too much on mechanical processes and too little on intelligence, a change in the Education Department's legislation has, by making

¹. Report of the Education Department 1862-63 p. 41
two thirds of the Government Grant depend upon mechanical examination, inevitably given a mechanical turn to the school teacher, a mechanical turn to the inspector, and must be trying to the intellectual life of a school.¹

Even the elementary subjects alone were not important for many pupils. Some 14% were under six years of age and not entered for the examinations, nor had as many as 27% who had not entered sufficient attendances. The efforts already confined by the Code to a few elementary subjects were further restricted, therefore, to at best a mere 59% of the school population.

In 1865 a Select Committee considered how the grant could be extended to schools so far not being helped. The contention was that too much work fell on the Education Department, and that some kind of local authority was needed to share the administration and financial burden. Local Government, however, was largely unreformed and still very much in the hands of the landed gentry. It was therefore more concerned with curtailing expenditure than supplying services such as elementary education.

¹. Report of the Education Department 1862-63 p. 296
The fifties have become known as the 'graveyard of educational bills'. By now, however, both Liberals and Tories were agreed on the necessity for local school committees, only they differed on the types they felt to be appropriate. The Tories wanted an extension of the voluntary schools supported by the Churches, with no payment being made from rates. It seems unlikely that the voluntary societies could have provided the five and a half million places necessary. The Liberals wanted undenominational education paid for out of local rates, subject to a conscience clause.

There was, however, increasing agreement that educational destitution was a problem which must soon be solved. This enlarged sympathy with children was one of the chief contributions made by the Victorian English to real civilisation. But such feelings were not universal as the long delay over the chimney-sweep scandal testified. Neglect and ill usage of the children died hard. The streets of the slums were still the only playground for the majority of city children, few of whom had schools to go to
until 1870 and none of whom had play centres till the turn of the century.¹

Further attempts were made to provide popular education on a national scale but the bills of 1868-9 came to naught. It was in a spirit of compromise that the first major effort at a solution was made in the form of the Education Act of 1870.

Until the Forster Act of 1870, London was almost as unprepared to provide popular education on a large scale as any other part of the country.

Seventy years ago, the London of three millions of inhabitants had no metropolitan government. Such municipal jurisdiction as existed in the 120 square miles was scattered among a maze of parish vestries, the very existence of which was generally unknown, together with the Ancient City Corporation, which took no heed of anything beyond the one square mile under the Lord Mayor. Needless to say, the administration was as primitive and barbarous as the jurisdictions were complicated and obscure. The slums; the all pervading stenches; the alternating seas of mud and clouds of poisonous dust of the streets; the floating 'blacks' that darkened the air; the scantiness and impurity of the water supply, with the Thames an open sewer;

¹ Trevelyan, G.M., English Social History p. 158
the recurring pestilences of enteric fever and smallpox; the chronic tuberculosis and rheumatism; the perpetual ill-health and appalling infantile mortality of the London of my childhood cannot be imagined today. There were not schools for even half the boys and girls, and, such as they were (apart from a few ancient foundations that were out of my reach) they were more rudimentary than would now be thought possible. The only 'social services' that I remember were the national museums and private galleries, the Royal Parks and the blue clad police, who, a generation previously, had been forced on the metropolis by Sir Robert Peel. The next quarter of a century saw much improvement under the Metropolitan Board of Works and School Board; but of a London civic consciousness there was still next to nothing.¹

It is with the impact of the 1870 Act in London and the implications for Physical Education that we shall be mainly concerned during this study.

Although little was being done in elementary schools during this period to promote Physical Education, developments were taking place, many of them in London, which were later to prove of considerable significance.

¹ Webb, S.J., St. Martin's Review 1928
The mid-Victorian era was the era of muscular Christianity, strenuousness and cold baths, organised games, particularly cricket and football, which were spreading fast in schools and universities and in ordinary life. Walking and the new diversion of mountain climbing were characteristic of an energetic and athletic generation. Even ladies were now allowed to walk. The days of lawn tennis had not yet come, and could scarcely come so long as the hampering crinoline was in fashion. But ladies and gentlemen contended in the milder tournaments of the croquet lawn, where sometimes a member of the fair sex, in preparing her stroke, would quickly move the ball into a more favourable position under the ample cover of the crinoline.¹

In England there were two major contributions to Physical Education which were to make their impact on elementary education before the turn of the century. Again we turn to McIntosh² to note the contribution of, on the one hand, MacLaren, and on the other, of various disciples of Ling. Public School games and athleticism, also recorded by McIntosh, made their direct contribution somewhat later, but indirectly were of significance throughout the period. The evidence before the Newcastle Commission, for example, had already produced criteria for the

¹ Trevelyan, G.M., English Social History p. 167
² McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 92
assessment of elementary school play—more common to Eton, Harrow and Shrewsbury, and many people concerned with popular education, especially at the national level, had a public school background. Increasingly this meant, amongst other things, a conviction as to the educational value of games.

MacLaren, establishing his own gymnasium at Oxford in 1858, concerned himself with what he considered a scientific study of Physical Education, although, somewhat enigmatically, he was a strong critic of Ling. Convinced that all exercise could be regarded as either educational or recreative, MacLaren concerned himself more with the health aspects than the mere development of strength. His influence, although difficult to measure accurately, was twofold. Firstly, he published his methods, initially by means of an article in Macmillan's Magazine, and later through two manuals.1 Secondly, he had from the beginning an impact on the development of what was to become the Army Physical Training Corps. In September 1860, Major Hammersley, later Major General, and twelve N.C.O.s were sent to the Oxford Gymnastic School for a six months' course.2

1. MacLaren, A., National Systems of Bodily Exercise, in Macmillan's Magazine 1863
   A System of Physical Education, Theoretical and Practical 1869 1895
   Training in Theory and Practice 1866
Hammersley and his 'Twelve Apostles' found the gymnasium already popular with the University Volunteers and the undergraduates. Despite McIntosh's observations as to MacLaren's intentions,¹ the soldiers found the training aided in developing muscular strength. For this, horizontal and parallel bars were used, together with the trapeze and heavy dumb-bells. 'The result was a tyro with a magnificent superstructure, but with comparatively inadequate supports. Harmonious development was not achieved'.² Nevertheless, on the basis of the Oxford course, a School of Physical Training was set up at Aldershot with Major Hammersley as its first Superintendent. Within eighteen months a gymnasium was ordered for every garrison. Considering the early employment of army instructors in schools, the work of MacLaren was almost immediately linked with elementary schools.

By the time Hammersley was opening his gymnasium in Wellington Lines, Aldershot, the Royal Central Gymnastic Institute in Stockholm had been open for half a century. Per Ling had begun his work there shortly before the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and his military, medical and educational gymnastics were well established. His aim was the harmonious development of the

1. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1860 p. 93

¹ MacLaren, A., A System of Physical Education Theoretical and Practical pp.18 & 36
whole body, based on sound anatomical and physiological principles, as they were then understood.

Here again, the groundwork has been done by McIntosh. He suggested that as early as 1838 John Govart In De Betou was practising medical gymnastics of the Ling variety in London. De Betou was the first of a series of such practitioners who chose London as the centre of their activities. Lt. C. Earenhoff began his work in the early forties and Carl August Georgii opened a private institute in 1850 to practise kinesthesia. The first publication from the Ling school seems to have been De Betou's 'Therapeutic Manipulation'.

The next decade saw three more doctors establish themselves in London to practise medical gymnastics on the Ling pattern. All used Ling's method to correct alleged deformities, and each published his own version of the Ling system. Of the three, Blundell, Chapman and Roth, the latter seems to have had most concern with and influence on those responsible for popular education. He proposed the adoption of the more scientific Ling system on a national basis instead of the miscellaneous

1. De Betou, G.I., Therapeutic Manipulation London 1842
2. Blundell, C.M.P. & Chapman, M.I., Medicina Mechanica or the Theory of Active and Passive Exercises London 1852
contributions of drill sergeants, teachers of callisthenics, and
dancing and fencing masters.\(^1\)

As a result of a letter printed and published in 1854\(^2\)Roth was interviewed by the First Clerk in the Education
Department and the Head of Kneller Hall Training College, but
received no encouragement for his ideas. Physical Education
was still low in the priorities.

The fifties ended and the sixties began with the Report
of the Newcastle Commission, followed by the adoption, in
accordance with the Revised Code of 1861, of the system of
'payment by results'. The aim was bare literacy, and the
annual examination by the Inspectors of the Education Department
was to be restricted to the 'three Rs'. This phrase may well
have included reading, writing and religion, but from 1861,
reading, writing and arithmetic were the foremost concern of
the elementary schools. Efforts by Lord Elcho\(^3\) to increase
the grant by 25\%, if Physical Education was provided, was firmly
rejected by Robert Lowe.\(^4\)

---

1. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 101
2. Roth, M., Letter to the Rt. Hon. the Earl Granville, Lord
   President of the Council of Education, etc., etc., on the
   Importance of Rational Gymnastics as a Branch of National
   Education as a means of Elementary Instruction; on the advan­
   tages arising therefrom to the Industrious Classes, the effect
   upon Public Health, the Fine Arts, Military Affairs and the
   Diminution of the Poor's Rates. 1854
3. Hansard, Vol. 168, Col. 22 8 July 1862
4. McIntosh, P.C., op. cit. p. 102
The sixties, as a result, were almost barren, where Physical Education in elementary schools was concerned. However, thinking at least was moving. The experiments of men like Robert Owen, the work of Dr. Roth and his colleagues, the writings of the 'muscular Christians' such as Kingsley, and the reports of the Inspectors of the Education Department all contributed to growing public concern. 'When men like Herbert Spencer, John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold pleaded for physical education, the country was bound to listen'.

McIntosh has reviewed the demands of Ruskin for the teaching of the laws of health and exercise, of Arnold's plea for exercises for boys rather than adult games, and of Spencer's opinion that all breaches of the laws of health are physical sins. He also points out Chadwick's attempts to provide for physical exercises in schools through the Royal Society of Arts and the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

Spencer's review articles were swiftly republished in

1. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 103
2. Ruskin, J., Time and Tide London, 1868 p. 95
4. Spencer, H., British Quarterly Review April 1859
5. McIntosh, P.C., op. cit. p. 104
7. Spencer, H., Westminster Review July 1859, North British Review May 1854
book from. His essay on Physical Education contrasted the treatment of animals in Britain with the upbringing of children.

Take the adult males throughout the Kingdom, and a great majority will be found to show some interest in the breeding, rearing or training of animals of one kind or another.

But, during after-dinner conversations or at other times of the like intercourse, who heard anything about the rearing of children? When the country gentleman has paid his daily visit to the stable, and personally inspected the conditions and treatment of his horses; and when he has glanced at his minor livestock and given directions about them; how often does he go up to the nursery and examine into its dietary, its hours, its ventilation? . . . of a score of townspeople, few, if any, would prove ignorant of the fact that it is undesirable to work a horse after it has eaten, and yet, of the same score, supposing them all to be fathers, probably not one would be found who had considered whether the time elapsing between his children's dinner and their resumption of lessons was sufficient.

The fact is, that all breaches of the laws of health are physical sins. When this is generally seen, then, and perhaps not till then, will the physical training of the young receive the attention it deserves.¹

¹. Spencer, H., Education Intellectual Moral and Physical pp. 144–90
If the extent of Spencer's essay, 'Physical Education', was a summary of what obtained in the sixties where the subject was concerned, its publication was significant in the changing climate of thought in increasingly numerous areas. Little advance had been made in real terms but at least the time was ripe for the first, albeit modest attempts to provide Physical Education in elementary schools.

As we approach the compromise that was the Education Act of 1870, it seems pertinent to turn to McIntosh for a summary of the last two decades of almost total official inactivity.

The fifties and sixties were a period in which, while the government did little or nothing for physical education, private individuals did much to arouse and to shape public opinion, and those who were not primarily educationists did as much, if not more than those who were.¹

¹ McIntosh, P.C., op. cit. p. 105
SECTION TWO: THE SCHOOL BOARD FOR LONDON

Chapter 5  The Education Act of 1870

Chapter 6  Building the Subjects  1870 - 1895

Chapter 7  A Period of 'Over Pressure'   1885 - 1895

Chapter 8  Towards a Block Grant and a Curriculum  1895 - 1900

Chapter 9  From School Board for London to L.C.E.    1900 - 1903
Chapter 5

THE EDUCATION ACT OF 1870

Until 1870, state intervention in popular education had been restricted almost exclusively to grant aid for the voluntary system, sponsored through a growing but modest central administrative core by means of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education and subsequently the Education Department. Although the Act of 1870 was a compromise, it was a major step forward. For the first time, state schools were to be built, and local authorities for the provision of elementary schools were to be established. The device chosen was the School Board. Dating from the time of the Poor Law of 1834, the ad hoc body was of a specialised nature charged with the appraisal of a particular function in a specific area. It was intended to provide detailed central control and operate on the principle of less eligibility. By this means, according to Benthamite inspiration, the 'disease of pauperism' was to be contained. Although the poor were to be helped, the condition of the pauper was to remain less comfortable than that of the independent labourer, who thereby had the appropriate motivation towards new life and energy.

Into the gaps in the voluntary system, Forster, by the
1870 Act, plugged his new ad hoc bodies, the School Boards. They were as diverse as they were numerous, but London is a particularly rewarding place in which to consider how the scheme worked out in practice.

The History of the Government of London from 1835 to the present day, shows in the acute form the problems which have been created by an interplay between political timidity and the drive of social facts in a century which has seen the greatest increase in our control over material conditions of life in the history of the world."¹

There have, through the years, been effectively three Londons - the square mile that is the City, very much a law unto itself; Greater London, a dramatically large unity of London as a social and economic unit; and the 117 square miles which in 1855 came under the Metropolitan Board of Works and became, where education was concerned, the province of the School Board for London.

The Bill brought before Parliament was introduced by W.E. Forster, Member for Bradford, a Quaker and wealthy wool merchant. He had married the daughter of Thomas Arnold and his interest in education may have stemmed from that quarter. The Bill proposed that the duty and responsibility of education should become that of the state. Through the liberal view of decentralisation of education, the state would now take the initiative and help, organise and advise. The whole country was to be divided

¹. Smellie, K.B., A History of Local Government Chapter 7 1947
into districts and the body of officials appointed by the Education Department would ascertain the educational needs and values of its district. The degree of educational responsibility or destitution would be assessed and a central inspectorate appointed to supervise.

If the provision of schools through existing voluntary agencies proved adequate, there would be no interference. Where, however, schools were found to be deficient the voluntary body concerned was to be given twelve months in which to make good. Failure to bring provision up to standard would mean the setting up of a School Board as a sub-committee of the local council. The duties of the School Board were to be to levy rates, provide necessary schools and help existing schools. The cost of running the schools would be met from Exchequer grants, fees and rates. Loans were to be permitted for capital expenditure. If schools were to be aided, they were to accept certain standards of efficiency, undenominational inspection and a conscience clause. It was envisaged that the attendance would be the responsibility of parents, and to facilitate this Boards were permitted to secure the passing of a bye law to make education compulsory between the ages of five and thirteen.
The debate in the House was, to say the least, lively. The School Board, at least as Forster himself had envisaged it, was abandoned. It was generally agreed that it would inevitably be elected by different methods from district to district. Instead, the Board was to be an ad hoc body elected directly for the purpose by the local electorate. In order to placate the radical elements in Parliament, the period of grace afforded to voluntary bodies in order to eliminate deficiencies was reduced drastically to six months. In the face of radical opposition, Religious Knowledge was to be given. It was to be at the beginning or end of the day to facilitate the conscience clause. A conscience clause was incorporated in the Act as the Cowper-Temple Amendment; this still remains the basis of religious instruction in state schools and state aided schools today. It meant, amongst other things, that no child could now be excluded from school on religious grounds. With the withdrawal at this juncture of Religious Knowledge from the purview of the inspectorate, the regulation of education in elementary schools had turned almost full circle since the days of the early Department Inspectors.

During the passage of the Bill there was considerable debate as to whether or not there should be a Minister for Education.
The Tories in general favoured the appointment of a Minister and would have preferred not to have the School Boards. The Liberals suggested both. On the grounds of allegedly insuperable constitutional difficulties the government decided that no Minister would be appointed.

Central authority was still vested in the Committee of the Privy Council and the pattern of English Education was set. Unlike many European systems with strong central administration, the structure in this country became, instead, decentralised, with local administration and local finance aided by parliamentary grants, with central inspection.

Peculiar to this country, despite the setting up of a Ministry in 1944, the system which developed is still that which obtains today. The Education Department was mainly concerned with the administration of central funds. This meant, from the outset, that the burden of leadership in state education rested substantially with the new local authority, the School Board. The challenge was nowhere greater than in London. One major omission in the Act of 1870 was the absence of a definition of elementary education, which further complicated the task of the
School Boards and did much to create the problems which led to their demise soon after the turn of the century.

The School Boards were charged by the Act with the maintenance and efficiency of all the schools under their control. They were to review the provision of schools in their districts, periodically, and remedy deficiencies. They were required to equip and improve schools and to take over voluntary schools in which equipment or buildings were unsatisfactory. They were to build and maintain industrial schools. The new authorities were empowered to purchase land for schools compulsorily. There was to be no maximum on the levying of rates, and no minimum. This was a provision which led to anomalies, inequalities and grievances. Accounts were initially audited by the Poor Law Auditors and later by the Local Government Auditors who were to have power of surcharge. The permissive clause concerning a bye law to compel attendance was incorporated in the Act and attendance officers, soon to be known as 'the School Board men' throughout the country, were to be appointed.

Industrial schools were to be set up for pauper children. In these, abandoned children were given simple meals and

1. Elementary Education Act 1870
instruction in the basic subjects. From 1870 these schools were
given over to the Home Office and beggars of twelve, thirteen and
fourteen were sent to them. For criminal offences, or in cases
where parents complained that children were unmanageable, they
were sent to industrial schools and the parents charged a weekly
fee of 5/-; otherwise the Home Office paid. Later, these
schools passed into the control of the School Boards.

One of the weaknesses of our decentralisation is that it is
unfortunately based on units of different size. From the
beginning the network of School Boards displayed this characteristic.
London, from the outset, was a special problem.

With regard to the Metropolis, the difficulties of
which from its peculiar position, defy almost all
attempts at legislation, we shall be guided very much
by the council and advice of the metropolitan members;
but after the greatest possible enquiry, we have come to
the conclusion that the best districts that we can take
in the Metropolis are, where they exist, the school
districts already formed for the workhouse schools, and
where they do not exist the boundaries of the vestries.
In the case of the school districts of the metropolis we
need have no provision for election, because we already
have school boards elected by different Boards of
Guardians within these school districts.¹

¹ Hansard, Vol. 199: p. 438 1870
It is clear from these words of Forster himself, in the House, that the direct election of Boards for the control of elementary education was not part of the original scheme. Forster's proposal with regard to London soon began to appear to be quite impracticable. Instead, the government was forced to accept an amendment whereby education in the Capital was placed in the hands of one central board elected directly by the rate-payers. Electoral divisions were specified, the boundaries of which were to be delineated by the Education Department. The central board was to be known as the School Board for London.

The problems facing the Board now responsible for elementary education in Victorian London, in Britain's greatest years, were immense, as this picture of a tiny part of the metropolis shows:

In the district comprising the Boundary Street area, Bethnal Green, there were twenty-three public houses and beer shops; two general shops where spirits could be obtained at any time by those in the secret. Many of the public-houses had a way right through, so that persons could escape at the back and be easily lost in the streets behind. Examples of these were the 'Old Fountain' in High Street, Shoreditch, the 'Five Ink-Horns', New Nicol Street, and the 'Admiral Vernon', in Old and New Nicol Streets. The 'Five Ink-Horns' was kept for several years by James Napper, the pugilist,
and his children attended Nicol Street Board School.

A number of the streets had many private houses through which persons could pass with little difficulty into other streets. The occupation of the women was chiefly matchbox making and the manufacture of small articles sold in the streets, and in these occupations the children had to bear a constant part.

The people's lives consisted of constant deception and concealment. There was scarcely a family but appeared to have some reason for fearing the police, and a large proportion of the men were on 'ticket of leave'. The entire population entertained an absolute dread of fresh air and cleanliness. Except upon the occurrence of a funeral (for these people paid more respect to the dead than to the living) rooms and passages were reeking in filth for months and even years .... Pickpockets, burglars, dog stealers and pugilists here abounded. They might frequently be observed examining their tools on the window sills and practising robbery from upper windows. Jim Smith, the pugilist, lived in Old Nicol Street and attended Nicol Street Board School. Bill Goode also, whose father was, perhaps, the most famous dog stealer of his time - lived in New Turnpike Street; Burdette of Boundary Street had 'done time' for horse stealing - his wife's father was concerned with two others in a burglary at Muswell Hill, where a young man was murdered, and they were arrested in the 'Barley Mow' in Boundary Street. James Burke, hanged for shooting a police inspector, after burglary, lived in
the district. A murder was committed at 4, Old Nicol Street.

The children's lives were a constant round of sunless drudgery - they never played as children play, they never even seemed to think. They were prematurely old, and the victims of an awful cruelty. They worked at matchbox making for many hours and at other times assisted their parents in disposing of their wares in the streets. The mortality among the young children was appalling.  

Many voluntary schools existed in the metropolitan area, and the intention of the government was to permit the voluntary bodies to continue wherever possible. This is evident from a speech by the Prime Minister on August 21st, 1873:

For myself, I said, not in education only but in all things, including education, I prefer voluntary to legal machinery, when the thing can be well done either way. But this question is not to be decided by a general preference or a general formula. Parliament has referred it to the choice of the local communities. They should decide according to the facts of the case before them. What are the facts in Hawarden? Four-fifths are already provided for: were it only one fifth, or were it two fifths the case for the Board would be overwhelming. But besides the

four fifths arrangements are already made for a further provision in a voluntary school. Nothing remains to be done except to build three infant schools. The voluntary schools will be governed by a committee, including the churchwardens, and having a majority of laymen. The machinery of the board is of necessity cumbrous, and the method costly in comparison. I hold that we ought not to set up this machinery in order to create three infant schools, where all the other wants of some 2,000 people are already cared for.

Clearly responsible for plugging of the gaps in the spirit of the Act by building its own schools, the School Board for London was to take over 56,663 schools from other bodies during its lifetime. Church Schools, Church Ragged Schools, Battersea Schools, Wesleyan Schools, Congregational Schools, Ragged Schools, Undenominational Schools, Hope School for All, Southwark Sunday School, Forestry Schools, Anerley and Penge Day Schools, Presbyterian Schools, Non-conformist Schools, Poplar and Blackwall Free School and Slate Road School are a selection of institutions representative of the variety of schools which, by 1903, had become the total responsibility of the School Board for London.

On October 7th, 1870, the Education Department issued an

2. Drawn from annual reports of School Board for London 1870 – 1904
order delineating the boundaries of the divisions of the School Board for London under the provisions of the 1870 Act. These were based on the existing Parliamentary Divisions.¹

Four divisions, City, Southwark, Chelsea and Greenwich were to have four members each. The electors of Lambeth, Tower Hamlets, Hackney and Westminster were to be represented by five members each, Finsbury by six and Marylebone by seven. The first election took place on November 24th, when one hundred and thirty-five candidates offered themselves for election to forty-nine seats. The central issue in a fierce battle was, as it had been in Parliament, the question of the religious instruction to be given in the schools.

In Europe, the German armies occupied Paris and the whole continent awaited the outcome of the rejection of the Treaty of Paris by Russia. The 'Times', however, said 'Whatever may be passing in the Continent of Europe, the greatest event of today in this country will be the election of the London School Board'.²

The composition of the new Board was representative of a wide variety of interests. Politicians, among them two future

---

1. Education Department Reports 1871 p. 59
2. 'The Times, November 29th, 1870
cabinet ministers, clergymen, men of letters, scientists, educationists and representatives of dissenting bodies were elected. Two ladies were successful.¹

The School Board for London held its first meeting in the Guildhall at the invitation of the City Corporation. It was the only authority empowered to offer a salary to its Chairman, subject to the agreement of the Education Department as to actual amount. The Chairman, according to the Act of 1870, need not have been a member of the Board. It was immediately decided that no salary would be involved, and the former Viceroy of India, Lord Lawrence, took the Chair. He was an elected member of the Board, as was every Chairman until 1894, when parties were well balanced and an outside Chairman was elected. Subsequently this became the practice.

Many problems faced the new Board which considered them under six main groupings: Statistics, Buildings, School Management, Compulsion of Attendance, Industrial Schools, and Finance. The number of children of school age and the necessary provision, for example, had to be discovered. The character of buildings and location of sites, the source of income and control of expenditure, too, were among many important

¹ Spalding, T.A., The Work of the London School Board p. 29 1900
decisions to be faced. In School Management, the question of
the subjects to be taught was a major consideration. In the
face of the lack of initiative by the Education Department\textsuperscript{1} much
depended on the Board. In view of the fact that no mention of
Physical Education was made in the Act, this is of particular
importance where this study is concerned.

Upon the School Board for London the duty of deciding
so many and such complicated questions passed with
especial gravity. Its decisions affected not only
the vast population under its immediate administrative
control, but also, indirectly, all those areas in which
School Boards in the country, to a large extent, took
guidance from the decisions of the School Board for
London.\textsuperscript{2}

Spalding goes on to cite religious instruction as an example of
the influence of the School Board for London. The compromise
it devised, he contends, was followed by the great majority of
Boards in England and Wales. If the same is true of Physical

\begin{enumerate}
\item Spalding, T.A., op. cit. p. 31
\item Spalding, T.A., op. cit. p. 31
\end{enumerate}
Education, then the work of the School Board for London is particularly significant in the development of Physical Education in this country.

Early in February, 1871, the School Board for London passed the following resolution: 'That a committee be appointed to consider the Scheme of Education to be adopted in the Public Elementary Schools and report thereon to the Board.' Professor Huxley was elected chairman of the sub-committee. Twelve educationists gave evidence before the Huxley Committee during its four short months of life. From their reports we gain a general picture of the network of Infant, Middle and Upper Schools which had grown up under the voluntary system. We may also learn something of Physical Education in the metropolitan area before the School Board began its work.

1. Minutes of the School Board for London, February 15th, 1871
2. Mr. Coughlan, Mr. Moses Angel, Mr. Smith, Mr. T.E. Hill, Miss Fish, Miss Charles, Miss Harris, Mr. Halifax, Mr. Thomas Twisdall, Mr. Holland and Miss Cunningham, all teachers, and Rev. B. Morgan Cowie, B.D., M.M. (Evidence before the Huxley Committee, 18th April, 1871).
Mr. Coughlan, the Officer employed for Training Teachers by the Home and Colonial Schools Society, and Superintendent of the Society's Middle Class School, referred to Physical Education only in the context of the Infant school, where 'babies' were allowed fifteen minutes' play and older infants the same time for exercise. There was great stress on physical exercise, and, although he did not specify, he contended that some of the masters taking drill were qualified. At the Jewish School, Spitalfields, the Master, Mr. Moses Angel, reported that there was no physical exercise apart from a little drill in the playground in the middle of the morning.

Mr. Smith said that although it was not part of the system, at Hampton Gurney School, Upper Berkeley Street, drill was approved of, but the accommodation was deficient. He assured the Committee that negotiations concerning a drill sergeant were pending. When appointed, this worthy would take the Upper School to Regents Park for exercise.
At the Parochial Boys School, Lambeth, the Head Master, Mr. T.E. Hill, provided two periods of drill a week for the Upper School in the grounds of Lambeth Palace. Miss Fish, formerly of Leicester British Schools and currently at Stockwell Training College, gave evidence of work in Infant and Middle Schools, but made no mention of drill or of physical exercise of any kind for girls. At the Home and Colonial Schools, according to Miss Chester, infants marched to song; otherwise she made no mention of organised or impromptu exercise or play.

At the Jews' Infants' School, Commercial Street, Miss Harris claimed, methodical exercises, marching and drill all found a place. The words of Mr. Halifax, from the Roman Catholic School, Dockhead, somehow epitomised the situation: 'No methodical physical exercise was practised; the boys could be trusted to get that outside'.

Thomas Twisdale, the paid teacher of Islington and North London Boot-Black Brigade, advised the Committee that marching
out was the nearest Islington Ragged Schools aspired to organised exercise. Mr. Holland, of George Yard Free School, Whitechapel, made no mention at all of exercise of any kind. Miss Cunningham, of Carr Street Ragged School, was a little more encouraging. In the Infants School, although there was no systematic drill, there was plenty of methodical physical exercise. There was no equivalent, apparently, in the Juvenile School.

No doubt these teachers were as representative as the Huxley Committee could arrange, and the picture their evidence paints is a depressing one. Even less encouraging was the evidence given by Her Majesty's Inspector, the Rev. B. Morgan Cowie, B.D. Although the only H.M.I. called to give evidence, he saw fit to ignore physical exercise totally, despite speaking at length about the teaching of History and the importance he attached to the study of two languages. It seems unlikely that an H.M.I. could be unaware of an area of activity mentioned by all but one of the other witnesses. The ignoring of physical
training in his evidence might reasonably be taken as an indication of the attitude of the Education Department of the time.

The Huxley Committee reported on June 13th.¹ It had considered the problems under two headings, the nature of desirable schools and the methods of instruction to be adopted in such schools. It was felt that the nature of the schools would depend very much on the conditions concerning grants of public money by the Education Department under its new code. Day schools and evening schools would both be sponsored and grants from the Science and Art Department would be sought through the annual examinations. The schools were to be 'Infant' for children under the age of seven, 'Junior' between the ages of seven and ten, and 'Senior' for older children. Infant schools would be mixed and Senior schools segregated, whilst there was to be no strict rule concerning Junior schools. This meant that a Board School would comprise, under one management,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Type</th>
<th>Age Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An Infant School or Schools</td>
<td>below 7, mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Junior School or Schools</td>
<td>7-10, mixed or segregated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Senior Boys</td>
<td>over 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Senior Girls</td>
<td>over 10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ First Report of the Scheme of the Education Committee, June 13th, 1871
The Infant schools were not to exceed 200 - 300, but Junior and Senior schools would be over 500, to promote efficiency and economy. A Senior school of 500 would have a staff of sixteen. The Principal Teacher would have four assistant certified teachers and eleven pupil teachers, with an additional teacher and three pupil teachers for every additional 120 children. The schools would all be open five days a week, five hours a day. The Boys' Senior school would be headed by a male Principal, whilst women would take charge of the Girls' Senior schools.

As early as February 1st, the Board had resolved, 'That it is highly desirable that means should be provided for physical training, exercises and drill in Public Elementary Schools established under the authority of the Board'. When the new Code of the Education Department appeared, it was also encouraging. It provided that attendance at drill, under a competent instructor for not more than two hours a week for twenty weeks in a year, might be counted as school attendance.

1. Minutes of School Board for London, February 1st, 1871
2. Education Department Code 1871
In this comparatively favourable climate, music and drill were included in subjects recommended.\(^1\)

We recommend that music and drill be taught in every school during the period devoted to actual instruction.\(^2\)

In its particular recommendation, the Committee suggested that the general recommendation regarding music and drill should apply to the Infant schools. In these schools it felt that singing and physical exercise carefully adapted to the age group were of 'paramount importance'.

The Board, in the light of the spirit of the report, duly added music and drill to its list of essential subjects, when adopting it in its final form. The composition of the sub-committee makes interesting reading:


In view of the permissive nature of the Code provisions, it is clear that from the outset the School Board for London had taken a powerful initiative in Physical Education. The intention was

1. First Report of the Scheme of the Education Committee p. 94 1871
2. Ibid. p. 3
to make provisions for all its schools. How far these intentions were actually practicable depended on many factors.
Chapter 6

BUILDING THE SUBJECTS, 1870 - 1885

In its Final Report, the School Board for London suggested that its work had been done in three main phases. The first period, 1870 to 1885, was concerned with an effort to put the ordinary subjects on a sound footing, with a view to implementing, as far as possible, the recommendations of the Huxley Report.\(^1\) The second phase, the decade from 1885, was characterised by severe depression, German competition, frequent enquiries and growing agitation against what became known popularly as 'over pressure' in schools.\(^2\) It was during this period that the School Board for London subsequently claimed to have had an important influence on the policies adopted by the Education Department. The last seven years before the disappearance of the School Board in 1903 saw changes brought about as a result of alterations in the government Code which culminated in the adoption of the 'block grant' system in 1900.\(^3\)

In the years following 1870, the country entered a period of political flux, economic dislocation, social tensions and international crises.\(^4\) The greatest single event of the seventies,

1. Final Report of the School Board for London p. 95
2. Ibid. p. 96
3. Ibid.
according to Trevelyan, was the sudden collapse of English agriculture.\(^1\) However, although there were few real changes in the apparatus of government during the rest of the century, the Victorians found their problems at home and abroad steadily increasing. The reforms of Gladstone's first ministry laid the main foundations for the new State which was emerging.\(^2\) The generation of the seventies built on these foundations. One of Gladstone's reforms had been effected by the Forster Education Act and a major contribution to the work of those building upon and consolidating that particular development was made by the School Board at work in London. It has been contended that the Education Act of 1870 was the greatest benefit which Liberalism conferred upon this country.\(^3\) Ironically, it played a significant part in the downfall of the party which effectively placed it on the statute book. In securing the passage of the Act, Gladstone had acquiesced rather than led,\(^4\) and it is therefore hardly surprising to find that the initiative was taken, once it became law, not by the central authority, such as it was, but by the new Boards themselves.

1. Trevelyan, G.M., *Illustrated English Social History* p. 171
It took a further ten years from 1870, and further legislation, to make education compulsory. This became, in the first decade of the existence of the School Boards, the main concern of the central authorities in education. Forster's Act had been marked by a lack of compulsion. It is true that the School Boards themselves could secure the passing of an appropriate bye law to enforce attendance, but, although many Boards in the towns and cities did so, on the whole those in rural areas did not. There had, too, been a failure in the Act to define the duty of parents in legal terms. All of this was in keeping with liberal thinking that compulsion implied a restriction of freedom, and it may be reasonable to suppose that progress was in fact more substantial and swift than it might appear at first in retrospect. However, in 1874 the Liberal government fell and the Tories formed the new government.

Sandon, a founder member of the School Board for London, became the new Vice-President of the Education Department. He prepared a bill which became the Education Act of 1876. By then the School Boards had provided half a million places and the voluntary bodies catered for two and a quarter million children. Nevertheless, of some five million boys and girls of school age, the average attendance was a mere three and a quarter
million. Sandon's provisions in 1876 were fourfold. Where there were no School Boards the voluntary schools had been particularly vulnerable. In those areas the permissive legislation concerning the passing of a bye law to enforce attendance did not apply. The 1876 Act provided that where there were no School Boards, Boards of Guardians could appoint school attendance committees. Secondly, where School Boards had in fact been set up but could be shown to be unnecessary, they could be disbanded. Clause 4 of the Act made it the duty of parents to see that their children were in receipt of the 'three Rs'. Clause 5 required that children below the age of ten years of age who could not furnish a certificate of attendance of two hundred and fifty attendances in five years, or a certificate of proficiency equivalent to Standard 4 of the elementary school, could not be employed.

Now the School Boards were themselves stronger and the voluntary schools in a slightly less vulnerable position. Further legislation still was required before attendance was universally assured.

In 1880 a new government came into power, and the Liberals
appointed Mundella Vice-President of the Education Department. Five and a half million children still lived in areas where education was not compulsory, five million of these in rural districts. Of those who did have school places, only 70% were in regular attendance. Mundella, a known advocate of compulsion, immediately introduced legislation. The new Act provided that the bye laws which had been the optional component of the Act of 1870 were now required by law. By inference, Mundella's Act over-rode the Factory Acts which had hitherto been in conflict with educational legislation.

During the decade following the Forster Act of 1870, education in the national perspective had made substantial advances. Elementary education was now universal and compulsory up to the age of ten. For children between the ages of ten and fourteen there were prescribed standards. If these standards were reached, then children could leave. The central authority had gained in statutory power and now there were two local education authorities, the School Board and the school attendance committee. It is hardly surprising that with such major issues to be settled successive governments, and the Education Department,

1. Elementary Education Act, 1880
were inclined to leave the initiative where many matters, including the selection of school subjects, were concerned to the School Boards and the voluntary authorities themselves.

Nowhere were the problems facing the new Boards greater than in London. In the School Board for London area there were at least four hundred and fifty-five thousand children requiring elementary education. The rateable value of the area was £20,000,000 and a ld. rate raised approximately £85,000. This was equivalent to the total revenue of Portugal, and the monies expended on elementary education in London approximated to the total national revenue of Switzerland or Denmark.¹

The Code of 1871 had prescribed for children between the ages of four and seven a suitably open recommendation of 'appropriate subjects for the ages concerned'. For children over seven, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, with plain needlework for girls, were the compulsory subjects. An additional grant could be gained for the optional subjects Geography, History, Grammar, Algebra, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Physical Geography, Natural Science, Political Economy, Languages or 'any definite subject of instruction extending over the classes to be

¹ Spalding, T.A., The Work of the London School Board  p. 3
examined in Standards 4, 5 and 6. As we have seen, what became known as Physical Education in later years was, from the first treated as a separate consideration.

The School Board for London, on the other hand, had agreed that physical training, exercise and drill would be provided in all its elementary schools. In adopting the Huxley Report on school subjects, the Board had accepted Drill as a curriculum subject. Despite this ready recognition, it was subsequently alleged by Physical Education specialists employed by the Board that, from the beginning, the School Board itself did not give the subject a fair amount of attention. Certainly military drill from the Infantry Drill Book was practised, but nothing more ambitious was available until 1879. Very little indeed was done in the first instance for girls, mainly because of the attitude of the Education Department.

As early as 1871, however, the Board did appoint a Drill Instructor for the first time. He was to run classes for male teachers and conduct an examination of those proposing to provide instruction in schools. This was certainly a modest
enough beginning. A sound, cheap education, not yet clear of the policy of payment by results, built upon a voluntary system which had leaned heavily on the monitorial system might reasonably be expected to rely upon mass drill to provide cheap rudimentary exercise. It certainly was cheap. One instructor could take the whole school without difficulty on the school playground or on some vacant plot. Drill had been designed to instil good order and military discipline into the common soldiery. These benefits it offered schools also, but its educational value is open to question. Drill has, perhaps, been too readily accepted as an early form of Physical Education rather than a distinct precursor. Through McIntosh we have an idea of what it meant in practical terms. At Highgate School the young Holland, at the age of nine, marched his own class to the drill hall for half an hour of drill a week under an ex-military sergeant.¹ In cases where serving soldiers gave instruction, there was an agreement with the War Office and the Education Department for such services to be remunerated at the rate of sixpence a day and a penny a mile marching money, if attendance at the school was required.²

---

2. Ibid. p. 125
Towards the end of this period, another educationist attended drill classes and recorded his experiences in his biography:

For 'Shonnie' (the Headmaster), with characteristic enterprise had induced the School Board to let our school have a drill instructor for Friday afternoons. There was no nonsense about physical education; it was straight-forward army drill. The first instructor was another ex-sergeant of the 62nd or Wiltshire Regiment. He was the Town Attendance Officer, and doubtless a good one. As an ex-army man he was an enthusiastic volunteer. He came to his new job full of zeal and vacant of ideas. He was short, broad and fat, and in his new occupation had cultivated side-whiskers to adorn his brick red face. Poor man! At the job of controlling a hundred or more boys in the playground of a Board School he was a failure. The more he shouted and spluttered, the more we giggled and made rude remarks to our neighbour or to the rear-rank 'man'. In the absence of an assistant master, our disorder became patent. They said he had faced the Zulus: but he could not control us, and within a few weeks he resigned. In spite of this failure, 'Shonnie' did not give up the drill. He thought drill was good for us; and it was his contribution to development of proper patriotism. So the rubicund ex-sergeant departed, and the lean, grey, wizened figure of an Indian veteran
vame to us. He could neither read nor write efficiently. Though he was called 'sergeant', I believe he never attained non-commissioned rank in the regulars. But he had been born into the Army. The former instructor of the Old Town Company of volunteers, he was the supreme example of the natural disciplinarian. He looked at us; and we instantly obeyed. He chewed tobacco when off duty; and his private vocabulary was magnificent, though to us it was oathless. As a pupil teacher, a little later, I used to walk home with him, and I knew.

We fell in. He walked slowly up and down our lines, front and rear, and most of us stiffened up and felt rather proud as our heads went up, our chests swelled with inflatory arrogance, and our fingers became rigid on the seams of our trousers. A boy tittered, and old Hartford turned on him like an old panther. In thirty seconds the titterer was off into school, crestfallen, for an awkward and probably painful interview with 'Shonnie'. What was worse from the offender's point of view was that our general sentiment was 'Serve him right, the fool'. I recollect no further instance of a boy being sent for punishment by Hartford. He interested us, dominated us, and worked us hard. There was no time for mischief.

So we formed fours, and moved to the right in fours and all the rest of it. As we wheeled into line, each company was as straight as a wheel spoke. Within a few weeks we were an armed force. The arms were broomsticks each with a red pennon; and every boy
bought his own, though pence, God knows, were scarce enough. It was a triumph of morale. Faith triumphant. It explains the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte and Adolf Hitler. Within a few months we had got past forming squares in the playground and were preparing to receive cavalry; we had attained proficiency in bayonet exercises and were skirmishing in open order round the neighbouring and then almost trafficless streets. No doubt it was Crimean or even Waterloo drill. But we enjoyed it. Each company was officered by boys. Finally, to my eternal joy, I was made either Major or Sergeant-Major, I don't know which. Probably I was both. Experts will know that when I say that on appropriate occasions I rushed to see the alignment was perfect, and shouted, 'Markers—steady!' and when the battalion of four companies marched through the streets to the Park on the Queen's Jubilee, to be reviewed by the Major of Volunteers, I marched at the head of the battalion, unarmed, but with a swagger cane in my hand, followed by red-pennoned companies of boys. I was proud and confident then, as I have seldom since been.

We drilled in the Park before admiring crowds, not with militarism, but with overflowing pride in our hearts, and a fierce determination to show the miserable volunteers what drill was. We got cake, oranges and ginger beer as our reward. The reviewing officer was the Locomotive Superintendent of the Great Western, a remote and legendary potentate, the real arbiter of fate for all Swindon; and we did well. Englishmen
always do well when screwed up to the pitch of honour and well handled. Old Hartford told us that we did well. Next Friday (drill day) he formed us into a hollow square and said, 'Oi'm proud of yer. Ye did better than them "Guards" (infinite scorn) as never goes on foreign service, an' s'elp me if yer not almost as good as the Buffs'. For the first time we laughed at him. But when Colonel Palmer stopped the drawing examination (poor old man, the drawing examination was a trial to him) to see us go through our performance in the school yard, we didn't let our old sergeant down. Not we! And the dear old Colonel, in pathetically polished tones, gave us a simple address on the desirability of military virtues.

It was all crude and unsuitable, calculated no doubt to arouse a military spirit, which, except for the pure externals, it did not. But it was good for us; of that I am sure. My father, a John Bright Liberal, didn't object. Everybody outside Bedlam is against War and its foolishness and waste. But as a training in smartness, in the instant obedience which some situations in life demand it was justified. Our boys would have behaved well in a shipwreck.1

The author wrote this after a life in education which included service in the Inspectorate of the Board of Education and culminated in appointment to the London County Council as Senior Inspector in Education. Spencer's experiences serve as a

valuable contrast to the unbearably boring drill sessions attended by Holland. Between the two extremes lies an infinite variety of provision, much of it widely unknown and little recorded.

If the instruction provided was often modest in the extreme, its incidence was even more so at the beginning of our period. In 1872, of almost nine thousand schools inspected, less than one hundred included Drill amongst the subjects offered. Yet it was a beginning.

H.M.I.s were not slow to acknowledge the merits of what was being done and from the outset stressed the military benefits of the physical training afforded by Drill.

In a few schools . . . the drill is already excellent. The boys are trained in exactly the same way as our own volunteers, much to their benefit as well as enjoyment . . . . I cannot but think that military drill, if made a point of in our schools generally throughout the country, would add greatly to the health and physical development of the people; that it would train them to good habits of obeying orders where requisite, and would lay the foundation for rendering an aptitude for military service almost universal among the English people. On all accounts the drill movement
(now only just begun) appears to me worthy of encouragement and expansion.¹

This general approval of the H.M.I. for the City of London and Greenwich was echoed around the country by Inspectors commenting on the first year of the new era born of the Forster Education Act.² Even if aspirations were soon to become more ambitious there seemed already evidence that what now obtained was noticeably better than what had gone before.

In 1872, the School Board for London approached the Education Department asking that the same provision of Drill for girls should be made as for boys. Permissive provision for Drill under a competent instructor was sought. Despite the recommendation of at least one of Her Majesty's Inspectors³ that girls should take part in Drill, the Department firmly rejected the suggestion. The activity was felt to be of too strong a military nature.⁴

Drill, therefore, was restricted at this stage to boys'

1. Morell, J.D., Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors 1871
2. Ibid. Kennedy, Rev. W.J., M.A., on the North West and Isle of Man
Morgan Cowie, Rev. B., B.D., on Training Schools
Tinling, Rev. Canon, on Women's Training Colleges.
3. Brodie, Mr., H.M.I., Reports of the Education Department 1872-3 p. 52
4. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 110
schools and departments, and the venture rested in the hands of the Drill Master, R.S.M. William Sheffield, who issued Board certificates to teachers competent at turning, marching and company drill. Sheffield was paid £2.10.0 a week.

Also in 1872, the School Board again took the initiative. This time it approached the Education Department asking for baths and swimming instructors to be provided by the Department, to facilitate its own resolution to encourage all children who wished to bathe and to learn to swim. This request, too, was rejected, and it was not until 1890 that the Education Department was willing to follow the path indicated by the School Board for London almost two decades before.¹

Despite these setbacks, the School Board for London pressed on without the approval of the Education Department.² Although the proposal to allow drill classes for girls to count as attendance had been refused, in 1873 there were 4,992 girls receiving drill instruction in Board Schools in London.³ That summer the School Board gave a public demonstration of its pride in its work in

2. Minute of the School Board for London 31st July 1872
3. Minute of the School Board for London 30th April 1873
this area through a Display of Drill in Regents Park.¹

By the following year progress had been made, in a modest way, where instructors were concerned. Even at the turn of the century about a quarter of the teachers in Board or voluntary schools had received no formal training.² In contrast with this general position, in 1875 most of the teachers in boys' departments in London were qualified at least where Drill was concerned.³ In 1873, despite the depressing attitude of the Education Department, no less than thirty mistresses had attended classes for teachers in Drill.⁴

In 1875, the question of the content of Physical Education was brought before Parliament. In March, P.A. Taylor suggested that gymnastic exercises should become an accepted part of the nation's educational system.⁵ In July, Mr. Butler-Johnstone proposed the introduction of Physical Education into elementary schools on a national basis. He was concerned that gymnastic

---

4. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 111
5. Hansard 1st July 1875 3rd Series, Vol. 222, Col. 1409
exercises should precede drill in the order of things so that the introduction of military drill could be delayed.

Now no one, Sir, has a greater respect than I have for the drill sergeant....You only degrade and defeat the very object which you wish to attain, of preparing the whole male population for military service, by calling in prematurely the aid of the drill sergeant, in the case of children who require a whole course of preparatory training in order to make them of the best use in the drill sergeant's hands. You must weave your cotton into yarn before it can be woven into cloth.¹

Mr. Butler-Johnstone pressed hard the campaign of the redoubtable Mathias Roth for a more scientific approach, which has been traced by McIntosh.² For the time being, however, there was no change, and military drill prevailed. It may be significant that the Vice-President of the Education Department who responded to Butler-Johnstone in the House, and who saw no reason to make a change, was none other than Viscount Sandon who had been a member

---

¹ Hansard 1st July 1875 3rd Series, Vol. 225, Col. 794
² McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800, notably p. 108
of the Huxley Committee. With his colleagues he had recommended Drill as a curriculum subject to the London School Board and had been party to its acceptance. Sandon told the House that he had 'every reason to believe that the introduction of military drill into schools would be attended with very advantageous results ... .\(^1\)

It was not only in the House of Commons that the suitability of military drill as the main or sole form of Physical Education for young children was being questioned. As early as 1875 it was challenged at a meeting of the London School Board, by means of an amendment to a resolution calling for a drill inspection. This read, 'That in the opinion of the Board, reviews or inspections of the boys in military fashion tend to create a passion for what is called "glory", pernicious in its consequences to thousands by diverting their thoughts and aspirations from honourable and useful labour to a life of idleness and all its terrible concomitants dreaded as a plague by their parents'.\(^2\) The amendment was defeated by twelve votes to three. The following year, petitions in the same vein were presented to the Board by the Workmen's Peace Association, the Pancras Working Men's Club, the Women's Peace and Arbitration Auxiliary and the Ratepayers.\(^3\)

---

1. Hansard 1st July 1875 3rd Series, Vol. 225, Col. 794
2. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 114
3. Ibid.
Although no action was taken immediately, a climate of opinion was being established which was to facilitate the consideration of additions or even alternatives to Drill as the content of Physical Education.

Undeterred by criticism, the School Board for London held another Display Competition in the summer of 1876, and schools competed for a Drill banner presented by the Society of Arts.\(^1\) In February the Board had resolved, 'Instruction of girls in Physical Exercises in the schoolroom, and by or under the eye of the principal school mistress, may be provided for the two hours' secular instruction required by the New Code'.\(^2\) By the Autumn its resolve hardened and it was decided that such participation should be compulsory and that the Board's Drill Instructor would inspect the physical exercises of the girls as well as the Drill for the boys.\(^3\) In November, the Board instituted courses of instruction for women teachers.\(^4\)

Two distinct divisions were now beginning to become apparent. There was military drill for the boys and undefined 'physical exercises' for the girls. Bearing in mind the attitude of the

\(^1\) Final Report of the School Board for London p. 115
\(^2\) Minutes of the School Board for London 1st February, 1876
\(^3\) Minutes of the School Board for London 2nd August, 1876
\(^4\) Final Report of the School Board for London p. 115
Education Department, it seems reasonable to suggest that the difference was really a question of terminology for political reasons. It is often difficult to separate cause and effect, not least in these circumstances. Whether the attitudes of those responsible for decision making have been such that, firstly, at the outset, and then, constantly ever since, physical exercise for boys and girls had to be considered separately; or whether this early division led thereafter to separate consideration it is impossible to say. What is clear is that from its earliest years in state schools Physical Education was divided in this particular way. The implications have been considerable, and we are still trammelled by them today.

The second dichotomy was as fundamental. The Code of 1871 had established the compulsory subjects of the curriculum and given a broad appraisal of 'optional' subjects. In 1875, the 'options' were divided and listed. 'Class' subjects were Geography, Grammar, History and Needlework. Children chose two - from 1878 one - and received a grant when in advance of Standard 1. The grant was reduced by 50% if 20% of the children were not up to Standard 4 in their selected option. 'Specific' subjects, on the other hand, were Mathematics, Mechanics, Latin, Animal Physiology, French, Physical Geography, Botany, Domestic Economy
and English Literature. The grant here depended upon passes in Standards 4 - 6. The schools were examined, of course, by the appropriate H.M.I. The position of Physical Education as a special consideration seems therefore to have been established by implication in 1875.¹

Almost as soon as the position of military drill was questioned, Swedish Gymnastics began to appear in London's elementary schools. In 1876, it even seemed that the Swedish system had gained the ascendancy.² The following year the Board decided to equip eighteen schools with playground apparatus.³

So far the School Board for London had inched forward in an unpretentious yet determined way in its extension of the most inexpensive and rudimentary available physical exercise, to the growing number of elementary schools for which it was responsible. In 1878 it embarked upon a major enterprise, far reaching in its effects. It decided to introduce Swedish Gymnastics into all its girls' schools and departments, and to facilitate this it appointed a Lady Superintendent of Physical Exercises.⁴

Proken Concordia Lofving, who had qualified at the Royal Central

1. Education Department Code of Regulations 1875
3. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England since 1800 p. 114
4. Minutes of the School Board for London 18th December, 1878
Gymnastics Institute in Stockholm, was appointed for six months in the first instance, at the rate of £300 p.a. This appointment was a direct result of pressure on the Board by one of its members, Mrs. Westlake, who had herself been influenced by the ideas of Dr. Roth.

The System to be adopted had been developed by Ling, his children and successors, on the basis of current scientific knowledge and theories in the fields of anatomy and physiology. It aimed at 'Harmonious development of the whole body'. Taking each part of the body in turn, it attempted to build it by carefully graded exercise in tune with the remainder of the human frame. Activities were selected from a broad range of approved exercises, according to a carefully designed structure of presentation.

**Introductory** Easy exercises, usually of decided rhythm, which serve to secure the attention of pupils and to prepare them for more difficult work.

**Spanbendings** Backward flexions of the trunk in which each of the joints of the spine takes part. Their principal aim is to expand the chest, especially the

---

upper and middle part and make it supple so that respiratory movements become more perfect.

Heaving Movements Expand the chest, particularly the middle and lower part; straighten the back.

Balance Movements Cultivate general equilibrium and coordination of movement.

Shoulder Exercises Usually movements of the arms which expand the pectoral chest, thus being particularly calculated to correct round shoulders.

Abdominal Exercises Cultivate the contractability of the abdominal muscles to correct lordosis (hollow back); improve digestion, by increasing peristalsis and hastening the absorption of nutritive material.

Lateral Trunk Movements Consist of rotation and sideways flexions of the trunk. They quicken the portal circulation, increase the activity of the liver and strengthen the waist muscles (nature's corsets).

Jumping and Vaulting (Marching and running) Develop elasticity and quickness of thought and action; produce courage and the power of gauging efforts according to time and space.

Movements Producing Passive Extensions of the Muscles of the Legs These are the most effective in quieting the heart beat accelerated by the previous exercises. They are given where there is any fear of the heart being overworked.
Respiratory Exercises are the slow arm elevation, etc. . . . accompanying the respiratory act, thus aiding the natural movements of respiration, so that the inhalations become deeper and exhalations more perfect and so increase the supply of oxygen to the system.¹

McIntosh indicates that Miss Lofving's reappointment was opposed in 1880 and 1881, although her work was supported by the schools.² He adds that within a year of her appointment there had been applications from six hundred school mistresses for her courses.³ Of these only eighty had been accepted and had completed their training.⁴ The opposition came from ratepayers and the whole venture was in danger. It seemed as though efforts to establish the work in London schools would come to naught. During Miss Lofving's stay Swedish Gymnastics made little or no progress,⁵ and she returned to Sweden after little more than twelve months.

Despite the depressing disappointment of this experiment, . The School Board for London, to its everlasting credit, was quite

1. Osterberg, M., Synopsis of the Ling System c. 1885
2. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 114
3. Osterberg, M., Report to the School Board MS January 1888
4. 'Woman's Herald' 20th June, 1891
undeterred. To soothe the ratepayers it reduced the salary offered to £200, but determined to replace Miss Lofving by another Lady Superintendent of Physical Exercises who was qualified in the Ling methods. Late in 1881, the Board resolved 'that Miss Martina Bergman be, and she is hereby appointed as Superintendent of Physical Education in Girls' and Infants' Schools, at a salary, according to a resolution of the Board of 10th November 1881, of £200 per annum together with reasonable travelling expenses; the appointment to date from the opening of the schools after the Christmas holidays in 1881 and to be subject to three months' notice on either side'.

By this time, Article 105 of the Code required that physical exercises be given in every girls' school and department. On the strength of this, the Board required each of its schools to secure the qualification of at least one teacher by means of the courses soon to be offered by Miss Bergman. At this stage 'free-standing exercises', which required no expensive apparatus, were the only ones considered relevant. As men were qualified by means of passing R.S.M. Sheffield's examination, women were now to be examined by the Lady Superintendent. Her

1. Minute of the School Board for London 15th December 1881
2. Circular from the School Management Committee 25th January 1882
3. Osterberg, M., Register of Gymnastic Teachers 1913
criteria were different. Instead of success being based upon personal, practical competence in the movements themselves, as was the case with military drill, the qualification of women was dependent upon their ability in practical teaching.\(^1\)

The dramatic and far reaching impact of Miss Bergman, and through her of Swedish Gymnastics for girls has been more fully dealt with elsewhere.\(^2\) Now, not only could young girls record experiences similar to those of their brothers, matching the experiences of Holland and Spencer, but also, there was a more systematic and scientific note sounding in physical training.

With a sharp military tone that any commanding officer might have envied, Miss Bergman faced her company and countermarched them, the girls moving with perfect steadiness and precision to their own voices singing 'The Minstrel Boy', though the little ones on the right flank had to take abnormally long strides and even then lost a little distance. The girls were afterwards put through a series of flexions and extension motions, by which the neck and spine, the joints, and

---

   Madame Bergman-Osterberg Geo, Harrap for the University of London Institute of Education, London 1969
   The Contribution of Madame Bergman-Osterberg to the Development of British Education M.Ed. Thesis 1967
   University of Leicester.
   The Relevance of Historical Studies in Physical Education
   Physical Education Part I Vol. 59, No. 178, Nov. 1967
   Part II Vol. 60. No. 179, March 1967
every muscle in their bodies were brought into active
and harmonious exercise, the lungs being exercised by
singing and counting.1

The many public and private demonstrations given by Miss
Bergman on behalf of the School Board for London received very
great attention from the press.2 This brought royal and public
approbation for Swedish Gymnastics and open conflict between
military drill and the more 'scientific' Ling System. The
attention given in 1883 to Swedish Gymnastics indicated the
obvious advantages of exercises of the Ling pattern for boys as
well as girls. Immersed in the conflict, the School Board for
London decided to attempt peaceful co-existence for the two
systems where boys' schools and departments were concerned.
Although Drill had been generally approved so far for boys, the
adoption of Swedish Gymnastics for boys would be permitted if
'care was taken that the military drill required by the New Code
of the Education Department in the case of boys be not interfered
with'.3

This greater flexibility of approach towards the content of
Physical Education took place during a general reaction to earlier
mechanical methods. In 1882, the curriculum had been revised.
In addition to the fixed grant, a new merit grant was now paid

1. 'The Standard' 20th January 1883
3. 'The Chelmsford Chronicle' 29th June 1883; 'The Daily News'
   7th July 1884; 'Charity Organiser Reporter' 31st May 1884;
for 'fair', 'good' and 'excellent' standards dependent upon examination by an H.M.I. In infants' departments this was dependent upon simple lessons on Objects, the Phenomenon of Nature and Appropriate and Various Occupations. In upper departments the merit grant depended upon organisation and discipline. Elementary Science and English were recognised as class subjects; English Literature and Physical Geography were struck off the 'specific' list, and Chemistry, Physics and Principles of Agriculture were added. The implications for Physical Education lay in the merit grant for discipline where Drill and, as it turned out, Swedish Gymnastics had a great deal to offer.

In 1883, the Board resolved that 'a Physical Education committee be formed which shall take over the management and control of Physical Education including gymnastics and Swedish Exercises, the use of playgrounds and the furnishing and management of the gymnasia about to be erected through Lord Brabazon's generosity'. The committee's early meetings were attended by Miss Bergman, Major-General Hammersley, Lord Brabazon and Mr. Nordenfelt.¹a

Within two months the initial policy had been decided upon.

Free-standing exercises were to be adopted as the basis of the

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 2nd August 1883
1a. See Appendix D.
Physical Education to be provided. More advanced work in gymnasia was to be a second stage and positive steps were to be taken to encourage developments in this direction. A male counterpart of the Lady Superintendent of Physical Exercises (Swedish) was to be sought immediately. Count Piper, the Swedish Commander-in-Chief was asked to find an officer who could fill the appointment, and a Captain Haarsum was recommended. A second Lady Superintendent was to be appointed and the apparatus at the International Health Exhibition at Olympia was to be purchased to equip the first Board gymnasium. The venue for the new gym was to be Crampton Street School. Miss Bergman and Captain Haarsum effected the experiment, and in one day between two and three hundred teachers visited the experimental gymnasium.

The end of our first period of curriculum development, with the School Board for London, draws to its close with Physical Education accepted in theory as a subject, but, in fact, treated as a separate consideration throughout, as Board

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 29th October 1883
2. Ibid. 28th January 1884
3. Ibid 10th March 1884
4. Ibid. 11th February 1884
5. Ibid. 30th June 1884
6. Ibid. 14th July 1884

For a list of the equipment used see Appendix E.
initiative is tempered according to Departmental reaction to it. By 1885 most girls' schools and departments are offering Swedish Gymnastics under qualified mistresses. In boys' schools, on the whole, Drill is established. With the appointment of Captain Haarsum, in April 1884, to do for boys what Miss Bergman had already achieved for girls, a real choice is available on the male side.

The Earl of Meath, through the Metropolitan Association, gave £500 to help Crampton Street with a Swedish gymnasium. Lord Brabazon made a similar offer as a first move in providing gymnasia for schools throughout London. It was only two years since the free-standing exercises of Bergman had first been offered. The new advance in the use of gymnastic apparatus represented a major development.

We might fruitfully leave the period for the present by recalling the young Spencer and Old Hartford at company drill. Their parades took place during 1885. That same year, classes of boys and classes of girls under Captain Haarsum and Miss Bergman exercised at the Crampton Street Gymnasium. With

2. McIntosh, P.C., *Physical Education in England Since 1800* p. 115
'Shonnie's' drill, they represented the best that had been achieved by 1885 in Physical Education in Board schools in London.

The girls exercised first. They were dressed in blue serge tunics and knickerbockers with light blue sashes round their waists, and were first put through the ordinary calisthenics exercises by Miss Bergman, who has a peculiarly sharp and businesslike manner in giving the word of command. They climbed loose ropes and poles hanging from the roof, jumped from a springboard, and exercised themselves upon what one must call a horizontal bar. One portion of the apparatus deserves brief notice, as it is quite unlike anything we have seen here. It consists of a large framework of wood cut into squares like the framework of a window. At the word of command, three or four girls swarmed up the structure like cats, and proceeded to wriggle themselves in and out of openings with grace and ease .... The boys were no less successful in their exercises, which to some extent were a repetition of those by the girls.¹

In many areas the children were no more fortunate than the bored nine-year-old Holland. In some schools there was no provision for exercises or Drill. However, against the background of the general condition of the working class children in London, progress, if not appearing remarkable, might be seen to be substantial.

¹. The Daily News 7th July 1884
Poverty in London was widespread and often quite desperate. Increasingly, the disturbing facts became more widely known. Articles and pamphlets of all kinds appeared drawing attention to the squalor of much of the metropolis. One in particular, 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London', became a best seller. In 1885 a survey, allegedly Marxist inspired, asserted that close on a million people, 25% of the population, were living in London in abject poverty. In an attempt to disprove what he considered to be reprehensible sensationalism on the part of the socialist movement, Charles Booth, a middle-aged ship owner, launched himself on a mammoth survey of the condition of the poor in London. He worked continuously until the turn of the century and discovered that almost a third of the population in London, over a million and a half people, were almost totally poverty stricken. He did much through his writings to bring home to the politicians and ruling classes that they should become deeply concerned with this desperate problem.

Popular middle class opinion at the time held that the fault was substantially that of the poor themselves, a fault almost amounting to punishable crime. Booth's evidence totally

1. Preston, W.C., The Bitter Cry of Outcast London 1883
2. Pall Mall Gazette 1885
3. Booth, C., Life and Labour of the People in London 1889
destroyed such arguments. He found that in 85% of the cases he investigated, poverty was clearly due to causes beyond the control of the afflicted themselves. Largely responsible were unemployment, sickness and appallingly low wages, whilst sloth, alcoholism and lack of thrift were significant in only 15% of the cases. This represented an entirely new view of the poor in need of relief and did much to pave the way for reforms which were to play their part in building the new, modern democratic state.

The plight of the children was the most miserable aspect of a deplorable situation.

On the first floor back, in a small room with window and door both broken, lived a family of Irish street sellers: father, mother and three little children. One could see the room through the broken panel of the door, and the children would be lying alone throughout the day, crying one against the other, or with a dejected Irish woman who, for a penny or a little bread, would take charge of them. The room was without fire, the children without food.¹

¹ Freid, A., & Elman, R.M., Charles Booth's London 1969 p. 75
In spite of all the tragic and compelling difficulties, Booth saw nothing improbable in the commonly held view that the working class, with their 'simple and natural' lives tended their own and their children's happiness more than the rich did in their 'artificial and complicated' existence. He noted the contrasts between the rich and the poor on the one hand, and the condition of the poor and the efforts they made to make life bearable, on the other. He saw the misery and filth, the stark basic diet of bread, butter, tea and sugar, the moneylenders and pawnbrokers; he saw too the pubs, the rabbit hutches, pigeon lofts and walks through the parks. He witnessed the efforts of the poor to enjoy life in so far as they were able, on Bank Holidays or whenever the occasion gave excuse.

In the streets the dancing breaks out whenever it has a chance; let the barrel organ strike up a waltz at any corner, and at once the girls who may be walking past, and the children out of the gutter begin to foot it merrily. Men join in sometimes, two young men together as like as not, and the passers-by stand to enjoy the sight. A couple of ragged, perhaps even barefooted children, dancing conscientiously the step of the latest trois-temps is a pleasant sight to see. 1

The ragamuffins were sometimes kept alive by a diet of

1. Freid, A., & Elman, R.M., Charles Booth's London p. 227
sugar-sticks and sugar-balls.\footnote{1} Dorothy Tennant was mystified to discover that even the most hungry children turned aside when offered plates of rice and gravy. Rice was unknown to urchins used, at best, to 'tripe and onions', 'eel pie' or 'Doorstep'. Miss Tennant, however, also saw a silver lining to the dark cloud of pauperism.

We have now reached a stage at which progress is in the hands of those who will advance. The people are beginning to realise that none can help them better than themselves. Independence, a consciousness of personal worth and personal rights is steadily growing and strengthening. Far from repressing, we should hail with satisfaction the present dissatisfaction of the poor in town and country, for it is dissatisfaction with their present condition which alone makes improvement possible. \footnote{2}

In mingling with her ragamuffins, Dorothy Tennant heard the bitter cry of the children, but, like Booth, she heard another sound, the merry laugh. She heard it as they bathed and fished in the Thames, 'wheelled' in the streets or walked unsteadily on their hands. She heard it as they climbed and swung from lamp posts, with an added zest if 'coppers' were about. She heard it as they played 'marbles', 'buttons', 'cherries' and 'date-stones',

\footnote{1}{Tennant, D., \textit{The London Ragamuffin} \textit{English Illustrated Magazine} 1884-5 pp. 614-5}
\footnote{2}{Ibid.}
as they joined in 'foot-head', 'leap frog' and 'court-ball'.
Gambling and scuffling were more serious components of their informal life saving recreative activity.

'Canon Southey', Miss Tennant's leading source of information among the ragamuffins, complained of the sameness of the games. They were games without rules, without object and accompanied by meaningless doggerel. As she watched one group playing, Dorothy Tennant was struck by the irregularity of their play which consisted chiefly of their running after one another, knocking down the weakest, kneeling on him and rolling over like puppies. To her the answer seemed obvious.

Great good might be done by teachers and volunteers if they would introduce some new and lively games into the playground - games children would eagerly learn, and, in turn, teach their playfellows - games not necessarily instructive, but at least removed from imbecility.

This was one of the many problems facing the School Board for London. The new physical educationists were only too keenly aware of the challenge and it was receiving close attention.

2. Osterberg, M., Report to the School Board for London NS 1887
Chapter 7

A PERIOD OF 'OVER PRESSURE' 1885 - 1895

The Victorian Adventure had been launched soon after the end of the Napoleonic wars. Three decades later, Britain moved into her 'Mid-Victorian' period, one with which the word 'complacency' has often been associated. As she faced the challenges of the eighties and nineties, accusations of self-satisfaction became less valid. Economic depression allied to the growing menace of German competition and rivalry led to a general reappraisal and a series of searching enquiries. Few moral or intellectual assumptions or values were left unchallenged. Almost any public institution was subject to widespread criticism which was frequently savage.

Socially, the seeds sown by Carlyle, Ruskin, Dickens and many of their ilk were growing into healthy young plants. Knowledge and techniques of all kinds were developing as never before. There was a general feeling that there was much to be done to set the world to rights, but that at last man was capable of undertaking the task. The major developments in means of communication contributed in a variety of ways to the founding of the modern world.
In Britain, power was shifting. The cabinet still came from the great public schools and was to continue to do so for generations. The ruling classes were the captains of industry. But there was now a growing faith in democratic government. The trades unions were already forces to be reckoned with and the co-operative societies were examples of new voluntary societies born of recent social reform. There was also a slow but steady extension of public provision by municipal authorities. Although still in vogue, laissez-faire of the Bentham-Mill inspiration was wearing itself out. Radicalism was led in Birmingham by Joseph Chamberlain. Bradford and Glasgow were cities more ready to meet the demands of their citizens. In London, the forces of change were felt a little later than in some places. Booth had played a major part in bringing about an understanding that poverty was widespread in the capital. When dockers, fired by Annie Besant, struck in 1889, public opinion, for the first time, was with them. Suddenly there was a general awareness of the condition of England question.

The Gladstone administration had fallen in 1886. It had been strongly concerned with non-domestic issues in South Africa, Egypt and Ireland, although Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant had done a
certain amount to bring attention to bear on problems of secularism, birth control and socialism. The new Conservative government, although still, of course, concerned with the problem of Ireland, established a climate in which those most concerned with social problems and economic issues were increasingly able to make themselves heard.

The main efforts made in Education in the eighties and nineties were attempts to extend provision and to make it free. Hand in hand with this was the development of the quality and kind of education itself. The fear of industrial competition from Europe was increasing and there was a growing need for a new, more skilled proletariat. Questions concerning education began to take precedence, as they so often do, at a time when they coincide with an emerging economic situation.

A decade before, a Royal Commission had proposed the development of science teaching in schools.\(^1\) Plans had come to naught because of the assumptions generally made about the concept of education. These suggested that the state should not concern itself with the control of education, but should confine itself to the 'three Rs', with Religious Education alone justifying

\(^1\) The Royal Commission on Science 1870
interference. Technical instruction was seen as the concern of factories and not a justifiable expenditure for public funds. However, the objections were against technology, not pure science—a significant distinction.

By 1880 the School Boards in industrial areas, particularly in the North and Midlands, had begun to develop higher education to meet the needs of the new skilled workers. They began to add higher grades to elementary schools and to establish higher grade schools. This action aroused opposition from many quarters. Some contended that these schools and classes constituted unfair competition for voluntary schools. This in its turn drew attention to existing higher grades in private schools who were afraid of being left behind where science was concerned. In this way, science teaching virtually created the first state provision of secondary education, began the distinction between elementary and secondary education and led ultimately to a substantial development in the administrative structure through the establishment of the technical education committees of new local authorities, when they came into being after the Local Government Act of 1888.

The immediate effect of these developments in the North and Midlands was to reveal the limitations of higher education and its
restricted attempts to cope with scientific progress. This led, in turn, to pressure for the development of technical education. Many saw this as the 'real' education which, if promoted, would stir interest in liberal education. At this stage pressure from employers in industry was having an impact that theorists were not achieving.

The Royal Commission on Technical Education was set up in 1881, and in its Report, issued after three years of deliberation, put forward four important recommendations. It advocated the general extension of technical education into all schools at all levels. Secondary schools of the modern type, based on the German pattern, were also recommended. In such schools, the Commissioners envisaged that the technical education would be included in the curriculum. If no other room could be found, then space would be made by the exclusion of Greek and Latin. The Commission also proposed legislation to enable local authorities to found and support technical schools, seeking financial assistance, where necessary, from trade organisations. Finally, it was suggested that science teaching, instead of being concerned with pure science as was general, should be of a more practical nature than it had been previously.

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education 1884
In 1884, the International Science Conference, held in London, supported the suggestion that science should be taught in the form of investigation. The Conference underlined some of the major difficulties, amongst them the shortage of science teachers, the necessity for an administrative device to facilitate state provision of science education and the problem of making grants for solely working class children.¹

That same year, a select committee of the House of Commons examined how educational expenditure was being spent and ways in which it might be reduced. The committee suggested redistribution instead of reduction.² It felt that the central administration of education should be removed from the control of the Privy Council, and that instead a Minister of Education should be appointed with extensive powers and a Board of Education to assist him. The whole of elementary education, including the schools of the School Boards, would then be gathered together under the control of the Minister. These proposals proved abortive. It was felt that implementation was impossible because of the existing structure of education in this country. The 1870 Act had led to a decentralised system, one concerned only

---

1. Report of the International Science Conference 1885
2. Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons 1884
with elementary education. It seemed unreasonable to appoint a Minister who would be solely concerned with the provision of education for the working classes.

Possible reforms in local government, therefore, were really the key to the situation. Previously the position had been almost insoluble and the ad hoc School Boards had been the only feasible answer. In towns these had, on the whole, been elected by genuine franchise, but in rural areas they were often still virtually feudal. By now, however, local democratic government was becoming accepted as a necessity in order for people to participate in democracy. The passing of the Third Reform Act of 1884 meant that in many rural areas people acquired the right to vote in parliamentary elections while they were still excluded locally. In 1888, the Local Government Act corrected this curious anomaly, perhaps too late. The interest of the electorate had shifted to Westminster. It is interesting to ponder on how significant this factor has been in our difficulties in securing a system of dynamic local government to this day. However, from the point of view of the administration of education, the County and County Borough Councils were now an established fact, and the Urban District Councils were added in 1894. Here at last were
locally elected councils which provided a real administrative alternative to the School Boards. When the councils set up their technical education committees, the School Boards had dangerous rivals with the major advantage of being part and parcel of the new democratic machinery of reformed local government.

Also in 1888, the Final Report of the Commission which had been investigating the effectiveness of the 1870 Act was published. There were great differences between members and this may well have reflected the differences amongst the public at large and helped to make the Report ineffective. The Commissioners suggested replacing the School Boards altogether with larger elected bodies connected with local government units, and the rate aiding of all schools including voluntary schools. They also recommended that the school leaving age should be raised to thirteen, with no half time exemption for children below the age of eleven years. The extension of endowed schools, instead of higher grade schools, and the development of voluntary training colleges were also suggested. Amongst the general improvements sought in school accommodation, the Report called for more suitable

furniture for young children and a playground in every school. The evidence of Madame Osterberg on behalf of the School Board for London was significant here. Where the curriculum itself was concerned, the Commission called for a liberalisation which would be effected by the introduction of such subjects as Art, Science and Technical Education.

The proposal regarding administration was, in effect, acted upon in 1902, when three hundred local education authorities were created. At that time too, rate aid was forthcoming for voluntary schools. Where the curriculum was concerned, payment by results was abolished, at least for the 'three Rs', in 1890, but retained at increased rates for other subjects. This was a direct attempt to widen the curriculum. In 1900, predictably, payment by results disappeared completely and was replaced by the block grant.

Towards the end of the period, another Commission¹ was set up to examine secondary education and to suggest ways of filling deficiencies. The Bryce Commission recommended the gradual extension of the amount of education and the range of post-primary courses by the local authorities, supervised rather than controlled.

¹. The Bryce Commission (reported in 1895)
by a Minister who would be assisted by a non-party education council. The freedom of teachers to experiment was defended, and inspection was seen as a means of ensuring efficiency. In the section dealing with inspection, the Commissioners stressed the desirability of guarding against too many examinations as they were felt to result in undesirable pressures.

The extension of the curriculum meant a more favourable climate for the fortunes of aspiring subjects such as Physical Education. The reaction against over pressure constituted an invitation to Physical Educationists to stress the recreational aspects of their work. The fact that these new opportunities for Physical Education came at a time when emphasis was shifting from examination to inspection is another important factor to be considered. The decision to leave elementary education, at least for the present, in the hands of local government — for the time being, the School Boards — meant that many important decisions remained the responsibility of the School Boards, the largest and most influential of which was the School Board for London. How London reacted to the changes and challenges of the times would have a substantial impact on the development of Physical Education.
The previous period, concerned with building subjects, had ended with R.S.M. Sheffield, Captain Haarsum and Miss Bergman working in their own fields each with the support of the Board. The new phase begins with the eclipse of Haarsum and the decline of Swedish Gymnastics for boys. An enquiry held by a sub-committee of the School Board for London heard evidence against the Swede. Messrs. Brenchley, Carey and Newen, of Bellenden Road, Issop Road and Vittoria Road Schools respectively, gave evidence concerning his work. Mr. Brenchley complained that at the Clifton Road Centre no apparatus was used and that many of the exercises performed were mere modifications of military drill. He contended that the positions pupils were required to adopt were quite impossible to maintain. Mr. Carey’s view was a different one. His experience was that at the Crampton Street gymnasium the Captain had worked hard with his boys and was extremely popular. He felt that the Swedish System offered a greater variety of exercises than did the English. Mr. Newen also supported the new work and thought the Ling exercises a great improvement on what had gone before.

It seems clear that Swedish Gymnastics for boys, as much as

---

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 8th December 1884
Captain Haarsum, were on 'trial' before the sub-committee. Sheffield had even tabled alternative syllabi based on his own work which could be used if the Swedish pattern of exercises were to be discontinued. Despite the fact that, in his absence, Haarsum seems to have come off well in the exchanges, at least as far as the minutes of the meeting convey the picture, it was agreed that although the Swedish Gymnastics was to continue, Dr. Allan Broman would conduct the classes in place of Haarsum. Broman was Miss Bergman's brother-in-law. The position of the other two full-time Physical Educationists employed by the Board remained unchallenged. Sheffield reported to the committee that he had successfully completed thirty courses for Board teachers, and Miss Bergman twelve.

For some time, the Board had been considering the appointment of a second Lady Superintendent to assist Miss Bergman in her work. They had resolved 'that the School Management Committee be authorised to nominate for appointment to the Board a Second Superintendent of Physical Education in Girls' and Infants' schools, a Swedish Lady who has passed through the courses of training in Physical Education provided by the Swedish Government, at a salary of £200 per annum, together with reasonable travelling expenses'.

1. Minute of the School Board for London 27th March 1884
As a result of an advertisement in the 'Times' and the 'Stockholm Dagbladet', a Froken Godeche had been appointed. Froken Godeche, however, had failed to take up the appointment as there was a change in her personal circumstances in that she hoped soon to be married. Unfortunately, no other suitable applicant, who could meet the requirements of the post, had come forward, so it was decided to cancel plans to appoint a second Lady Superintendent. Instead, Miss Bergman was to select and train two English ladies to assist her. It was planned that they would teach initially for three years and be styled 'Teachers of Physical Exercise'. Their starting salary would be £150 per annum. Their training with Miss Bergman would be facilitated by means of a sabbatical year from the School Board schools at which they were teaching.

The ladies selected by Miss Bergman were Miss H. Strachan, of Orchard Street School, Borough, and Miss C.M. Ely, of Marlborough Street School, Chelsea. This new team of three Organising Tutors for Physical Education for girls became the

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 8th December, 1884
2. Ibid. 12th January, 1885
3. Ibid. 9th February, 1885
established pattern for the duration of the School Board for London. It seems likely, too, that a similar structure was intended, at this stage, for Physical Education for boys.

Broman was already in harness and it was decided to send Mr. J. Newnes, of Vittoria Road School, and Mr. R.W. Board, of Latimer Road School, to Sweden to study at the Royal Central Gymnastic Institute in Stockholm. ¹ Broman, meanwhile, conducted weekly classes each Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. at Crampton Street School in Newington, for the training of teachers. ²

Attempts by Captain Haarsum to secure appointment in the service of the Board at this juncture received no encouragement. ³ Eventually it was decided not to replace him fully. ⁴ Instead, Broman's part time honorary efforts were considered sufficient.

His gratuitous course for teachers at Crampton Street between 16th February and 24th June was attended by no less than eighty-seven teachers of whom forty-seven were qualified by attendance. ⁵

This is clear evidence that although the fortunes of Swedish Gymnastics for boys were more mercurial than the successful efforts of Miss Bergman, there was substantial interest in the

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 12th January 1885
2. Ibid. 9th February 1885
3. Ibid. 9th March 1885
4. Ibid. 20th April 1885
5. Ibid. 28th September 1885
methods among male teachers as well as among women. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that against this background of uncertainty the Board decided to publish the Sheffield Drill Course.

The determination of the Board to establish Swedish Gymnastics for girls is well illustrated by its calling upon three Headmistresses, those of Campbell Street Girls' School, Hinde Street Girls' and Infants' School and Latcham Street Infants' School, to give formal explanation as to why physical exercises were not practised in their schools.\(^1\)

An interesting sidelight on the influence of pressure groups is found in the minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise. In April, 1885, the Sub-Committee gave its general approval to the establishing of school based cadet corps.\(^2\) Within a mere five months, following representations from, amongst others, the Workmen's Peace Association and the Hackney Radical Association, it decided that it could not agree to the use of school playgrounds by 'cadet clubs'.\(^3\) There was to be no support for the fostering of military spirit.

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 20th April 1885
2. Ibid. 26th April 1885
3. Ibid. 28th September 1885
Lady Stevenson was less successful in questioning the activities of the Sub-Committee. She queried the use of the Bergman assistants as teachers in private practice for gain. She had become aware of their work at private classes in a centre in the Chelsea Division.\(^1\) In considering her objections, the Sub-Committee found the situation to be a reasonable one in that the teachers were busily engaged upon the acquisition of a sound knowledge of the Swedish System under Miss Bergman.

Another minor extension of its activities into an area beyond elementary education was the Board's agreement to a proposal to the Crampton Street gymnasium being used by a Swedish Gymnastic Club, 'with an acceptable constitution and rules, at normal educational charges'.\(^2\)

A curious responsibility of the Sub-Committee on Physical Exercise during these years was the approval of fire-drill schemes.\(^3\) It decided, for example, that the proposals of the Woolwich and Deptford Groups of Schools for fire-drill were not acceptable. This would seem to support the contention that

---

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 22nd January 1885.
2. Ibid. 18th May 1885
3. Ibid. 28th September 1885
the official view was that drill, if not physical exercise, was primarily concerned with discipline.

At this juncture, too, safety regulations became a major consideration for the first time. A girl had been concussed in an accident involving a swing which had been erected in the playground of Leipsic Road School. The Sub-Committee was required to draw up rules on safety. Their regulations were threefold:

a) That only one child be allowed on a swing at a time.
b) That no child should be allowed to stand when using a swing.

c) That where swings are situated in a part of the playground which is utilised as a thoroughfare their use will be discontinued.¹

In response to a resolution passed by the Committee of Representative Managers of London Board Schools, the Sub-Committee indicated that it had already instituted periodic inspection of gymnastic apparatus. It was not prepared, however, in the light of what it considered to be a lack of evidence of accidents, to institute regulations regarding the use of apparatus.

¹. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 1st May 1885
Already one can see the beginnings of the role of the inspector of the twentieth century.

During the autumn of 1885 Miss Bergman, who had been dogged by ill health the previous year, embarked upon a private venture of her own when she opened a college for the training of full time specialist women teachers of Physical Education. She remained associated with the School Board for two further years. By that time she had introduced the Ling System into every girls' school and department for which the Board was responsible. She had trained over thirteen hundred Board teachers to carry on her work. She went on to develop the Swedish System throughout the British Empire in middle class education for girls and young women. Her influence, and through her that of the Board, was immense.

Madame Osterberg's foremost distinction was in the development of physical education for girls and women, but her influence on men teachers and doctors was significant. It was also felt in the British armed forces. Indeed, it was she who really laid the foundations upon which the structure of Swedish Physical Education was built.

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 29th September 1884

Education in English schools was built during the first forty years of the twentieth century.\(^1\) Her own system was a combination of Swedish Gymnastics and 'English' games. 'Applied with knowledge and intelligence, Swedish Gymnastics exactly supplement the English Games. They counteract acquired physical peculiarities, they correct form and poise.'\(^2\)

Before she finally severed all connection with the School Board for London, Miss Bergman, by then Madame Bergman-Osterberg, stressed the necessity of Physical Education as one of the most important answers to the problems of over-pressure.\(^3\) The need for exercise, for the development of games and playgrounds and the replacement of outmoded school furniture were all things which concerned her. The Board received her comments with sympathy, as indeed did the Commissioners of the Cross Commission\(^4\) a year later. No doubt growing public concern over the problem of academic pressure on children, working in conditions often quite unsuited for the purposes of education, had much to do with her impact. No longer was it sufficient to stress that exercise could be had in crowded classrooms with children standing on desks.

---

2. Osterberg, M.S.H., *The Training of Teachers in Methods of Physical Education* undated manuscript
3. Osterberg, M.S.H., Report to the School Board for London [MS January 1888
Now was the time to be a little more ambitious. Indeed, by 1887, lawn tennis was being played out of school hours in playgrounds in Hackney and Finsbury, whilst fives were popular in Broad Street School, Ratcliffe.¹ That same year the School Board decided to afford the same distinction to Swedish Gymnastics for girls that had been given to military drill of the Sheffield variety for boys. It published its own booklet, edited by Madame Osterberg.²

The School Board for London decided, in 1887, to establish a special committee to consider the curriculum in the light of prevalent criticism. Set up in March, 1887, the committee reported the following year, making twenty-nine recommendations. Four of these were concerned with Physical Education. Trial classes in Slojd were started in three schools. This subject was considered the logical extension of Swedish Gymnastics. It had been introduced at the Hampstead Gymnasium by Madame Osterberg in 1885. It aimed at the development of manual dexterity through the correct use of carving implements. 'Exercises' were graded, as usual, from the most simple to the most complicated. Slojd was to be taught by qualified teachers only. A second recommendation of the committee proposed that

¹. Final Report of the Cross Commission, 1889
². Osterberg, M.S.H., Gymnastic Tables, 1887
school playgrounds should be used for the founding of clubs for 'hardy' sports, gymnastic exercises and drill. The schools themselves, too, were to be more fully used, as centres for 'field clubs' and swimming classes. The committee also asked the Board to consider very carefully the provision of out-of-school Physical Education. ¹

This movement had the full support of at least one H.M.I. who considered that drill and physical exercises were not enough even with the introduction of dumb-bells and clubs. The Inspector of the Metropolitan Division considered that the playgrounds of themselves led only to the roughest disorder and not to games and sports. 'The training of well ordered, exhilarating games is only second in value and importance to that of indoor lessons.' ²

R.S.M. Sheffield died in August, 1888, after seventeen years as the Drill Instructor and the opportunity was taken to restructure the provision of Physical Education for boys. A 'dual' system had begun with the experimental appointment of Captain Haarsum through the good offices of the Prince of Wales and the King of Sweden. Since the eclipse of the Swede, Broman

1. Report of Special Committee of the School Board for London 1888
2. Annual Reports of the Inspectors 1890
3. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 17th October 1888
had been continuing his voluntary efforts on behalf of the Board. The School Board for London now appointed two instructors, one with expertise in each of the emerging fields. Broman, the man expert in Ling's work, who had the support of Mrs. Westlake, was appointed Organising Master of Physical Exercises in Boys' Departments for a two year period at a salary of £250 per annum. Thomas Chesterton was appointed Physical Instructor and assigned to a London District where he superintended what became known as the English System. Chesterton was to be paid £150 per annum. This seems to suggest that Swedish Gymnastics, besides dominating the scene where Physical Education for girls was concerned, now had the edge in boys' schools as well. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that it was not until the following year that the Board recognised Swedish Exercises as an acceptable alternative to what it entitled the 'English Combined System'. Chesterton claimed to have devised this by combining the best elements of all the various continental systems. Although it included military drill, he insisted that its purpose was not military but educational. His aim was to counteract the ill effects of school life, clearly associated with alleged 'over-pressure'.

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 7th November 1888
2. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 115
4. Education Department Special Enquiries and Reports 1898 pp.186-8
It seems unlikely that the two systems were as different as their champions would have claimed. Of the two men, however, Chesterton was clearly the more successful.

In 1889, 'in order that exercises would be systematic and methodical', Physical Education became part of the curriculum in Board schools in London. All teachers in Board schools were now required to study one of the two systems.¹ Twenty one-hour sessions were involved. Considerable rivalry between the two varieties of Physical Education was aroused. Unfortunately Chesterton, the only physical educationist of the period to have attempted to record developments in some detail, is an unreliable witness where facts and figures are concerned. He reported that after his two year appointment Broman was sacked and his post abolished, as only thirty-one teachers had chosen the Swedish System the previous year, whereas over a hundred more than that had selected the English System.² Elsewhere he recorded that between 1889 and 1892 four hundred and twenty-three teachers had selected Swedish Gymnastics and one thousand and thirty-eight the Combined System, and that as a result Broman was dismissed in 1893 and replaced by a second Combined instructor.³

2. Education Department Special Enquiries and Reports 1898 p.186 ff.
Certainly rivalry between the two men was fierce. One element may have been the difference in their salaries. Both had the support of the Board in July 1890, when it published the booklets of its male exponents of both Swedish and English Combined Gymnastics.\(^1\) In February, however, Chesterton claimed that Broman was canvassing in his districts.\(^2\) The battle was on. Broman himself approached the Board and pressed for one System, the Swedish, to be accepted for men as well as for women.\(^3\) Whilst Chesterton demonstrated that numerically his impact was much the more considerable, Broman continued to insist that his methods were superior.\(^4\) The Board attempted a policy of appeasement. Chesterton was given the official title of Superintendent, and Broman was offered an extension of three months when his current engagement was up.\(^5\)

Broman was not satisfied with the conditions offered.

It seems certain that he was being pressed by his sister-in-law, Madame Osterberg, to seek a powerful position similar to the one she had enjoyed when she so effectively introduced Swedish

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ibid.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 2nd July 1890
\(^2\) Ibid. 4th February 1891
\(^3\) Ibid. 15th July 1891
\(^4\) Ibid. 30th May 1892
\(^5\) Ibid. 20th March 1893
Gymnastics into girls' departments. Her declared policy was provision of a similar nature for boys' schools.

The timing was good, and the new Code provided for Swedish Gymnastics as well as Drill; but the Board was not prepared to give in to Broman's demands and they parted company with him when his contract expired.

In 1893 a second 'English' Instructor was appointed. In view of the Board's ruling that all its teachers should hold its Physical Exercise Certificate, for the moment, at least, the English Combined System prevailed, in London, for boys. Outlines of Chesterton's System were published in 1895 and again in 1897.

Meanwhile, progress was being made on another front. In 1890 the Education Department for the first time recognised swimming as school attendance. The following year the Department agreed that the School Board for London might defray the cost of admission and instruction at baths out of school funds. The School Board decided that a fee not exceeding ld. per child

2. Chesterton, T., The Theory of Physical Exercises 1895
   Manual of Drill and Physical Exercises 1897
3. Education Department Code of Regulations 1891
per lesson should be paid to the proprietors of baths. The
Department also agreed to proposals by the Board for the provision
of out-of-school swimming, and, after some hesitation, to the
building of baths by the Board itself. Despite the opposition
of many London vestries, loans for the purpose were sanctioned.
Marlborough Street Baths, Lyham Road Baths, Brixton, and Albion
Baths, Dalston, were opened in 1900 and 1901. Until then,
instruction was given in baths owned by the Borough Councils.
Where there were no qualified teachers available, specialist
instructors were provided. In 1891 the London Schools Swimming
Association was established to encourage swimming amongst pupils
in elementary schools. It was to organise competitions,
offer trophies and award certificates. By 1893, two thousand
one hundred and seventy-four children had been taught to swim
and nearly six thousand had received instruction.

The Sub-Committees of the School Board for London which
dealt with Physical Education had had a somewhat mercurial
existence. They had contributed rather erratically since 1883.
This is not really surprising in view of the fact that it was
only after 1890, after two Special Committees on the subject, that
a committee pattern emerged for the work of the School Board
for London. In Physical Education the Sub-Committee continued its uneven path. In June, 1888, only Mr. J.J. Helby, Rev. J.B. Diggle, Mr. Brown, General Moberley and Mr. White managed to attend. At the next meeting, in August, only Mrs. Westlake was able to join Mr. Helby, the Chairman, at a meeting. By November the Special Sub-Committee had decided to reconstitute the Sub-Committee on Physical Exercise as a standing sub-committee of the School Management Committee. The new committee had no less than nineteen members, and its first act was to choose Thomas Chesterton from a short list of three to fill the appointment described above. The committee decided that Broman and Chesterton would each open two centres North of the river and two South.

Having completed the current business of the old Sub-Committee, the standing committee then began to concern itself

1. Notes of introduction to the School Board for London Records in the London County Record Office.
2. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Exercise 15th June 1888
3. Ibid. 1st August 1888
4. Ibid. 7th November 1888
5. Minutes of standing Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education 7th February 1889
6. Ibid. 9th November 1888
7. Ibid. 13th March 1889
with considerable areas of activity which had so far been comparatively neglected. The first of these was concerned with swimming, allowed by the new Code.¹

Swimming was organised by the committee for pupils in Greenwich, St. Giles, Tower Hamlets, Wenlock Road, St. Pancras and Poplar.² The ubiquitous Mathias Roth produced a plan for the committee's consideration which proposed swimming instruction on the pattern in use in the Hampstead Gymnasium. The idea was to teach swimming movements 'dry' in the gymnasium during the winter and then make baths available during the summer months.³ After considerable deliberation the committee decided to reject Roth's scheme,⁴ although Miss Ely had strongly supported it.⁵

The sub-committee also secured the services of two external examiners to supervise the awards being made of Board certificates to male and female teachers. John Holm, F.R.C.S., M.R.C.S. and Madame Bergman-Osterberg were the two people selected.⁶

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education 29th April 1889
2. Ibid. 1888 Article 12 (j) 28th April 1889
3. Ibid. 13th May 1889
4. Ibid. 12th December 1890
5. Ibid. 4th November 1890
6. Ibid. 8th May 1890
Another problem which exercised the sub-committee was the question of the use of playgrounds. Long ago the Board had approved the provision of playground apparatus. The committee felt that a simple cross beam, a horizontal beam and parallel bars and coconut mats were appropriate, but the School Management Committee, which had become concerned about the incidence of accidents, ruled out the use of apparatus in playgrounds.

Other matters which were of concern to the sub-committee at this time were the conducting of examinations, the provision of courses for teachers and the qualification of students in colleges in relation to the requirements of the Board with respect to teachers in its service.

As a result very largely of the evidence given it by Madame Osterberg, the Cross Commission recommended the wider adoption of Swedish Gymnastics. Despite this, much of the work continued to be based on the system of MacLaren whose methods were republished in 1895. The two approaches were reflected in a major development which also took place in 1895.

1. Minute of the School Board for London August 1878
2. Minute of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education 15th July 1891
3. Ibid. 4th November 1891
4. Ibid. 22nd February 1892
In 1890, in the annual inspection, individual examinations had been abolished. Instead, the inspectors saw a third of the pupils in each of the 'three Rs'. An additional grant was also introduced for organisation and discipline. Two years later, the emphasis of the grant for specific subjects had become concerned with the number of scholars presented for, rather than successful in, examination, and in 1894 inspection completely replaced examination in infants' schools. In 1885 Drawing had been added to the list of subjects. In 1890, Manual Training and Shorthand and Book-keeping had also been included as regulations had relaxed and the curriculum had been extended. In 1895 it was the turn of Physical Education. Difficult to examine, even if this had been desirable, the subject was attached as a condition for the gaining of an existing grant.

... after the 31st August 1895, the higher grant for Discipline and Organisation will not be paid to any school in which provision is not made for instruction in Swedish or other drill or suitable physical exercises.¹

Already the word 'drill' was becoming synonymous, outside the world of Physical Education, with all forms of physical exercise.

¹. Reports of the Education Department 1893-4 p. 333
How much this device was born of administrative convenience and how much it revealed an official view that physical exercise was primarily for discipline is a matter for conjecture.\(^1\)

It might reasonably be contended that it represented a decision by the central authority to extend to schools nationally what the School Board for London had done in 1871.

Movements in the House of Lords which were contributory to the developments of 1895 had been led by Viscount Meath. He had moved a resolution,

> That in the opinion of this House the Education Code is defective, in as much as it fails to provide adequate facilities for the physical education of children attending elementary schools.\(^2\)

He argued that the population was increasing rapidly and in addition there was still a steady migration from country to town to the order of 60,000 to 70,000 per annum nationally.

He complained that the Code still provided only for military drill, and that attempts by the School Board for London to introduce Swedish Drill had been dependent upon the subscription of £400 from voluntary sources to facilitate the introduction of

---

1. McIntosh, P.C., Physical Education in England Since 1800 p. 118
Swedish teachers. Meath also indicated the problems demonstrated by the rejection of recruits by the army on medical grounds. In 1862-66 the figure had been 376.67 per 1,000. Twenty years later this had risen to 415.58. Although the subsequent debate showed a growing concern for the national fitness and an awareness of the increasing strength of Germany, the motion was defeated in the face of pleas from the government that lack of money prevented further efforts in this direction.

Undeterred, Meath introduced a single clause Bill in 1890 in an attempt to compel every elementary school to make provision for both boys and girls in physical exercises to the satisfaction of the inspector: '... no school or department of a school shall receive the higher of the two principal grants under section 101 of the new Code of Regulations ... unless the requisition of this section be complied with'. Meath had been associated for some time with the School Board for London, since his interest in the work of Madame Osterberg at Crampton Street, and although his Bill received a certain amount of support and kept the issue before Parliament, it had no hope of success until there was an election. When the Liberals were returned in 1892, they accepted Meath's suggestions and these were the basis for the changes of the Code of 1895.

1. Hansard Vol. 347 1327 3rd Series 3rd July 1890
2. Hansard Vol. 6 172 5th Series 14th July 1910
By 1895 much had been achieved, but a very great deal remained to be done.

The fight against sweating, bad housing, neglect of children and aged persons and all the problems of poverty had to wait for some of its most signal victories till the new century, but the ground was chosen and the battle was joined with success in the last decades of the century. ¹

The extension of governmental control and organisation of economic and social life led inevitably to major developments in government, in the civil service and in local government. ²

The Privy Council had provided an umbrella for supervision of a growing miscellany of public services.

It was responsible for assizes, burial boards, charters of boroughs, clergy returns, coinage, currency, contagious diseases of animals, Convocation, county courts, Dentistry Acts, Education Acts, gas company amalgamation, etc. to the end of the alphabet. ³

---

¹ Trevelyan, G.M., *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After* 1782 - 1919 p. 386
³ Smellie, K.B., *A Hundred Years of English Government* p. 253
The County Council Act of 1888 had opened up unprecedented opportunities for municipal socialism which was attempting to improve living conditions for the working class. The development of municipal enterprise and gas-and-water socialism was due to radicals and socialists such as Chamberlain in Birmingham, and the Fabians in London.¹

The administration problem of London outside the old City boundaries, which had been shirked by the legislators of 1835, was dealt with in a Radical spirit by the Act of 1888. The new London County Council, to the chagrin of some who had a hand in creating it, at once became the representative and agent of millions of Londoners who aspired after better conditions of daily life. The popularity of John Burns of Battersea gave him success as the first apostle of a London patriotism distinct from pride in the old 'City', while the intellectual leadership of the Fabian publicists and the organisation of the 'Progressive' party formed ad hoc, helped London to take her place beside the foremost cities of the Empire in municipal progress, while she remained Conservative in Imperial politics.²

The early Fabians, Hubert Bland, William Clarke, Harold Cox, Annie Besant and, of course, Sidney Webb were clear as to

---

1. Thomson, D., England in the Nineteenth Century (1815 - 1914) p. 177
2. Trevelyan, G.M., British History in the Nineteenth Century and After 1782-1919 p. 388
what they were about:

... the conscious and deliberate substitution, in industrial as well as in political matters, of the collective self-governed government of the community as a whole, organised on a democratic basis, for the individual control of men's lives which the unrestrained private ownership of land and industrial capital inevitably involves.¹

They set out to discover for themselves and to teach others how practically to transform England into a 'Social Democratic Commonwealth'.²

The members of the Society strove to convince all sections of public opinion and all political parties of the advantages of the series of practical reforms which they were constantly transposing from their abstract socialist theories.³ The liberal circulation of their literature, the constant pressure brought to bear on candidates in Council elections, frequent articles in the press, constant lectures in the Radical Club were some of the countless weapons they used. They were effective.

When the L.C.C. elections of 1892 produced a large majority of councillors definitely committed as a Progressive Party, this party found itself equipped -

---

1. Shaw, C.B.S., Leaders of Socialism 1908
2. Webb, S.J., Socialism True and False 1894
perhaps it never quite understood how - with a programme that was as far removed from the political conception of the Liberal Party leaders of the time as it was from the Individualism of the Manchester school.¹

The following year, the London County Council established its Technical Education Board in an office in 13, Spring Gardens. The membership of thirty-five included twenty members of the Council, and representatives of the School Board for London, the City Parochial Charities Trustees, the City and Guilds of London Institute, the London Trades Council, the Headmasters' Association, the National Union of Teachers and two co-opted members. Sidney Webb took the chair and William Garnett served as first secretary.²

By now the School Boards had become much criticised institutions. As we have seen already, the scope of their work had been questioned, firstly in the North and later elsewhere. The efficiency of many was also in doubt. Lowndes agrees with Michael Sadler, 'a man born far in advance of his time' who wrote,

The school boards in the country districts have . . . represented the worst kind of local

authority that could have been devised and in many cases have neglected duties which Parliament put upon them . . . offended Government supporters in rural districts.¹

Once the local authorities had been reformed in 1888, there remained no lasting need for the gap-plugging, ad hoc School Boards. The new elected local authorities provided for the first time on a national scale a realistic democratic alternative to the Boards. Although the linking of state education as a whole to the new authorities was not effected for more than a decade, the days of the School Boards were numbered.

In London, meantime, a rival had entered the territory of the School Board for London, the Technical Education Board of the new London County Council. Theoretically, this Board operated in an area quite distinct from that of the School Board, under the terms of the legislation of 1889 and 1890.² The School Board was concerned solely with elementary education not dealt with by the recent legislation. But so blurred were the boundaries and so ill-defined the spheres of influence that it was purely a question of time before there was a clash

¹ Lowndes, G.A.N., The Silent Social Revolution p. 92
² The Technical Instruction Act 1889
Local Taxation Act 1890
of interests and a serious confrontation. Then, although
granted 'the boon granted by Polyphemus to Ulysses - that of
being swallowed up last', the School Board for London was
instrumental in signing its own death warrant and that of
every School Board in the country.

That, however, was still half a decade away. In 1895
the School Board was very much alive. Looking back across a
quarter of a century it could rightly claim, whatever might
have been said of Boards in other parts of the country, to
have been responsible for considerable achievements. Its
annual expenditure on education was approaching three million
pounds. Its own stores were handling books and equipment to
the value of £60,000 per annum. For some half a million
children the Board was providing not only elementary education
but also a variety of activities in other institutions. Centres
for teaching Homecrafts such as Cookery, Housewifery and
Laundrywork; special instruction for blind, deaf, dumb and
mentally defective children; centres for the training of

future teachers and in-service of serving teachers, and three hundred evening continuation centres had all been provided. Students ranged from children of 3 years to young adults. They were served by teachers, inspectors, schoolkeepers, superintendents and others who were members of a growing army. The teachers alone numbered ten thousand.¹

The schools themselves were grouped in threes, each trio with a common board of managers. In 1871 they had provided 261,185 places for 574,693 children. By 1897 the number of children in schools in London was 728,772. There were near to 840,000 children of school age. The Board's share of places was approaching 500,000. The aim of a place for every child, therefore, had not been achieved. However, not only had the growth of the number of children of school age been kept pace with, and that in itself was no mean achievement, but the gap had been narrowed. With 60,000 places projected in schools in the course of erection, the gap should be closed altogether in a few years.

The school buildings were nearly all erected on a single

¹ Donald, R., The London School Board at Work, Winsor Magazine p. 551
pattern devised by the Board's own architect, Mr. Bailey.
Three-floor school houses catered for an infants' department on the ground floor, the girls' department on the first floor and the boys' on the second. Each department comprised a central hall with classrooms leading from it.

Compulsory attendance under the Board commenced at the age of five, but over fifty thousand younger children attended nursery schools of various kinds and classes in infants' schools. By now the Board could claim to have been the pioneer in the enlargement of the subjects required by the Code. Needlework was one example.

It began by adding Needlework, then came Cookery, Science, Mechanics, Laundrywork, Housewifery, Special Instruction for Defective Children, schools for the blind, the deaf and the dumb, manual instruction in wood and metal work, chemical laboratories, and so on, until the term 'elementary instruction' bears a much wider significance than was originally contemplated. 1

The infants' departments were provided with kindergarten equipment for young children from three to five. Lessons in the Phenomenon of Nature and Singing were early activities.

Later on, through Basketry, Beads and Woodwork, and making animals from wool, children were encouraged to use their hands and eyes; through cardboard and macramé work and clay modelling they progressed to elementary training in colour and design. The groundwork of Geography was laid through stories springing from pictures. Troughs of water and sand trays were often used and simple games and 'action songs' were employed to add to the enjoyment. Simple mime was also popular, often done to music.

The nursery rhymes are sung to the accompaniment of a piano and action and gesture are made to suit the words. A cantata, 'The Seasons', for instance, is performed with the children dressed in character to suggest Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter, including Father Christmas. 'Jack and Jill' becomes a little drama, in which Jack goes to an imaginary pump with a real pail and has a sham fall while all the class come 'tumbling' after. There is a great deal of variety, cheerfulness and innocent enjoyment in the infants' school.  

Upon moving from infants' departments into boys' or girls' schools, at the age of seven, the children took up the elementary subjects still directed towards the attainment of bare literacy. In addition, they took up specific subjects amongst which the

1. Donald, R. The London School Board at Work, The Winsor Magazine p. 554
most popular were Mechanics, Algebra, Animal Physiology, French, Shorthand and Book-keeping, and even Electricity. There were also Cookery and Laundrywork for the girls. Cookery lessons were often given in well equipped special classrooms which, in many cases, were erected in school playgrounds. Forty thousand girls a year took the twenty-two lesson courses at these centres. All girls of Standards 4 and 5 were able to attend a total of four courses. A similar provision to the Cookery centres was made in Laundrywork. The Cookery centres had begun experimentally in 1874 and had been made permanent in 1878. In 1889, the Laundrywork centres, on similar lines, were opened. A Joint Committee of the School Board, the City and Guilds of London Institute and the Drapers' Company launched the scheme even before the subject was accepted by the Code in 1890. By 1897 over a hundred such centres existed. Housewifery lessons, for girls about to leave school, in 'houses' furnished on the model of a workman's home, were also sponsored by the Joint Committee.

For the boys, although the provision was of a general nature rather than vocational, special training was given in subjects such as Drawing, Practical Geometry, Modelling, Shading, Designing, Mechanics, Colourwork and Woodwork. For the latter, for example, seventy-two centres catered for approximately eleven thousand pupils. Centres for these activities were
often shared by several schools.

The importance of physical training in the schools is not overlooked. Every day exercises are performed in the large halls or in the playgrounds. There are no gymnasia. Apparatus formerly used in the playgrounds has been removed owing to the number of accidents it caused, but the system of drill and exercise adopted, although gone through without any apparatus, brings every muscle into play and secures harmonious development of the whole body. It is carried on with a precision of movement as perfect as in military drill. The boys enter and leave the class-rooms in perfect order, and form up in line and execute their movements with ease and promptitude. In connection with schools there are as a rule cricket and football clubs, organised by the teachers, but not receiving official recognition from the Board. Provision is also made for teaching children – both sexes – to swim. The girls have their drill exercises like the boys, and there is no prettier sight in connection with the school life than the annual competition in 'drill', when schools are pitted against each other for reward.¹

Since 1876, these annual competitions had been for banners of the Society of Arts. In 1896, however, the competitive element was removed in keeping with the spirit of the times. Instead, Displays were given, those of 1898, 1900 and 1902 being held

¹ Donald, R., *The London School Board at Work*, *The Winsor Magazine* p. 557
Much had been achieved by the eighteen nineties, and even more claimed on behalf of the School Board. Chesterton's view of games in London's schools was considerably less optimistic than Donald's. His assessment of the situation was that however desirable games were in theory, they were not a practical possibility in the metropolitan area. Donald's reference to the general use of playgrounds is also questionable. In 1895, over twenty-five thousand pupils within a mile of Charing Cross were without access to playgrounds. Indeed, the Divisional Inspector for the Metropolitan area considered that few playgrounds in London were worth the name.

If the advance in facilities was not great, the development in thinking held more immediate promise.

A great impetus has been given to physical exercises by the provision that every school attendance must be broken by an interval given for recreation, in the fresh air when circumstances or weather permit, or in the schoolroom in wet weather or if the school yard is small.
Mr. Sharpe, the Inspector for the Metropolitan Division also reported that some teachers were now taking the initiative in running football, cricket, swimming and tennis out of school hours. These modest developments were beginning to convince the Inspectors that whereas formerly Drill had been thought inadequate by itself, Drill and physical exercises together were not a complete answer either. Mr. Sharpe made recommendations about the provision of Drill. He felt that it should be taken in the open air, but that if this was not possible then all the windows should be opened as wide as the weather permitted, that pupils should not be asked to perform movements when standing on desks, that only one squad should be drilled at a time, that weaker children should be allowed to fall out when tired, and that the teachers should themselves join in the activity.

Mr. Synge commented on the exercises,

The London School Board has for some time required that the scholars shall receive half an hour's instruction per week in the system of physical exercises devised by its instructor. This particular system has the merit that the exercises can be performed

---

1. Education Department Special Enquiries and Reports 1907 Vol. 2
2. Reports of the Education Department 1895-6 p. 135
between the desks, but it is remarkable how rarely exercises are used incidentally to brighten a dull and listless class.¹

Both H.M.I.s came to the same conclusion: 'A good game at play, when space permits, is more suitable for young children to take than any other form of physical exercise'.² Physical development should be the effect rather of games and free movements, and these were becoming a feature of many boys' schools in spite of the very serious lack of open spaces.³

Nevertheless, some form of Physical Education was now available for almost all the children living within the area of the School Board for London. In 1897 the Board decreed that a definite time on the timetable would be compulsory in all its schools for Physical Education.⁴ Minor controversies arose, but the overall advance, if erratic and often slow, continued. There had been difficulties, for example, over the use of dumb-bells, Indian clubs and skipping ropes and the use of apparatus by girls. In 1897 the Board ruled that dumb-bells could be used in schools by teachers certified as competent by one of the Drill Instructors. The following year it ruled that, generally, fixed apparatus would not be used in girls'
departments. In higher grade schools, however, gymnasium would be provided for both boys and girls to use. By this time three such gymnasium had already been built.¹

The grants for specific subjects were modified in 1898. Grant upon examination success was replaced by a grant for the number of hours of instruction given. Grants for Manual Training and Drawing were also added to compensate for the loss of grants from the Science and Art Department, South Kensington. This change of emphasis in specific subjects was directly reflected in the Board's Regulation of 1900, which laid down that a definite lesson in Physical Education of twenty minutes, three times a week, for boys' and girls' schools, and of fifteen minutes five times a week for infants' should obtain throughout its schools.

By the turn of the century, the much criticised higher grade schools in London, under the School Board, included one hour of compulsory systematic physical exercise per week for both boys and girls.²

---

¹ Final Report of the School Board for London p. 115
² Reports of the Education Department 1895-6 p. 133
The Sub-Committee on Physical Education continued to be actively involved in developing the subject on behalf of the Board. In keeping with the spirit of the times and the reduction of competition, it redesigned the annual drill competition, eliminating the competitive element.¹

Under the supervision of the Committee the embryo inspectorate spread the influence of the Board into new areas. We have seen the work of Osterberg at Whitelands, Maria Grey, City of Cambridge College and in the West Country. Now, Miss Ely taught at Brighton Training College and at the Home and Colonial College; Miss Kingston worked at the pupil teacher centre at Vittoria Road and Chesterton lectured to students at St. Mary's College, Hammersmith, and at St. Mark's College, Chelsea.² For the purpose of their School Board duties, the Superintendents divided London into two, using the river to delineate their spheres of influence. Chesterton operated North of the Thames whilst Smailes took the South. Miss Ely and Mrs. Matthews, however, each had designated districts.³

The Committee also continued to supervise the removal of potentially dangerous apparatus from playgrounds. Parallel bars

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education 11th March 1895
   See also Appendix I
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. 23rd March, 3rd April & 6th May, 1895
   See also Appendix G.
and horizontal ladders were given particular attention during 1895.¹

The Sub-Committee continued to be concerned with the development of swimming. Provision of places at baths for School Board children and the securing of adequate instructors took up a great deal of time at committee meetings.² Another matter of considerable importance was the question of the recognition of the physical training being offered by Training Colleges when their students came into the service of the Board.³ It was decided that the applications of colleges for recognition of their certificates by the Board would be dealt with individually, and Norwich, St. Catherine's, St. Mary's, Hammersmith, Saffron Walden and Borough Road were amongst the first to make approaches.⁴

An interesting sidelight at this time was an attempt to appoint the controversial Broman as examiner for the Board's own certificate examination.⁵ Although it took some time,

---

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education 25th March - 6th May 1895
2. See, for example, Sub-Committee Minutes of 8th March 1901 21st March 1901
3. Ibid. 12th February 1894
4. Ibid. 5th July 1901
5. Ibid. 28th October 1895
6. Ibid. 5th July 1901
this significant step forward for Swedish Gymnastics for boys was in fact taken.¹

The industrial school system had grown up between 1835 and 1855 as a remedial measure to contend with juvenile crime. The legislation had aimed at provision for children between the ages of seven and fourteen.² In 1857 the upper age limit was raised to fifteen and the whole was co-ordinated into something of a system four years later, 'for giving lodging and clothing as well as education to the neglected and vagrant children to be found in the large masses of the populace'.³ The School Board for London built a few of its own schools and made special arrangements for individual children under its care to attend such schools, of which there were thirty-eight for boys and twenty-six for girls. In all of the sixty-four schools associated with the School Board for this purpose, physical exercise and drill were important elements in the curriculum. This had not always been the case, but the development of Physical Education had been brought about by threefold pressure, from the Home Office, Her Majesty's Inspectors and public opinion.⁴

---

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education 1st February 1902
2. Industrial Schools' Act 1835
3. Consolidated Industrial Schools' Act 1861
Most of the schools offered their official visitors, including members of the School Board for London, displays of gymnastics. Usually all the children rather than a selected group participated, and the marked improvement in physique and general health of the pupils under the Board's care was one of the major claims of the schools themselves. A large proportion of the boys' schools were proud possessors of a qualified instructor, a gymnasium and a swimming bath. Frequently the instructor was fully accepted as a member of the staff of the school.

Even before the experimental fitting up of the Crampton Street school with a Swedish Gymnasium, the School Board Visitor for Industrial Schools had been aware of the value of gymnasia.

Experiments, particularly in this class of school, go to show that in order to keep a boys' school clean and sweet there is absolutely nothing so efficacious as a gymnasium in proper use.¹

At this time physical training instructors were used, where possible, usually from a nearby barracks.

In 1896, the Board arranged an Autumn Display in order to

¹. Legge, Mr., Report to the School Board for London 1881
encourage managers of industrial schools to develop Physical Education still farther. An ambitious programme was arranged which indicates the broad concept of the subject now held by the Board, at least where older children were concerned. Cricket, Football, Swimming, Running, Jumping and Boxing were all included, and, by implication, recommended.

The H.M.I.s themselves now began to sponsor leagues to encourage activities which they felt had a beneficial effect on the confidence and self respect of the children and the schools they represented. Mr. Legge pressed for the extension of systematic physical exercise and swimming into girls' schools.¹

In an attempt to enable the children to escape for a while from the cramped and often unhealthy conditions of city life, the Board organised Summer Camps. A change of scene and 'air' and an enlargement of the experience of as many children as possible were attempted throughout the summer at the seaside. Sometimes, to allow maximum use of facilities, visits continued throughout the year.²

It was not only in elementary schools and industrial schools

1. Legge, Mr., Report to the School Board for London 1898
that Physical Education was inching forward under the School Board for London. As evening classes under the auspices of the Board began to become more widespread, many activities within the field of Physical Education inevitably began to be introduced into them.

During the last four years of the Board's work, there were attempts to establish classes in 'Simple Laws of Health Instruction'. By 1900 these were being offered by medical practitioners in twenty centres. Their number increased to eighty within the year and they were dramatically successful as their popularity implies.

Where 'Physical Culture' was concerned, the Whitehall Branch of the Board of Education had supported some classes before 1901. When it took over, South Kensington did not permit grants for physical exercise. Instead, the London County Council, unsupported by government funds, sanctioned these activities. Between 1898 and 1903, the number of pupils attending classes in Gymnastics grew from 13,986 to 20,343. The centres increased in number from 135 to 276.

The classes were usually housed in school halls which were by now usually equipped with parallel bars, a horizontal
bar, a vaulting horse, dumb-bells, bar-bells and Indian clubs.

Most of the pupils are at work in factories and workshops in the neighbourhood of the school. More squad drill than gymnastics has been taken, as so many of the girls suffered from anaemia and round shoulders. Last year the class at Carleton Road won a silver challenge cup in a competition and in a competition for medals this year the work was so good that the judges found it difficult to choose the winners. Girls are sent to the classes by doctors, and instances can be found where pupils suffering from anaemia have been cured.

The class at Gopsall Street was composed of boys drawn from the slums of the district. They were at first very much opposed to discipline in the shape of orders. It was certainly the most 'raw' class that he (the Instructor) had ever seen. In the mass drill, the boys were hardly able to distinguish between left and right, and could not, even with a run, vault over the low horse from the spring board. At the end of the season, the results were very satisfactory. The boys could perform marching evolutions and mass drill with a greater precision and better style than he (the Instructor) had seen in some gymnasias where the classes had been composed of older pupils and where they had two nights a week instruction. The apparatus work impressed in a like manner.

Students were carefully examined and measured at the commencement of the session. Some few had to be
rejected, and others with spinal curvature, hollow
chest, weak heart and lungs, were given suitable work.
The season's work has been very beneficial, and in some
cases, quite beyond expectation, having regard to the
adverse conditions of work and home surroundings.
The greatest increased chest measurement was $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches
and lung measurement 57 cubic inches, and there were,
in cases, increases of $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 30 inches respectively.
The pupils showed a much better carriage of the body,
greater strength with a higher degree of health and
quickened growth in all parts and there was a great
improvement in their conduct and moral tone.\footnote{1}

In competitions, marks were awarded for:
\begin{enumerate}
  \item Rational and beneficial character of the movements.
  \item Graceful and erect carriage.
  \item General form, all round excellence and discipline.
\end{enumerate}

Life saving also began to emerge as a Board sponsored
activity in 1890. The School Board for London had then
argued that since there was to be no swimming grant from 1900,
the Board of Education might accept Life Saving as part of a
course in First Aid and deem it to be, as such, a reasonable
charge to public funds. When the Board of Education rejected
this suggestion, the School Board for London pressed on alone.

\footnote{1. Final Report of the School Board for London p. 298}
In the year 1897-1898, three thousand five hundred and eighty students were involved. By 1902-1903 the number had risen to eleven thousand nine hundred and sixty-one. The School Board paid the entrance fees for students at the local baths.

There are no comparable figures for progress in drill instruction. It seems likely that the most popular was musical drill sponsored by the Recreative Day School Association. Dancing was also popular for a time and its use had been approved by H.M.I.s in twenty schools in London. However, following severe criticism in the House of Commons on May 7th, 1901, by the Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, Sir John Gorst, who felt dancing was quite unsuitable for grant earning purposes, it was dropped for the 1901-1902 session.

As Physical Education spread throughout industrial schools, higher grade schools and evening classes of the School Board for London, the pattern of the subject in elementary schools began to settle. By the turn of the century, Chesterton was able to claim:

Few subjects in the curriculum of the schools under

---

2. Hansard 7th May 1901 Col. 984-5
the School Board for London enjoy a wider popularity than that of Physical Education. In the greater majority of schools it is taken up with the greatest enthusiasm both by the schools and teachers. With the exception of children physically unfit, the whole of the scholars, numbering over half a million, receive systematic exercise in some form or forms of physical exercise suitable to their capabilities, the objects in view being a) the provision of healthy recreation under discipline, b) the promotion of all round bodily development and growth.¹

Chesterton was able to speak for boys' schools only. For girls there was Swedish Gymnastics, and one of the Lady Organising Tutors completes the picture:

The Board during the last few years spared neither effort nor expense to make physical training as thorough as possible. There is daily, in all the girls' and infants' departments, a steady and thorough physical education of a most useful if not showy kind.²

While the Ling-Osterberg system was general for girls, for boys there was work which was almost personal to Chesterton.

His claim was simple and impressive. It was that he had taken the best elements from all the continental systems, and, with the benefit of some twenty years' experience in the teaching of 'physical culture', had classified and adapted other people's exercises into an original system. Like the Swedish gymnasts, he insisted that his exercises were based on scientific, anatomical and physiological laws. The exercises, each with a clearly defined purpose, were performed by children in their everyday clothes, in a variety of surroundings. Chesterton took care to ensure that neither hands nor clothes came at any time into contact with dirty school floors or playgrounds.

It is interesting to compare the arrangement of Chesterton's 'combined' exercises with those of the Swedish System as practised by Osterberg.

- Commencing position of upper and lower limbs.
- Head movements.
- Arms raising and swinging.
- Arms bending and stretching.
- Trunk movements.
- Trunk and arm movements.
- Leg and hip movements.
- Side lunging.
- Side lunging with arm movements.
- Direct lunging with arm movements.
Balance movements.
Shoulder movements.
Exercises on the march.
Marching in various formations and figure marching.¹

There were attempts to introduce the exercises in a variety of ways. The normal practice of 'free' exercises by word of command was assisted by the use of dumb-bells or the use of musical accompaniment. In some instances where classes shared rooms, one class could perform its exercises silently, permitting the other class or classes to work on uninterrupted.

In addition to the exercises there was still a certain amount of military drill, based on the drill manuals, allegedly modified to suit work with children in school. Here the purpose was clearly disciplinary. Groups, classes and even schools were taught to assemble methodically, to move quietly and efficiently with measured tread from playground to classrooms. It was all felt to be conducive to good co-operation and erect carriage.

For the male teachers courses were available in the various centres run by the School Board for London. The Organising Instructors offered blocks of twenty-four weekly sessions, one

¹ Chesterton, T., Physical Education for Boys, in The Work of the London School Board by Spalding, T.A. p. 242
hour a week, between 6.0 p.m. and 7.0 p.m. Instruction was
given in all the exercises, but by now much more than the
practical performance of movements, which had been the sole
concern of Sheffield, was included: Theory of Physical
Education included Muscle Movement; Effects of Exercise on the
Chest, Lungs and Heart; Air and Ventilation; Food and Clothing;
Skin and its Function; Games and Swimming; Effects of Respira-
tory Movements; Spinal Curvature; Injurious Positions assumed
during School Life, and Rules for Conducting the Lesson in
Physical Exercise.

Twenty-one attendances entitled teachers to sit the Board
examination. Instead of the practical test in personal
performance, the Instructors visited the teachers in their own
teaching situation in order to see the practical implementation
of what had been learned. The Instructors themselves took
demonstrations and supervised the work of the teachers.
Finally, there was a theory examination of one and a half hours'
duration. Failure meant a modified course of instruction
leading to re-examination.

In the schools, now, an hour a week was given to Physical
Education for boys. Five-minute sessions each morning and
afternoon were supplemented by a weekly lesson of twenty minutes.
Care was taken that neither exercises nor games should follow too soon after meals.

Morning assemblies in the school playground or hall were commonly used to promote punctuality. Often these occasions were used as opportunities for exercise.

A very pleasing feature in many schools is the massed drill, the whole of the class being assembled in the playground and performing exercises of a simple nature, so that the young scholars may participate in them.¹

When schools were able to boast a qualified teacher of Physical Education, portable apparatus began to appear for the use of the older pupils. Wands, dumb-bells, horizontal bars and climbing ropes fixed to roof girders by clamps were the first items, and even equipment for football, cricket and rounders was supplied for playground use where this was possible.²

Games were usually supported by teachers on an informal basis at the parks and open spaces of the Metropolis, in the evenings and on Saturday mornings.

² Ibid. p. 241
Great progress had been made in the teaching of swimming. By 1900, over 30,000 children were under instruction and over 8,000 had been taught to swim. Classes in life saving and resuscitation were also beginning to be in evidence in schools.

Chesterton summarised the general position in this way:

It is a pleasure to observe that the erroneous idea, prevalent among many teachers some time ago, that the physical training of school children was simply an adjunct to school displays and exhibitions in order to enhance their spectacle and attractiveness, has been dispelled, and that a due appreciation of its educational value now exists in the minds of these teachers.¹

The arrangement of a five-minute period each morning and afternoon was the policy of the School Board for London for all its schools. The Code directed, 'The Timetable must provide for a definite lesson once a week of not less than twenty minutes duration and not less than five minutes systematic instruction in both morning and afternoons'.² In infants' schools this usually meant a daily lesson between 9.0 a.m. and 10.0 a.m. and 3.0 p.m. to 3.30 p.m. Lessons for girls

2. Code of Regulations 1900
were usually of thirty minutes' duration either in the school hall, if there was one, or if weather permitted in the play-
ground. When lessons were taken outside, marching and running exercises were commonly used. In the higher grade schools the Board's policy was one hour a week for physical training. Standards between schools varied very greatly, and progress was all too difficult to measure. When conditions were favourable it was claimed that the improvement in physique of the girls and of their otherwise 'slovenly gait' was self-evident.¹

The infants' work was of course of the most simple kind. 'Correct positions', arm and shoulder exercises on the Ling pattern, and marching were the most commonly used activities. Owing to the limited scope of the exercises themselves there was a real danger of repetition and boredom. The teaching of marching, too, posed considerable problems; but it was considered a vital part of the development in girls' departments. In hall or playground the activities were referred to, surprisingly, as 'drills'. The children were arranged in files.

Much time is saved in the opening and closing of files by the use of painted lines or lead grooves which are placed upon the floors of halls in most infants' departments. The first class children are taught how to 'open and close files' in order to prepare them for work in the upper school.²

² Donald, R., The London School Board at Work, in Winsor Magazine 1897 p. 551
The Board Syllabus for girls was drawn up in categories of movements to be performed in a similar manner to the arrangement of exercises by Osterberg and Chesterton. The system, operated by Miss Knighton, the Lady Organising Tutor, was as follows:

1. **Preparatory Movements.** This group consists of simple movements of the arms and legs. They serve to gain general attention, a good position of the body and prepare the class for the lesson.

2. **Leg Movements.** These movements tend to draw the blood downwards to the lower extremities, and thereby stimulate general circulation where it has become somewhat congested during the time the children have been sitting at lessons.

3. **Dorsal Movements.** This important group of exercises comprises: trunk bendings, forward, backward and downward, combined with various 'arm' and 'shoulder blade' movements. They are extremely valuable in that they raise and expand the chest and straighten the spine. By so doing they counteract the many bad positions which the children assume during school life.

4. **Arm Extensions.** Great prominence is given to this group, as they are 'invaluable' for expanding and developing the chest causing deeper and more energetic respiration.
5. Balance Movements. These quiet movements follow
the vigorous arm stretchings as they help to regulate
breathing and the increased action of the heart.
They produce a more general muscular contraction.

6. Shoulder Blade Movements. These help to strengthen
the muscles of the back, correct the position of the
shoulder-blades and expand the chest.

7. Abdominal Movements. These are very strong move­
ments and are mostly used by older children. They
strengthen the abdominal muscles and stimulate digestion.

8. Lateral Bending. These exercises also affect the
internal organs, and act strongly on the side trunk
muscles.

9. Leaping. These exercises come at the end of the
lesson, as they are very difficult of execution, and
necessitate a general action of nearly the whole muscle
system. They do much to develop the general elasticity
of the body.

10. Respiratory Movements. The lesson is completed
by one or other of these movements which consist
mostly of slow arm raisings, combined with slow leg
movements in rhythm with deep respiration.¹

Teachers were expected to construct their own lessons by
selecting three or more exercises from each group, modifying
them to suit cramped conditions where necessary, if, for example,
the girls were standing between desks. Standard 1, in addition,

¹ Knighton, E., Physical Education for Girls and Infants, in
The Work of the London School Board, Spalding, T.A. p. 242
were taught 'simple turnings' and 'facings'. Standard 2 upwards received instruction in 'turnings' and 'numberings'. It seems clear that just as Swedish Gymnastics had influenced physical educationists in English schools including exponents of the English Combined System, so the 'Swedish trained' teachers of girls' Physical Education, in the Osterberg mould, were themselves influenced on the 'shop floor' by military drill.

Marchings and running combined with strong leg movements; 'figure marching' including 'company marching', etc. . . . are taught to train the children in accuracy of detail, a different figure being taught in each standard. Fancy steps of various kinds are practised and much enjoyed by the girls. These do much towards making the children light and graceful in their movements.¹

The use of music during exercise had not received the general approval of the Swedish gymnasts, no doubt because of the disapproval of Madame Osterberg. Its introduction into girls' schools and departments in London was resisted on the grounds that accuracy of movement suffered when music was introduced, and smartness and precision were replaced by the 'loose and slipshod'. Despite this, marching was often performed with musical accompaniment.

In Swimming, as with the boys, Physical Education for girls had made great progress. By 1900, one hundred and sixty-two girls' schools had affiliated to the London Schools' Swimming Association. Eight thousand girls had been receiving instruction, and one thousand eight hundred had been taught to swim. Eight hundred had received the L.S.S.A. Certificate for swimming a distance of fifty yards. The Board had established its own certificate of proficiency for girls who could swim twenty yards, and had offered shields and cups to schools which were successful in gaining certificates for their pupils. Life saving and resuscitation were frequently taught, and children were competing for the silver and bronze medallions of the Life Saving Society.

For girls, Swimming was usually included in the timetable. Children were provided with vouchers at the expense of the Board which entitled them to entrance at the baths. On the Osterberg pattern, they learned the movements on dry land before entering the water. During the winter, the movements were treated as gymnastic exercises. The teachers were members of school staffs. Monitors who could swim were also used to pass on instruction as separate ability groups began to emerge. The combined breast stroke was usually the one selected for instruction.
Apart from physical disability, the School Board for London excepted no mistress from its rule that all teachers must secure its certificate in Physical Education within three years of appointment. Six centres for training women teachers had been opened. These were run by the three Organising Tutors who also visited schools to see that instruction was regularly and efficiently given. They also helped newly appointed teachers, commented upon any teaching they saw, inspected annually the progress of each class and reported to the Board at regular intervals. They were entitled to visit schools without notice.

At the centres, twenty-five weekly sessions of one hour per week comprised the courses of training. The syllabus of instruction was the same as that for schools. There were, as at the centres for men, theory lectures. These included: The Effects of Exercise; Respiratory Movements; Effects of Different Groups of Exercises on the Body; Rules to be observed During and After Muscular Exercise; Symptoms of Over-Exertion; Effects of Bad Positions; Good Positions for Standing, Reading, Writing and Needlework; Rules for Conducting a Lesson in Physical Exercise, and Ventilation of Rooms Used for Exercise.¹

The examination for the Board certificate was in two parts. Firstly, independent examiners conducted end-of-course practical examinations. Secondly, candidates were expected to pass the examination for the Certificate in Physiology and Hygiene of the Science and Art Department. This was something that Osterberg had been demanding of her students for a decade and a half. As with the men, failure led to a short course to prepare candidates for re-examination.

Physical training was also part of the instruction given to the School Board for London's pupil teachers, during their apprenticeship, which lasted for five years. In the Board's pupil teacher centres instruction was regular and systematic and was allocated between thirty minutes and one hour per fortnight. Free-standing movements with the occasional use of dumb-bells comprised the content. Students who were successful in theory and practical teaching examinations were exempt from attending the Board's courses for the Certificate in Physical Education in the normal way.

In 1900, the Board of Education established its block grant system. Instead of principal grant, discipline and organisation grant, class subject grants, and drawing and specific subject
grants, one principal grant was now made. The distinction between class and specific subjects disappeared. Courses in English, Arithmetic, Drawing (boys), Needlework (girls), Geography, History and Common-Things, Singing and Physical Education were all made compulsory. In infant schools, too, one fixed grant obtained. The compulsory courses there comprised Elementary Subjects, Simple Lessons on Common Things, Appropriate and Varied Occupations, Needlework (or Drawing for boys), Singing and Physical Education.¹

Physical Education may have been last on two quite fascinating lists, but it was now part of the curriculum in both infant and elementary schools throughout the country.

The Code itself reviewed the situation:

Instruction in Swedish or other drill or in suitable physical exercises is a condition for the higher grant for discipline and organisation. Military drill for boys has been found very attractive in some districts, and deserves encouragement. A healthy game, which is one of the best forms of physical exercise, will satisfy the conditions of the Code. In country schools such games are almost always possible, and if played during an attendance should be supervised by some member of the staff, who should teach the most skilful method of

¹ Board of Education Code 1900
play, and should encourage orderly behaviour and stop quarrelling. In most town schools, however, even in those which possess large play yards, such games are impossible, or possible for only a few scholars. The physical development of the frames of growing boys and girls imperatively requires, therefore, in such cases, some form of drill or gymnastics, and it becomes incumbent on teachers to make themselves familiar with those exercises that are best suited to develop a healthy frame without undue strain upon the scholar.¹

Either the Swedish System of exercises or the English System was acceptable within the terms of the Code.

---
¹ Code, as revised in 1900 para. 29
Chapter 9

FROM SCHOOL BOARD FOR LONDON TO L.C.C. 1900 - 1903

The objectives of the Education Acts from 1870 to the turn of the century had been various, but some form of education for all children had been the central aim. In the provision of elementary education for a growing number of pupils in an erratically developing conglomeration of schools, the structure of education had begun to develop a number of characteristics, many of which still pertain and all of which helped to create our unique system of education.

Education provided wholly by the state had become a local service, administered as a matter of convenience by the ad hoc School Board, which was a corporate body with perpetual succession and a common seal. The local body itself was administered and superintended by a growing central department of government. The system was a 'dual' system, with voluntary schools supported by public money, from taxes but not from rates. Religious Instruction of a denominational nature could not be given in schools which were totally provided and supported by the rate-payers. In voluntary schools, if the taxpayers' money was to be claimed, a strict conscience clause was operated.¹

¹ Clarke, J.J., The Local Government of the United Kingdom and the Irish Free State p. 333
The end of the nineteenth century was indeed a Fin de Siècle. The Queen's death meant far more than the end of a reign. It was the end of an era. The new age was to witness the birth of the modern democratic state. The growth of local government was an essential part of the major developments which were taking place in almost every direction at once. The century began with unreformed local government in the hands of the landed gentry, and later the barons of industry who jealously guarded every item of expenditure. This was restricted in any case, as we have seen, by the principle of 'less eligibility' and meant, in real terms, minimal assistance for the most needy only. But the pendulum was swinging considerably towards responsible local government, democratically elected, operating as the supervising agent for a growing complex of local services of many kinds.

The Fabians might reasonably have argued that all this might have begun in London as a result of their influence.

Over a very wide area of the local government of London, and following London's example, of the entire country, collective provision for public needs was instituted over an extensive field of public needs.¹

¹ Hamilton, M., Sidney and Beatrice Webb, p. 117
One of the key figures was Sidney Webb. His central concern was for education and his biographer was to claim that his 'greatest administrative accomplishment . . . was his creation for London of an educational system'.

There was no denying the achievements of the School Board for London. In 1870 less than half London's children, at the most optimistic estimate, had been attending school regularly. By 1903 it was claimed that a place existed for every child in need of one. With little help from the magistrates, the Board had forged an elementary system and enforced attendance. It had built up a substantial and respectable army of teachers. Clergymen and Inspectors were amongst those who reported that the change for the better was so marked as to be self-evident.

But there was no clearly defined limit to elementary education, nor real provision of what we have come to call secondary education. There was no system of technical education, continuation education, or segregation of those requiring special education. School care and medical services,

---

1. Hamilton, M., Sidney and Beatrice Webb, p. 117
school meals and the countless other aspects of a modern education system were all disconnected considerations requiring urgent attention. The days of an ad hoc body responsible for the provision of one service alone, such as elementary education, were passing. The need now was to mass together all associated services in a single system.

The School Board for London had taken various steps in this direction. It had appointed two certifying medical officers to examine mentally and physically defective children; it employed a leading oculist to report on defects of eyesight and secured the services of six ophthalmic surgeons. Finally it engaged two physicians to examine all children bound for higher education. In 1902 these ventures were all brought together under the School Medical Department, directed by Sir James Kerr.¹

All this however was work the County Council could claim to be its province. Even within the public and voluntary elementary schools criticisms of the state of education could validly be made, and the Chairman of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council was not the man to let slip an opportunity.

¹ Gibbon, G., & Bell, R.J., History of the London County Council, p. 299
Putting together what little is known of the thousand public elementary schools of London, including both Board and voluntary, there are competent observers who declare that nearly half of them, containing about a quarter of the children, would probably be condemned as inefficient, either in respect of the buildings or the sanitation, of staffing or equipment, of curriculum or real success in child training, by a Swiss, a Danish, a Saxon, a Prussian or a Massachusetts school inspector. As for the standard of education ... in the absence of common national inspection, no one could answer.¹

Webb was particularly concerned for the voluntary schools in which standards were deplorably low. This was the strength of his case, as it was the weakness of the School Board's case, for the Board was responsible for only one sector of elementary education.

There is no resisting this inference that nearly all the hundred Roman Catholic Schools, and probably three hundred of the three hundred and thirty-one Church schools - having in aggregation more than 150,000 children - are, so far as secular education is concerned, calamitously behindhand.²

Despite his dismal appraisal of the situation, Webb accepted the case for voluntary schools as such.

1. Webb, S.J., London Education 1903
2. Ibid.
I had seen in the United States and Victoria the consequences of such action (elimination of denominational schools). I did not like the policy of crushing minorities. I thought the imposition of 'undenominational Christianity' as unfair to the Jews, Unitarians and Secularists, as the imposition of the Anglican Church Catechism on Roman Catholics and Non-Conformists or the Roman Catholic formularies over Protestants. Moreover, I know that the results would not be the closing of the Roman Catholic Schools (as in the United States), but their continuation entirely at private cost at a still lower level of efficiency, which would be calamitous for the very large and perhaps growing numbers of children who would resort to them. Above all, I wanted to preserve variety in education, rather than an officially described uniformity — variety in methods of teaching, variety in the subjects taught, and variety in 'atmospheres'. I wanted to leave the door open to new and unthought experiments in Schools.¹

In favour, therefore, of the freedom of all parents, Webb rejected the abolition of voluntary schools to help solve the pressing problems of the schools themselves and to simplify the administrative confusion prevalent in education. He was more concerned that these schools should be considered as fully part of a 'dual' system worthy of the name.

¹ Webb, S.J., The Nineteenth Century 1901
One Party has backed denominational schools, and has grudgingly admitted the need for Board Schools. The other Party, with at least equal intolerance, has backed Board Schools and only grudgingly allowed denominational Schools to exist. The result of this sectarian and unsectarian narrowness, and of the incapacity of the Education Department itself, is that after a whole generation of nominal compulsion we are still only at the beginning of the task. Over at least a third of England the schools, the training of teachers, the scope and content of the curriculum, and even the attendance of the children are so inferior as to amount to a national scandal, whilst only in the picked samples of a few do we rise to the common level of Switzerland.1

Although it had achieved a very great deal, the School Board had, in Webb's view, failed in the broad sense.

In spite of an expenditure of nearly four millions of public money, and a large but unknown amount of private money, London education falls short of decent efficiency at many points. It fails alike at the bottom and the top - we succeed neither in maintaining a high standard of common schooling for all London's children, whatever their poverty or the creed of their parents; nor yet in disseminating culture, developing reasoning power or promoting original research.2

2. Webb, S.J. London Education 1904
Although this was not, if valid, a direct criticism of the School Board for London as such, it was an assessment of the suitability of the School Board as the administrative device for the provision of public education in London, whether that was to include the voluntary contribution or not.

Nationally, the problems comprising the educational muddle had been building up: the growing demand for secondary education; for adequate, and that meant additional, assistance to voluntary schools; and some form of organisation for the whole. Together these problems conspired to set the charge. The fuse was placed in London and purposeful hands in the Metropolis reached forward to fire it.

It was time for Webb to act as Chairman of the new Technical Education Board of the democratically elected London County Council. His first move was to secure a comprehensive survey of technical education in London. He gave the task to Hubert Llewelyn-Smith. Webb then endeavoured to set in motion a 'levelling up' process. The effect was considerable.

My own work in the Council was primarily concerned with education. We pressed the Council to exercise its powers under the Technical Instruction Acts and
I induced a friendly Board of Education so to define the Council's scope as to include as technical education the teaching of every conceivable subject (other than Ancient Greek and Theology) elsewhere than in the public elementary school. This made the Council, to the astonishment of some of its own members and that of the School Board, the authority for secondary and technical education in London. I suppose we must have done the job in style, as it was certainly the Council's work in this sphere that largely contributed, in 1902-3, to the transfer to the County and Borough Councils of all the functions of the School Board, as well as to the vast expansion of public educational enterprise.¹

A gradual process of convincing Whitehall that the new Councils should take over from the School Boards, so that all public education could come together under the local authorities, followed. This culminated in the test case known subsequently as the 'Cockerton Judgement'.

The School Boards had been establishing higher grade schools, schools of science and evening continuation schools. These areas, as we have seen, were now claimed by the new Council in

¹ Hamilton, W., Sidney and Beatrice Webb p. 122
London, with the support of the Board of Education, to be its province. The Council and the Board of Education, through Webb's colleague, William Garnett, and Sir John Gorst himself, had introduced an abortive bill, seeking a way out of the administrative difficulties, in 1896. They now decided on a direct challenge in law.¹

In 1897, Robert Morant had discovered that higher grade schools had no legal basis. He had uncovered the fact that a surcharge of £20 had been levied on the Brighton School Board in 1886-7 for making such provision. This had led to his including a statement, in a report on Swiss education, that in this country School Boards were only empowered by the Act of 1870 to use rates to provide elementary education.² Central to the problem was the fact that at no stage had the term 'elementary' been defined in law.

Battle was joined in the closing months of 1898, and it became a struggle between the School Board for London and the Technical Education Board of the London County Council over a new clause, VII, of the regulations of the Science and Art

¹ Allen, B.H., William Garnett, A Memoir, pp. 87-8
² School Board Chronicle, Vol. XXXVI 1886 p. 631
   Vol. XXXIX 1888 p. 187
   Reports on Educational Subjects, Board of Education 1898
Directory. The School Board objected to the Technical Education Board applying for recognition, maintaining that it had as good a right as the newer body to be regarded as the appropriate 'organisation for the promotion of secondary education', and that it was first in the field. In December, despite representations from the School Board for London, the London County Council decided to support its own education Board and apply for recognition under the disputed clause. The School Board immediately lodged an objection with the Science and Art Department and a confrontation was arranged. Morant and Garnett prepared to bring before the projected meeting evidence of the illegality of the existing higher grade schools of the School Board.\(^1\) The meeting took place on 1st February, 1899, at South Kensington, with Sir John Donnelly, Secretary of the Science and Art Department in the Chair. Fierce debate took place on the overlapping areas of interest. Lyulph Stanley, who was presenting the case for the School Board, was confronted with the Brighton precedent. This he rejected. His position was that for years the central authorities had concurred in the provision of advanced instruction in Board schools. Gorst, who was present, was astounded by the claims of the School Board. Until then he had accepted the

\(^1\) Allen, B.M., Sir Robert Morant p. 130
status quo with both Council and School Board in the field. He now agreed with Morant and Garnett that the legality of the School Board for London’s position should be put to the test at the next local government audit. This was duly arranged. Out of the ensuing audit of the accounts for the Camden School of Art arose the now celebrated Cockerton Case in 1900. After a full passage through the courts to the Master of the Rolls, it was decided that the School Board was at fault. It had been charged with the elementary education of children, and childhood, for this purpose, could reasonably be held to extend only to the age of fifteen.

The implication was clear. All activities undertaken by School Boards throughout the country with children over the age of fifteen were not a legal charge against public funds. This led directly to the emergency legislation of 1901, whereby the illegal classes and schools were tolerated for one further year, and to the Balfour Act of 1902. The dominant question was, how could the problem be solved administratively? Again the answer was at hand in London. Fifteen galley pulls of the latest Fabian Tract, No. 106, were rushed from the Fabian offices to be circulated amongst members of the Cabinet. The Tract, substantially the work of Webb himself, showed how all public education

1. Allen, B.M., Sir Robert Morant p. 132
2. Fabian Society, The Education Muddle and the Way Out
could be married to the obtaining structure of local government. It became the basis of the Balfour Act, and in broad terms is the structure of our system to this day. Education, elementary, secondary and technical was all made over to the Councils. The School Boards gave way as a result. Balfour, Webb and Haldane worked closely together during this period, and the key role in the preparation of the bill and the subsequent implementation of the Act was that of Morant. A new era had begun. The time of the School Board had passed.

The School Board for London, although the centre of the controversy, was not abolished by the Act of 1902. That required further legislation. It is interesting to ponder whether, if the battle had been fought outside London, the special consideration given in any case to the Capital might have allowed the School Board to remain. In the circumstances, however, this was clearly out of the question. Webb's thinking had solved the general problem. The case posed by the London Board was a special one. Gorst had aroused some antagonism by sneering at the 'cheap and shoddy work of the London School Board'. The Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Talbot, arranged for a luncheon for

1. Hamilton, M., Sidney and Beatrice Webb p. 128
2. Simon, B., Education and the Labour Movement p. 218
Morant and Balfour to discuss the problem. The members of the School Board, now that transfer appeared inevitable, preferred to pass on their responsibilities to the London Council rather than to the Boroughs. The government had initially leaned towards the Boroughs, but Morant had been impressed by the work of Webb and Garnett and the Technical Education Board of the Council. Webb pressed the claims of the London County Council and Garnett drew up plans showing how the Council could assimilate the added responsibility.¹

A draft bill was introduced in the House in April, 1903, proposing the application of the principles of the Fabian Tract to the legislation in hand, in the same way as they had been applied the year before. An education authority under the London County Council was proposed, consisting of ninety-two members, thirty-six from the Council itself and twenty-nine from the Boroughs, with co-opted educationists; and it was all decided before the summer recess. 'The School Board for London had joined the long list of attempted suicides on the embankment.'² A new era faced education in the Metropolis. The challenge now was to provide for London a complete educational system. The day of the School Board for London was done.

There is no direct link between Webb and Physical Education, but his ideas, and their implementation, meant that the achievements of the School Board for London, in London, remained unchanged in their passing to the Council. The structure of Physical Education, therefore, in London, in this century, was built upon the work of the School Board. If Webb served Physical Education only indirectly in this way, and through his subsequent work in the area of parks and open spaces, he used the subject directly on at least one occasion:

No one is less like a sportsman either in habit or in appearance than Sidney Webb, who states that his recreation is walking. Yet, at one London County Council election, when some absurd issue was raised about a threatened restriction of 'sport' by the Council, a body with a name something like 'The Sportsmen's League' and with strong Conservative tendencies, waited upon him to hear his views on this momentous subject. He received the deputation with his usual affability, listened to them with becoming gravity, and then gave them an address on 'Sport' which must have aroused their enthusiasm for his candidature, for, the next day, every public house in Deptford contained a bill appealing to the electors to 'Vote for Webb the British Sportsman'.

1. Hamilton, Sidney and Beatrice Webb p. 117
Some idea of the impact of the School Board for London on the development of Physical Education is given by the response to an enquiry by the Physical Education Sub-Committee into the content of Physical Education courses in various colleges concerned in training teachers, in relation to the requirements of the Board of its prospective teachers.\(^1\) The Principal of the Bristol Day Training College reported that the college course in Physical Education was almost exactly the same as that provided by the School Board for London for its girls' departments.\(^2\)

At Edge Hill College, every student had to gain experience of Swedish Gymnastics both as a pupil and as a teacher.\(^3\) The Home and Colonial Training College, according to its Principal, had simply adopted the Board syllabus.\(^4\) At Southlands, too, the students worked through the Board syllabus in their senior year.\(^5\) From Stockwell Training College the Principal reported that the Physical Education course there was virtually identical with that of the School Board for London.\(^6\) At Warrington Training College the situation was the same.\(^7\) Of the seven girls' training colleges

---

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education 20th December 1901 p. 117
2. Letter from Principal, Bristol Day Training College, 13th Dec. 1901
3. Letter from Principal, Edge Hill Training College, 25th Nov. 1901
4. Letter from Principal, Home and Colonial Training College, 25th Nov. 1901
5. Letter from Principal, Southlands Training College 4th Dec. 1901
6. Letter from Principal, Stockwell Training College 17th Nov. 1901
7. Letter from Principal, Warrington Training College 11th Dec. 1901
to respond to the questionnaire from the School Board, only the
Principal of the Yorkshire College did not admit a great deal
in common between the work of her college and the methods
developed in London by the School Board.¹

A measure of the confidence of the Sub-Committee of the
School Board in its own system of Physical Education may be
inferred from an incident which took place during the autumn
of 1902. The Board of Education forwarded to the School
Board for London, for comment, a copy of the controversial 'Model
Course'. The School Board of course referred the matter to its
standing Sub-Committee.² The Sub-Committee simply sent back to
the Board of Education copies of its own published course.³

1. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London
   on Physical Education 20th December 1901 p.117
2. Ibid. 3rd October 1902
3. Ibid. 26th November 1902
SECTION THREE: CONCLUSION

Chapter 10  A Summary of the Work of the School Board for London in Physical Education

Chapter 11  An Assessment of the Impact of the Local Authorities in London on Physical Education, during the School Board period.
Chapter 10

A SUMMARY OF THE WORK OF THE SCHOOL BOARD FOR LONDON IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION

In its Final Report, the School Board for London examined its own achievements. In Physical Education it claimed a fourfold advance:

1. In a range of free-standing exercises.
2. In exercises with apparatus from simple wands to more sophisticated work in a fully equipped gymnasium, under a qualified superintendent.
3. Swimming instruction in Borough and School Board baths, at the expense of the Board.
4. The more or less organised games of the playground in and out of school hours and the voluntary clubs for cricket and football.¹

These four areas make a useful pattern against which to review the work of the School Board for London in Physical Education.

Clearly, the major advance had been in the development of free-standing exercises. Throughout the period, military drill had played an important part. As we have seen, various schools had introduced drill long before the establishment of the School

¹ Final Report of the School Board for London p. 115
Boards. After 1870 the initiative of individual schools remained as important in the matter, but, from the start, the School Board for London did all it could to help. Once drill had received the support of its own Huxley Committee, the Board endeavoured to see that the work was extended throughout its boys' and girls' departments. By means of the appointment of a Board Instructor, the inauguration of courses for teachers, the introduction of a Board certificate of competence and the organisation of competitions of various kinds, the Board showed its hand early as an education authority interested in the fortunes of Physical Education.

There is no doubt that the purpose from the beginning was of a military nature, and had to do with a pool of ability at the call of the nation in time of emergency. Successful wars brought about renewed emphasis on this aspect of the work. As notions of pacifism spread, the accent began to shift. The purpose of drill remained that of discipline and order, not so much now in the military sense, but more in terms of personal development and social conformity. Twofold doubts about drill, however, made themselves felt during the second half of the first decade of the Board's existence. Members of Parliament, Board officials and teachers began to wonder, on the one hand, whether
more simple exercises could not be found to serve as a precursor to military drill, and, on the other, whether some kind of alternative to drill could not be developed for older pupils.

None of these developments seem to have taken place everywhere at once. Exercises of various kinds began to be introduced, sometimes as experiments, often as attempts at some kind of final answer. Much of the work was based on that of MacLaren at Oxford and the early inspectors of physical training at Aldershot, their twelve apostles and the growing corps of physical training instructors who began to join the large number of drill instructors already at work in the schools. A variety of methods was also available from the continent, notably the German and Swedish Systems, and there were many private establishments in this country, particularly in London, where expertise was at hand.

The School Board for London itself quickly entered the fray, and, largely through the influence of Roth, selected the Swedish System, based on the educational gymnastics of Ling, as the one it would support. Those who would decry the military characteristics of drill found it easiest to do so where drill for girls was concerned. It is not surprising, therefore, that it was in
girls' schools and departments that the more scientific alternative of Ling's exercises was first tried, and that this was done before the end of the seventies. It seems certain that this development was not one which came initially from the schools. The School Board took the initiative and its solution spread throughout the schools as a direct result of the Board's policy.

After early setbacks the movement became a strong one and Swedish Gymnastics began to spread swiftly throughout girls' schools and into boys' schools and departments, both throughout London and also across the rest of the United Kingdom. The exercises themselves became generally accepted as being the best then available in the light of contemporary scientific knowledge, and the System as the most thorough and systematic yet devised.

It seems likely that by the turn of the century Swedish Gymnastics would have been in common practice in every boys' school in London, as it was in all the girls' schools, had it not been for Chesterton. Although he insisted that his own methods were unique and based upon the best elements of a wide range of European Systems, they were clearly predominantly Swedish in character. Even in drawing upon various methods, Chesterton was not in fact original. Osterberg used sources
which were world wide in the development of her own methods.
But Chesterton was in direct competition with Broman, who was an
exponent of the free-standing exercises of the Royal Central
Gymnastic Institute of Stockholm, and during these years
Chesterton was the more successful man. As a result, although
Swedish Gymnastics came to dominate the scene for girls in elemen-
tary schools in London and strong attempts were made to see that
the same developments were made in boys' physical exercises,
a compromise was effected by Chesterton, and his English Combined
System became established on at least an equal footing with
Swedish Gymnastics.

A great selling point where all these exercises were concerned,
throughout the whole period, was the readiness of the gymnasts
to stress, at every opportunity, that they could be performed
without costly apparatus, indeed, if necessary, without apparatus
of any kind.

Almost before the two systems of exercise were, between
them, generally accepted in most or all of the schools, their
limitations were recognised and much publicised.

Although there has been a generally accepted view that
drill on the one hand and either Swedish Gymnastics or the English Combined System on the other were major rivals in Physical Education during the final quarter of the nineteenth century, this seems to be, at best, an over simplification. At worst it is a misconception. Until the last years of the School Board the relevance of exercises of either variety was in fact as an addition to drill rather than an alternative. Both contributions were concerned with rudimentary physical exercise, healthy activity, discipline and order, but their relationship was a compensatory rather than a competitive one. Towards the end of the period, drill was more related to discipline and organisation and exercises were directed at medical and curative ends. There is clear evidence that both activities were available together and that this was true of both boys' and girls' schools. It is also clear that the Education Department and the School Board for London thought in terms of drill and exercises rather than drill or physical exercises.

Discussions as to training and education seem eternal, not least in Physical Education. One may reflect, however, that although P.E. in the Victorian period often meant physical exercises, many of the early pioneers, notably Osterberg and Chesterton, considered that their subject was Physical Education.
Their writings make it clear that they held an informed view as to what this meant. One is tempted to suggest, therefore, that in the early years of the subject in this country, the term Physical Training, in the context of the specialist colleges which grew from the work of the School Board for London, represented a step forward in thinking that we are only now making for ourselves as we progress from the concepts put forward by the Robbins Report into the future.

One of the main drawbacks of both the Swedish System and the English Combined Gymnastics was that the method was often too demanding for the teachers who could be produced. The strength of the scientific selection and categorisation of exercises became a weakness in the hands of all but the most talented and resourceful teachers. Boredom, sameness, rigidity and repetition were all too often prevalent despite the delightful and successful work of the more able teachers.

It is quite natural, therefore, that as soon as drill and physical exercises were contributing together the world of Physical Education had moved on. Now, ways of diversification, from within through the use of apparatus and from without by means of games and other activities, were being employed. It was at this point, with the alternatives of drill and Swedish Gymnastics
and drill and English Combined Gymnastics and a growing awareness of the limitations of both that the School Board for London passed on its work in free-standing exercises to the London County Council.

Within this contribution, it is fascinating to observe the progress of an allegedly scientific system of physical exercises at a time when the development of scientific studies and technical instruction was exercising politicians and educationists in London and throughout Britain.

During the first months of its lifetime, the School Board for London appointed the first of its Instructors. He and the Lady Superintendent, and later half-a-dozen Organising Tutors, laid the basis for the development of an advisory team which, as the Inspectorate in modern times, has served the London County Council and the Inner London Education Authority well. From the first, Sheffield and Lofving held courses for teachers, visited schools to advise principals and teachers on the subject and to help develop the teaching. They reported on the teachers and on the work of the schools as a whole and acted in a consultative capacity to the Board itself and on behalf of the Board.
The reports of these early advisors represent a direct link between some of the leading pioneers of Physical Education in this country and the leading pioneer local education authority.

As problems arose, the Organising Tutors took over some responsibilities which might otherwise have rested with the principals of schools. Two of these are worth especial mention in Physical Education. The Tutors began to draw up, for presentation to the occasional Sub-Committee on Physical Education, safety regulations with regard to the use of playground equipment, and in doing so embarked upon a duty which exercises the Inspectorate to this day. Their regular inspection of apparatus, too, is a service now undertaken by the authority rather than the individual school.

The Fabian-inspired way in which local government agencies in education were reorganised by the Cockerton Acts meant that all the educational functions of the School Board for London passed into the hands of the London County Council. Although some different arrangement might have meant the disintegration of the embryo Inspectorate, the foundations were laid for the most sophisticated advisory service in Physical Education so far.
available to a local authority in this country, the Baker Street College of Physical Education. Similarly, the tradition in free-standing exercises was handed on to the London County Council.

The development of exercises with apparatus under the School Board for London was also significant if much less dramatic. In the early days, little apparatus was used except for the accoutrements of military drill. The pattern was a patchy one. Often no apparatus was used, sometimes simple representations of side-arms and banners were used by classes progressing from elementary foot drill to something a little more ambitious such as company drill.

Physical exercises were gradually introduced into Board schools in the seventies. In many cases the innovators used as their selling point the independence of the methods from apparatus, thereby dispelling economic objections to their work. This meant, of course, a retardation in the introduction of even the most simple equipment. Even when Swedish Gymnastics was introduced, the same selling point was used, despite the advantages claimed for a fully equipped Swedish gymnasium such as the Hampstead and Regent Street gymnasium, both private ventures.
Free-standing exercises without apparatus were the order of the day. In 1884, however, the Crampton Street experiment was tried, and a public education authority, supported by private funds, at last owned a fully fitted gymnasium for use by elementary school children.

There had long been outdoor gymnasia, in public places such as the Government Gymnasium on Primrose Hill, and in schools, for example Emanuel School in Battersea. Soon, experimental items began to appear in playgrounds. Usually they were simple balancing bars which could be erected for use during exercises and then dismantled. The incidence was not considerable, nor the impact significant. When one considers how few playgrounds there were, this is hardly surprising. In fact, within a year or two the Crampton Street gymnasium was in a dilapidated state and the development of apparatus in elementary schools was almost at a standstill. Swings, which had begun to appear in playgrounds, were also found less frequently because of the growing awareness of the safety factor.

As the purpose built Board 'three floor' schools were erected throughout London, with a department on each floor, the central hall became available for activities such as Physical
Education. As physical educationists even in the nineteen seventies often discover, it is not easy to secure agreement to the erection of specialist apparatus in all-purpose halls. Accordingly, often no apparatus at all was in evidence in the halls. Usually just a lead line on the floor for dressing ranks and teams betrayed the occasional use for Physical Education.

Apart from experiments such as the Crampton Street one, and the ad hoc provision for demonstrations, such as those at the Albert Hall and Crystal Palace, of a range of Swedish and German apparatus and many experimental items, small pieces of equipment began to appear and gradually come into general use. Dumb-bells, Indian Clubs and Skipping Ropes were the first of these. Although some fixed apparatus had already been introduced into boys' schools, it was not until 1897 that it was possible for girls' departments to follow suit, even by way of experimentation. In higher grade departments, however, gymnasia were beginning to make appearances, and three fully equipped ones were in use by 1897.

In the residential industrial schools, however, the expense involved was more easily justified and progress had been more swift. Most such schools boasted their own gymnasium and employed a qualified instructor. This seems to have been
generally true as early as 1881.

From the turn of the century, halls used by evening classes were equipped with fixed and movable apparatus. The most popular items of equipment were parallel bars, vaulting horses, ropes clamped to ceiling girders, dumb-bells, bar-bells, Indian clubs and skipping ropes. Music had been firmly disapproved of by the gymnasts in London, and dancing was stopped by those at the highest possible level, so developments in this direction, even in evening classes, were to be delayed.

By the end of the period, therefore, it cannot be reasonably claimed that apparatus was in general use in London, apart, perhaps, from wands, skipping ropes and dumb-bells, but at least the die was cast. There was now general approval of a range of fixed and movable apparatus, and as finance permitted, the use of these continued to spread.

In swimming the progress was much more marked. Although from the beginning the School Board for London had pressed ahead with its plans to encourage as many of the children under its care as possible to learn to swim, it took the Education Department almost twenty years to give its full approval and to permit for
Britain what the School Board for London had long sought for the children of the Metropolis. The Board's aim was that every child in a Board school should learn to swim, including every girl. Although it was not until 1903 that the Board could claim that it provided a school place for every child in need of one, yet by then some twelve thousand elementary school children had been taught to swim. Most industrial schools by the end of the period could boast their own swimming bath and the Board had three of its own. Borough baths were used at the expense of the Board where this was necessary, and this in fact was the most common arrangement. From 1885, springing from the work of Miss Bergman at Hampstead, the use of halls for 'dry' swimming classes became commonplace. The stroke was usually the breast stroke. From 1890, the teaching of life saving became widespread, the aim being the awards of the Life Saving Society.

It was not possible for the Board to take a strong line where games were concerned. Even in the mid-nineties, few playgrounds existed in London, and no one had even suggested any desirability for playing fields or mentioned them in connection with elementary schools. Nevertheless, by this time the need for something more than exercises alone was widely acknowledged; something the children might enjoy as much as derive benefit from.
Organised games seemed to be the answer, especially to policy makers who had played games at their own public schools. The Inspectors were ready to point the way, but the Board's Organising Tutor was convinced that the practical difficulties were such that the Board could make no effective impact of itself. Instead, development was informal and sporadic, although tennis, football, cricket and even fives and squash were tried where playground facilities made this possible and finance was available. The real advance took place in the evenings and at the weekends through the voluntary efforts of the teachers themselves. The Inspectors did what they could to help. They encouraged the development of the games in industrial schools where full-time activity was possible, and they encouraged the voluntary games by organising leagues and sponsoring trophies. In consequence, although the achievements of the Board as such in this direction were not considerable in concrete terms, a climate was being created in which a general acceptance of the part to be played by organised games was established, and informal initiative paved the way for the considerable strides to be made in the twentieth century. What theLife Saving Society was becoming to swimming, the South London Schools Football Association, for example, became to soccer when it emerged as the Elementary Schools Football Association.
In its efforts to press forward along these four lines, the School Board for London, almost incidentally, took significant steps in other equally important directions. We have seen how the original instructors and superintendents became Organising Tutors and began to lay the foundations of a tradition in local advisory service. In the training of teachers, too, important work was done. Beginning with the short courses run by the instructors, the training of teachers in physical exercise was extensive if elementary. Every Board teacher was required to obtain a Board Certificate. Training centres developed and special provision was made for the training of pupil teachers in physical exercise. The most far reaching impact was made through Osterberg and the specialist teacher training system she developed throughout the English speaking world from the platform given her by the School Board for London.

The qualification of the teachers was, on the whole, restricted to gymnastics without apparatus. By 1903 the schools were fully staffed with qualified instructors. Regular lessons in the infants' departments often meant as much as an hour or so a day. Boys generally had five minutes' exercise each morning and each afternoon with a weekly lesson of twenty minutes. Most girls had an hour of Physical Education each week.
Against this sound if unpretentious background a broad range of activities had been embarked upon. Although now much more needed to be done, the picture was very different from that painted by the teachers who reported on Physical Education in London in 1871 to the Huxley Committee. Now, as the London County Council had to weld the massive, uncoordinated provision of educational facilities bequeathed it by the School Board for London, so it had to develop from all these initiatives a comprehensive system of Physical Education.
Chapter 11

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPACT OF THE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITIES IN LONDON ON PHYSICAL EDUCATION DURING THE SCHOOL BOARD PERIOD

The turn of the century was indeed the start of a new era for Physical Education. The Board of Education had been set up in 1899, a comprehensive organisation of elementary and secondary schools could not long be delayed, and the Boer War was already drawing attention to the shocking physical condition of recruits for the army. In the development of Physical Education military needs were providing a more powerful persuasive force than educational theory had been.¹

As Britain moved into a new era, a series of appraisals of Physical Education were made which serve well to establish a reasonable context within which an assessment of the development of the subject under the auspices of the School Board for London may be made.

The first of these was a Royal Commission which reported in 1903 on Physical Education in Scotland. Although, of course, centrally concerned with the development of the subject North of the Border, the Commission has considerable relevance to this study. It met, at least initially, in London, and the

¹ McIntosh, P.C., *Physical Education in England Since 1800* p.124
Commissioners, not all of whom were in regular contact with public elementary schools, did much of their homework by visiting schools in London to learn about Physical Education.

In their final report the Commissioners considered current practice abroad.\(^1\) In doing so, they surveyed areas well known to the Chestertons, Bromans, Osterbergs and Knightons.

1) The Swedish System, admirable in theory and nearly perfect in its adaptation of certain exercises to attain certain results, is stated to be defective in as much as it is exhausting, and tends to 'staleness' if thoroughly carried out, and its lack of interest and variety renders it unsuitable as a system to be pursued throughout six years of school life. But selected exercises from it should form part of a wider and more varied whole.

2) The German System is said to be remarkable for the development of ambidexterity, which proves valuable in many trades after school life. Objections taken to it are its abnormal development of muscle and non-athletic tendency, and that it requires the use of heavy apparatus.

3) The Swiss System has many good points. It aims at skill and activity. Children while at practice sing Tyrolean songs, and its advocates assert that it gives refreshing mental rest after school study.

---

1. Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1903
4) In France there have been frequent changes of system. After 1870, French Physical Education took the form of gymnastics and military exercises. . . . imported into the playground the phraseology of the barracks, until the deterioration in the children set the teachers against the system.

5) In America each State has its own system.¹

Certainly the model nearer to hand at Dartford, where Osterberg had developed a combination of an adapted Swedish Gymnastics and English games which she was always seeking to modify and improve, lost nothing by comparison with any of these examples of what the leading nations of the world were about in Physical Education. The work of the School Board itself, too, stood well in this company.

The Commission was seeking to establish a basis for a national system of Physical Education, and here it listed three criteria. It felt that physical training should be regarded as being of equal importance with mental training, should play as important a part in the education of girls as it did for boys, and be as available for country as for town children.² It is much to the credit of the School Board for London that these principles, which were enunciated by the 1903 Commission, might easily have

¹. Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1903 para. 176
². Ibid para. 181
described those of the School Board in 1871, over a quarter of a century earlier when it was receiving little encouragement on any of the points from the Education Department. The first report of the School Board was almost exclusively concerned with the provision or places,¹ and the Education Department was far more concerned with this problem than with such details as the provision of anything other than a little drill. At its own level this was just as true of the School Board for London, yet, to its credit, the Board made its act of faith in its early months and followed it up with consistent and positive efforts to keep faith in these areas from the beginning.

Like the School Board for London, the Commission accepted the claims of Physical Education to a place in the curriculum of the elementary school, and the need to extend the programme beyond physical training by the inclusion of organised games. This general assessment of the practical situation is tantamount to full approval, by implication, of the position in the School Board area in London, as it obtained in 1903 and even a decade or so before

So far as physical training consists in systematic physical drill, we think it should be an integral part

¹ See, for example, First Report of the School Board for London, 1871
of the school curriculum. But equally important for
the development of a healthy body is a due encouragement
of games and sports. The organised game is a characteris-
tically British institution. Foreign countries envy
us the splendid moral discipline of the cricket or
football field, and the debt that we undoubtedly owe
to foreigners as regards gymnastics, free and applied,
we are now repaying with interest in teaching them our
games. But the bulk of the school population of this
country has never had the advantage of this institution.
In Higher Class Schools the position of games has
reached a pitch which some people regard as dangerous;
there is little fear that this will ever be the case in
elementary schools.

The solution is co-operation with clubs and
voluntary organisations for coaching and facilities.¹

The Commission had a further cautionary word on the applica-
tion of games programmes to elementary school children and
counselling that the weaker children would not be able to play
lest they 'go to the wall'.²

The following year an interdepartmental committee was set
up under Mr. A.W. Fitzroy. Its brief was to consider physical
deterioration and its recommendations were extensive. It
called for regular performance, in elementary schools, of

¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) 1903 para. 85
² Ibid.
some kind of physical education, including where possible the
use of indoor accommodation. Games, the committee held, were not
in themselves enough, and although the evidence of a number of
witnesses was taken concerning games, no general endorsement
of them appeared in the report. The committee felt that
continuation classes for both boys and girls should be offered
in physical training, and that where possible municipalities
should provide open spaces, gymnasium and instructors in
proportion to the local population. The training of teachers of
physical exercises, the committee thought, should stand equally
with the training of teachers of other subjects, where the
question of grants from the state was concerned.¹ Of older
boys the committee had this to say:

Turning to boys of the age under discussion (adolescents),
it is not too much to say that in their case physical
training contains the most fruitful germ of moral and
material well being.²

The committee reiterated that the responsibility for the
organisation of games should rest with voluntary bodies as well
as local education authorities.

It is desirable that more attention should be given,
with assistance, where possible, to voluntary agencies,
to organise games for school children, and for that

1. Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration 1904
   paras. 308-380
2. Ibid. para. 374
purpose much greater use should be made of both school and public playgrounds than at present. But the Committee are of the opinion that no scheme of games alone can ever be made general enough to supply the place of methodical physical training.¹

To this end the committee suggested that a Sports Committee should be set up in every school district.

In 1902, the Board of Education had made its own attempt to develop what became known as the Model Course of Physical Training. It was based on military training including drill and exercises with dumb-bells and bar-bells, and had been drawn up in consultation with the War Office along the lines of the army’s methods of physical training.² This Model Course may have been an attempt to coordinate efforts in the national perspective and might well have represented a nationwide advance, but it was clearly not the best available and compared unfavourably with the methods long employed in London by the School Board. The work of leading physical educationists had received considerable publicity and public and even Royal approbation. The Model Course was in fact a step by the Board of Education away from the Swedish System of the London School

¹ Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration 1904 para. 423
² Model Course of Physical Training for use in the upper departments of Public Elementary Schools, Board of Education 1902
Board back to military drill, and informed critics were swift to question this retrograde step.\(^1\) The secretary of the National Union of Teachers, Mr. J.H. Yoxall, regretted that the results of many excellent systems of physical culture were gradually giving way to an absurd model course.\(^2\) A Member of Parliament, Dr. Macnamara, complained:

The model course of physical training sent out by the Board of Education contains a letter from the War Office urging school managers to compel their teachers, men and women, to attend at drill sheds and other places to be taught by non-commissioned officers what is purely and simply Army recruit drill; and although many teachers hold high qualifications as instructors in really good systems of physical training for children. 'The Times', on February 24th, 1903, said that some system of elementary military training, including the use of the rifle, ought to be introduced into all schools 'in order to lay the foundations of a military spirit in the nation'. There can be no doubt that this is part of a systematised endeavour to take advantage of the present cry for physical training by making the elementary schools and the Board of Education a sort of antechamber to the War Office.\(^3\)

---

2. Ibid. p. 57
3. Ibid. p. 37
It seemed as if no one had a good word to say for the Model Course. Even the Vice-President of the Council, Sir John Gorst, condemned it in the House of Commons when the measure was introduced. Lord Wolsey, as he introduced a policy of 'a drill sergeant for every Board school', seemed ignorant of the fact that Osterberg had long ago sent the drill sergeant back to his awkward squad.\textsuperscript{1} Within three years of the introduction of the Model Course, Coote and Grenfell in the navy, and Langekildte in the army, inspired and supported by Osterberg herself, were introducing Swedish Gymnastics to the British armed forces.\textsuperscript{2} Another of Osterberg's supporters, Roper, posed the question to the nation that the School Board for London had been attempting to answer since the late seventies: 

\begin{quote}
Are we to use Swedish drill or English military drill as the basis of our national physical training? I have no hesitation in affirming that English military drill is absolutely unsuitable as a basis and cannot for instance compare with the carefully graduated and scientifically calculated Swedish System, from which it differs as 'first aid to the injured' differs from a skilled surgical operation. I say this since I have had five years experience in a school where military drill in its best form was the basis of the physical training of a cadet corps.\textsuperscript{3}
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Onslow, G.M., \textit{Journal of United Services Institute}, 1888 p. 709
\item[2.] May, J., \textit{Madame Osterberg} pp. 101-104
\item[3.] \textit{National Physical Training, An Open Debate} ed. J.B. Atkins p. 151
\end{itemize}
All of this sets out in sharp relief the work done in
London and gives a realistic measure of the progress of the
School Board for London in physical exercises. Although we
are not concerned here with the later period, it seems that the
common practice in local authority schools throughout Britain was
closer to the London compromise between Swedish Gymnastics and
the English Combined System of Exercises than anything else,
and that despite the publication of the Syllabus of 1933,\(^1\)
this was true even as late as 1935.\(^2\) During the whole period,
Swedish Gymnastics was severely criticised from one quarter or
another. However, there seems little doubt that few if any of
the criticisms were less applicable to almost any alternative
available, and that the major contribution was made, despite
all opposition, by Swedish Gymnastics in Physical Education
from the eighteen seventies until the mid-twentieth century.
The School Board for London was the first public authority
in this country to appreciate the potential of the work and
to devote considerable effort to its development.

In 1904, the School Board for London claimed to have led
the central authority, the Education Department, and then the

---

1. Board of Education, Syllabus of Physical Training 1933
Appendix C.
Board of Education, in various ways.¹ Today, according to Griffith,² three conditions help to shape the relationship between central and local authorities. The providers are the local authorities, the relationship is a two way one in policy and technique, and there is a general acceptance of the establishment for most services of a general minimum standard which should be applied to the whole country and drawn up by the central department concerned.

During the School Board period, this relationship had not yet been embarked upon in a formal way. That had to wait for the Fabian Tract and 1902. Nevertheless, there were both central and local authorities at work in education, and the relationship between the ad hoc School Board and the Education Department laid some of the traditions between central and local government in this country. The Education Department for its part was far too preoccupied with the administration of an ever growing annual grant, and the more complex pattern of its application, ever to attempt to provide the kind of leadership a fast developing service such as elementary education needed. It is unlikely that there was ever any intention of its being

¹. Final Report of the School Board for London 1904
². Griffith, J.A.G., Central Departments and Local Authorities p. 17
involved in that sort of way, in any case, and as an administrative device it had very little direct access to the schools other than through its inspectorate.

The ad hoc School Boards, consequently, were left, in many respects, to make do as best they could, spreadeagled across the country in a miasma of provision, without very much central coordination. If we take the three conditions which Griffith says help to develop the central-local relationship today, we can see clearly that the first obtained. The School Board was the provider on the basis of its curious triple-source finance. Its capability was greatly varied, but the School Board for London, because it was by far the biggest, was capable of the most ambitious developments and represented the greatest potential where example and influence were concerned. Secondly, the two-way relationship was rather one-sided at this time. Even today many important national advances originate with local authorities.¹ In some important ways the Education Department, exercising control over the purse strings, as it did within the general political scene, held the whip-hand. In many other ways the School Boards were the pioneers. Most of their actions, especially at the outset, were unilateral. They were developing

---

¹ Griffith, J.A.G., op cit. p. 18
traditions which their partner had no knowledge or experience of. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most influential of the School Boards, and the biggest, the School Board of the capital city, should initiate many developments and become the senior partner in many of the debates. Often it was impotent without the agreement of the central authority, either immediate or delayed; yet in many ways the School Board for London was left untrammelled to exercise its initiative according to its best advice and judgement.

The third of Griffith's conditions, clearly, could not obtain at the outset. Far from being faced with national standards of minimal provision, the School Board was without this kind of guidance and found itself flying kites which the central authority could shoot down or decide that everyone could fly. The Education Department, for its part, was faced with the necessity of making decisions for the country based on the expertise being developed by those partners for whom the decisions were to be made. The School Boards were in fact setting the standards and the School Board for London was often to the fore in this respect.
This relationship developed during the life of the School Board for London. For the first decade and a half, a number of subjects were being built, side by side, and Physical Education was one of them. Drill was the first method adopted, then swimming and later physical exercises. Initially each was developed for boys, and then for girls. Drill was accepted at the outset by both central and local authority, but the others were pressed by the School Board for London long before the Department was willing or able to make a regulation regarding national development. The most significant of these was, without doubt, the decision of the School Board to introduce Swedish Gymnastics throughout its schools, in the face of not inconsiderable opposition.

In the middle period, when 'over pressure' preoccupied education for almost a decade, the fortunes of Physical Education progressed. Arguments about healthy development and physical fitness were not wasted on a nation concerned about staleness accruing from too much swotting, or deformity from too much studying in desks conducive to good posture. Swedish Gymnastics was generally agreed to be the best method of correcting defects. During this period even the use of
costly apparatus was examined, and the advantages of playgrounds, also expensive, were considered, although the economic position did not allow of much real progress.

From 1895 onwards, examinations gave way to inspection, and the block grant system encouraged educators to think in terms of a balanced curriculum. Physical Education at last took its rightful place in the Code of 1900. This somehow epitomises the period when one reflects that the era of the School Board began with the Huxley Committee securing the support of the School Board for London for the inclusion of Physical Education as a full subject of the curriculum. It ends with the Board of Education making the same provision for the nation over a quarter of a century later. This is not the whole truth, as the Education Department had long made some alternative provision for exercise, especially drill. However, its decision to delay the acceptance of Physical Education as a subject of the elementary school curriculum until 1900 when the day of the School Board was almost done, may have held extensive implications.

The subject was fully accepted nationally as a reasonable charge against public funds, as a subject to be taught in
every elementary school to every boy and girl. This came about almost thirty years after some other subjects. Physical Education was finally included at a time when examinations and payment by results were in decline. In the light of this, it is interesting to observe that Physical Education has always been considered something of a special case amongst the subjects of the curriculum, and physical educators have often assumed themselves to be in a special position. There has also been a tradition in Physical Education of disassociating the subject from examinations, and the educational advantages of this have been enjoyed to the point of exploitation. No doubt many other subjects might have benefited from freedom from examinations. No doubt there are ways of examining in Physical Education at least as satisfactory as the methods used in other subjects. It is fascinating, therefore, to observe that the almost unique position of Physical Education in this respect had as much to do with historical accident and administrative considerations as with anything else.

Throughout the three periods of its lifetime, the School Board for London contributed to the development of Physical Education in the general context of the times, and more frequently
than not took a leading part in relation to its fellow Boards and the central authority.

This contribution took place in varying degrees in the four main areas of activity which comprised Physical Education during the period: free-standing exercises, exercises with apparatus, swimming and organised games. Seen against the social background of the times, the contribution was a significant one, and the progress as marked as might reasonably have been expected.

The Nineteenth Century had witnessed three major developments in physical education, each largely independent of the others. In boys' Public Schools, organised games and athleticism developed into a cult of over-riding importance in the education which was provided by those schools. In the elementary schools drill and drill-like exercises were evolved to meet the exigencies of appalling facilities and huge classes of unruly children. In girls' secondary schools therapeutic gymnastics were imported to meet the needs of health as well as beauty. Although by the end of the century the government had recognised the value of organised games for elementary school children, it was only in some of the girls' secondary schools that games, gymnastics and drill had begun
to be welded into a comprehensive scheme of physical education.\(^1\)

If one reviews these three major developments in relation to the School Board for London, its achievements may be seen in context. The School Board itself had done what little it could to see that the benefits of games and the traditions of the public schools in this respect were made available to elementary school children, and to some extent it had contributed to the enlightenment of the government's opinion on this matter. In the development of drill and physical exercises there is a strong case for suggesting that the School Board for London was the main driving force and that its impact was extensive in education in this country and the Empire, in the medical world and in the armed forces. Indirectly the School Board's intentions regarding Swedish Gymnastics brought about the third major development, that in girls' secondary schools. Here the dominant pioneer was Osterberg, and many of her ideas and methods were developed during her period with the School Board for London.

Just one of the many problems facing the School Board for London in 1870 had been the provision of Physical Education for the children under its care. By 1904 it had made great progress, despite a growing awareness in the early years of this century of how far there was yet to go.

---

1. McIntosh, P.C., *Physical Education in England Since 1800* p. 141
Appendix "A"

Major Reforms

PHASE ONE

1832  Parliamentary Reforms
1833  Factories Act
       Church Discipline Act
       Abolition of Slavery
1834  Poor Law Amendment Act
1835  Municipal Reform Act
1836  Act Ending Church Monopoly on Marriages
       Prisoners Permitted Counsel
1837  First Limited Liability Act
       Capital Offences Reduced
       Tithes Commuted
1838  Ecclesiastical Commission Established
1839  Committee on Privy Council on Education
1840  Penny Postage Introduced
1841  Abolition of Imprisonement for Debt
1842  "Free Trade" Budget

PHASE TWO

1867  Parliamentary Reform
1869  Endowed Schools Commission
1870  Education Act
       Irish Land Act
1871  Criminal Law Amendment Act
       Civil Service Reform
       First Arbitration Treaty
1872  Licensing Act
       Ballot Act
1873  Judicature Act
APPENDIX B

The School Board Visitors.

The School Board visitors perform amongst them a house-to-house visitation; every house in the street is in their books, and details are given of every family with children of school age. They begin their scheduling two or three years before the children attain school age, and a record remains in their books of children who have left school. The occupation of the head of the family is noted down. Most of the visitors have been working in the same district for several years, and thus have an extensive knowledge of the people. It is their business to re-schedule for the Board once a year, but intermediate revisions are made in addition, and it is their duty to make themselves acquainted, so far as possible, with newcomers in their districts. They are in daily contact with the people, and have a very considerable knowledge of the parents of the school children, especially of the poorest amongst them, and of the conditions under which they live. No one can go as I have done, over the description of the inhabitants of street after street in this huge district, taken house by house and family by family - full as it is of picturesque details noted down from the lips of the visitor to whose mind they have been recalled by the open pages of his own schedules - and doubt the genuine character of the information and its truth ... I am indeed embarrases by its mass, and by my resolution to make use of no fact to which I cannot give quantitative value.

The materials for sensational stories lie plentifully in every book of our notes; but even if I had the skill to make use of the information
in this way - that gift of the imagination which is called realistic - I should not wish to use it here. There is struggling poverty, there is destitution, there is hunger, drunkenness, brutality, and crime; no one doubts that is so. My object has been to attempt to show the numerical relation which poverty, misery and depravity bear to regular earnings and comparative comfort, and to describe the general conditions under which each class lives.

With regard to the disadvantages under which the poor labour, and the evils of poverty, there is a great sense of helplessness: the wage-earners are helpless to regulate their work and cannot obtain a fair equivalent for the labour they are willing to give; the manufacturer or dealer can only work within the limits of competition; the rich are helpless to relieve want without stimulating its sources.

At the outset we shut our eyes, fearing lest any prejudice of our own should colour the information we received. It was not till the books were finished that I or my secretaries ourselves visited the streets amongst which we had been living in imagination. But later we gained in confidence, and made it a rule to see each street ourselves at the time when we received the visitor's account of it. With the insides of houses and their inmates there was no attempt to meddle. To have done so would have been an unwarrantable impertinence; and, besides, a contravention of our understanding with the School Board, who object, very rightly, to the abuse of the delicate machinery with which they work. Nor, for the same reason, did we ask the visitors to obtain information especially for us. We dealt solely with that which comes to them in a natural way in the discharge of their duties.
The amount of information obtained varied with the different visitors; some had not been long at the work, and amongst those who had been, there was much difference in the extent of their knowledge; some might be less trustworthy than others; but taking them as a body I cannot speak too highly of their ability and good sense... The merit of the information so obtained, looked at statistically, lies mainly in the breadth of view obtained. It is in effect the whole population that comes under review. Other agencies usually seek out some particular class or deal with some particular condition of people. The knowledge so obtained may be more exact, but it is circumscribed and apt to produce a distorted judgement. For this reason, the information to be had from the School Board visitors, with all its inequalities and imperfections, is excellent as a framework for a picture of the Life and Labour of the People.

The population brought directly under the schedule — viz., heads of families and school children coming under the ken of School Board visitors, with the proportion of wives and of older or younger children all partly or wholly dependent on these heads of families and sharing their life — amounts to from one-half to two-thirds of the whole population.

The special difficulty of making an accurate picture of so shifting a scene as the low-class districts in East London present is very different, and may easily be exaggerated. As in photographing a crowd, the details of the picture change continually, but the general effect is much the same, whatever moment is chosen. I have attempted to produce an instantaneous picture, fixing the facts on my negative as they appear at a given moment, and the imagination of my readers must add the movement, the constant changes, the whirl and turmoil of life. In many districts the people are always on
the move; they shift from one part of it to another like 'fish in a river'.

The School Board visitors follow them as best they may, and the transfers from one visitor's book to another are very numerous. On the whole, however, the people usually do not go far, and often cling from generation to generation to one vicinity, almost as if the set of streets which lie there were an isolated country village."

Booth C., Life and Labour of the People in London Vol 1 pp 5-7. 25-27.
APPENDIX C

PHYSICAL TRAINING

"At the present time two systems principally hold the field in this country, the Swedish and the British, although a few words may not be out of place later as to the Muller, Dalcroze and Sandow Systems.

The Swedish system is the official system approved by the Board of Education since 1904, and it is also used as the basis of physical training in the Army and Navy, but it lacks the essentials necessary to be truly national on the lines spoken of in a previous paragraph.

The Board of Education claim their adhesion to and approval of the Swedish system was "in consequence of the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed by the Board jointly with the Scotch Education Department".

This is all the more curious as the Royal Commission on Physical Training of 1903 in their Report, Section 176 state: "The Swedish System, admirable in theory and nearly perfect in its adaptation of certain exercises to attain certain results, is stated to be defective, inasmuch as it is exhausting, and tends to staleness if thoroughly carried out, and its lack of interest and variety renders it unsuitable as a system to be pursued throughout nine years of school life. But selected exercises from it should form part of a wider and more varied whole." Even more striking is the following extract from the Board's own Medical Officer for 1914, p 189:
"Even its most whole-hearted supporters would admit that the Swedish system has certain shortcomings, and that there remains opportunity for research and experiment with a view to perfecting exercises, and their application, nor would any one suggest that this should be the beginning and end of all Physical Training. Still, it certainly appears to be the most suitable instrument available to serve as a general basis of training."

This states the case in a nutshell, viz. the Swedish system "appears to be the most suitable instrument available as a general basis of training." Additional suitability from the Board's point of view is presumably the saving of expense, no cost whatever being involved as the children can exercise in their school rooms or on the playground in their everyday clothing under the direction of the school teacher. Furthermore, the tables published in the official syllabus are so carefully drawn up as to make it practically impossible for even the meanest intelligence to fail in securing their execution by the children. This is all to the good, but nine years' practising of free movements always given in the same order and built on the same lines becomes deadly monotonous and effectually kills any desire for continuing physical training after leaving school, just the very time when active, stimulating exercise is most needed by the individual. In 1909 the Board became convinced of this that the teachers were directed to introduce "step marches, dancing and skipping steps and gymnastic games". The teacher was also blamed for being unskilful. This is unfair to the teacher,
whose primary propose is to teach school subjects only. Swedish partisans believe that their system represents the limit of human intelligence, and that outside one narrow text-book there is nothing good. How can a teacher knowing but that system remove its dullness? "How can they who know no variety impart any variety and how otherwise can dullness be relieved?"

Again, if we analyse the movements we find that "Swedish trunk movements are too short or too limited". The trunk bends forward or backward or to either side from the upright position and returns to it, or turns from the front to either side and back again, and the movements are usually performed slowly, whereas a "young person" has the proper preliminary training quick trunk flingings accompanied by deep breathing not only develop the muscles more speedily but are of great benefit to the internal organs.

The exaggerated arching of the chest prevents deep and free inhalation and exhalation. In this connection see p 265 of the Gymnastikreglement for the Danish Army and Navy: "The measure in which the Breathing Exercises should be performed is not always similar; it must be regulated by the state of the breathing; if this is quick owing to previous exertion, then breathing must be performed more quickly than when it is steady." We must heartily agree with J.P. Muller who states: "This advice is quite wrong. When after exertion, much more air is needed for the lungs, it is in the highest degree desirable, and quite possible too, for the person who has learned to breathe correctly, to breathe extra deeply and slowly immediately
after severe efforts - well knowing it is the best means of steadying
and strengthening the heart."

Span bendings, we are told, are to produce a backward arching of
the upper dorsal spine, raise the upper ribs and thereby increase the
capacity of the thorax. As a matter of fact, this backward arching
is unnatural, creates artificial stiffness, and may easily strain the
heart and lungs.

Other examples could be given, but enough has been set forth to
show that, though the Swedish system may be a basis upon which to
build a national system, it fails in the following respects -

1. It is too dull and monotonous.

2. It is apt to be dangerous for weak persons.

3. It is ineffectual for strong persons.

The British system, which is the evolution of the German and that
of Archibald Maclaren of Oxford, aims at securing the best all-round
development of the human frame by creating such an interest in physical
training as shall last through life. Hence for collective training,
i.e. in masses, in addition to free movements, flags, wands, bar-bells,
dumb-bells, clubs, rings, etc., are introduced. Individual training is
carried out by work on the horizontal bar, vaulting horse, parallels,
buck rings, table, etc. Working on these pieces of apparatus develops
courage, self-reliance and initiative, which the exclusive use of mass
movements can never produce. The exercises are progressive and easily
adaptable to any age and either sex. The use of music for such
collective or mass movements as have been thoroughly mastered adds
fresh charm and renewed zest. Experience has proved that the practice
of the British system appeals to the girls and boys the women and men
of the nation, and is not discarded when school is left. There is no
dullness nor monotony to look back upon with loathing, but ever fresh
and more complicated combinations to call forth the skill, strength
and activity of full manhood, or interest and keep fit the old. Why
then, is this system not the national one? What are its defects?

First - expense.

Second - the ordinary school teacher has not the
time to acquire the requisite knowledge.

The expense is an exaggerated bogey. There is no necessity to
fit up a complete gymnasium in every Elementary School. Begin with
purchasing one thing at a time; for example, wands in the first year,
dumb-bells in the second, and so on. For fixed apparatus, build a
gymnasium for a district or a municipality, and have the children
taken there once a week or a fortnight, as is done in schools where
swimming is taught."

Campbell G.M. Physical Training, in The New Teaching by Adams Sir J.
Membership of the first sub-committee on physical education of the School Board for London which replaced the occasional committees.

Miss Muller (Chairman)
E. H. Currie
Mrs. Westlake
Miss Davenport-Hill
Mr. Lobb
Rev. D. C. Morse
Rev. J. R. Digge
Miss Hastings
Mr. Burke
Mr. Whiteley
Mr. Brooke.

Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Physical Education of the School Board for London, 2nd August 1883.
APPENDIX E

Apparatus used to fit a Swedish Gymnasium at Saffron Hill School and later Thomas Street School.

4 Ropes
3 Poles
2 Ladders
2 Horizontal Bars.

Cost including carriage from Sweden £9.

Miss Bergman had imported the equipment privately for use in classes and demonstrations, and offered the equipment to the School Board for London.

The Furniture Inspector valued the equipment at £5 and this was the sum offered to Miss Bergman by the Board.
APPENDIX F

Membership of the new committee when the Special Sub-Committee on Physical Education became a standing sub-committee of the School Management Committee.

Mr. Bayley
Rev. G. Bowman
Sir E Hay Currie
Rev. H. Curtis
Mrs. Dilke
Rev. Preb Eyton
Rev. G. Gent
Mr. Helby
Mr. J. Holman
Rev. A. W. Jephson
Rev. C. D. Lawrence
Mr. Lobb
Mrs. Maitland
Maj-Gen. Moberley
Mr. J. W. Sharpe
Mr. Spin
Sir Richard Temple
Mr. White
Mr. Whitey
## APPENDIX G

### Supervision of schools by the Lady Superintendents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Miss Ely</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chelsea</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lambeth West</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marylebone</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Southwark</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mrs. Matthews | Greenwich  | 113 |
|              | Lambeth East | 90 |
|              | Tower Hamlets | 104 |
|              | Westminster | 15  |
|              |              | 322  |

| Miss Kingston | Finsbury | 101 |
|              | Hackney  | 110 |
|              |          | 211 |

---

Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education, 28th October 1895.
Cost of equipping the Gymnasium at Albion Road

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Girls</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ribstools</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable double beam</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Six low forms</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boys of 15 and Evening class school scholars 15 to 20 yrs.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal Bar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parallel bar</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaulting Horse</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portable horizontal ladder</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jumping stands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mattresses</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hats</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dumb-bells</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wands</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Evening classes only</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron clips for girders</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total cost of equipping the gymnasium</strong></td>
<td><strong>£85</strong></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education, 21st March 1901.
Subjects recommended by the Huxley Committee of the School Board for London, 1871.

**INFANT SCHOOLS.**

(a) The Bible and Principles of Religion and Morality.
(b) Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.
(c) Object lessons of a simple character, with some such exercises of the hands and eyes as is given in the Kindergarten system.
(d) Music and Drill.

**JUNIOR AND SENIOR SCHOOLS.**

Essential Subjects.

(a) The Bible and Principles of Religion and Morality.
(b) Reading, Writing and Arithmetic; English Grammar and Composition and the principles of bookkeeping in the Senior Schools; with Mensuration in Senior Boys' Schools.
(c) Systematised Object lessons, embracing in the six years a course of elementary instruction in Physical Science and serving as an introduction to the science examinations which are conducted by the Science and Art Department.
(d) The History of England.
(e) Elementary Geography.
(f) Elementary Social Economy.
(g) Elementary Drawing.
(h) Music and Drill.
(i) Plain Needlework and cutting out (In girls' schools and departments)

**Discretionary Subjects**

(a) Domestic Economy.
(b) Algebra.
(c) Geometry.

---

APPENDIX I

Typical programme of the annual displays at the Albert Hall which replaced the annual drill competition.

1.00 p.m. Organ Recital by Head of Hackney Pupil Teacher Centre.
1.30 p.m. Physical Exercises, (Boys and Girls).
4.45 p.m. "Shaftesbury" Training Ship Boys.
5.15 p.m. Mass drill by girls of Board schools.
            - Conducted by Miss E. Kingston.
Musical selections by Finsbury and Hackney United Pupil Teacher centre.

Boys
Bellenden Road. Free and D-B Exercises; marching and exercises combined.
Droop Street. Physical exercises with clubs.
Shaftesbury T.S. Wand and D-B Ex: Cutlass Drill, and Naval Drill.
Upper Hornsea Rd. D-B Ex: exercises with figure marching.

Girls
Ackman Road. Free exercises, marching; fancy skipping.
Fleet Road. Free exercises, marching; fancy marching.
Gayhurst Road. Free exercises, marching; quarter staff exercises.
Maryon Park. Free exercises, marching; quarter staff exercises.
Surrey Square. Free exercises, marching; sceptre drill.
Portman Place. Free exercises, marching; garland drill.

Some of the exercises will be performed to musical accompaniment.

Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education, 5th July 1901.
APPENDIX J

Recognition of the certificates of Training Colleges by the School Board for London for the purposes of qualification to teach physical education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>College</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Borough Road College</td>
<td>21.10.92</td>
<td>North Wales, Bangor</td>
<td>25.2.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>6.7.91</td>
<td>St John's Battersea</td>
<td>22.3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>29.6.00</td>
<td>St Katherine's</td>
<td>18.10.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caemarthen</td>
<td>16.7.00</td>
<td>St Mark's Chelsea</td>
<td>9.2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culham</td>
<td>16.7.97</td>
<td>St Mary's Hammersmith</td>
<td>28.7.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartley University (Southampton)</td>
<td>3.4.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home and Colonial</td>
<td>26.10.94</td>
<td>Southlands</td>
<td>16.6.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stockwell</td>
<td>6.9.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Whitelands</td>
<td>1.11.96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the School Board for London on Physical Education, 18th May 1903.
APPENDIX K

Typical provision for courses for teachers by the various superintendents of the School Board for London in its final years.

All the courses listed took place during the month of October, all comprised four sessions and together they cover the two main streams of the English Combined System and Swedish Gymnastics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Superintendent</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Chesterton</td>
<td>Lavender Hill School</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Childeric Road School</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Smails</td>
<td>Bell Street School</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sigdon Road School</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Matthews</td>
<td>Crampton Street School</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Childeric Road School</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Kingston</td>
<td>Tottenham Road School</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marylebone Road School</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss Simmons</td>
<td>Addison Gardens School</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Winstanley Road School</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minutes of the Sub-Committee on Physical Education of the School Board for London, 25th November 1903.
Typical provision of swimming instructors for girls' departments by the School Board for London.

- Gloucester Green: 1 hr.
- Detwold Road: 1 hr.
- Gainsborough Road: 1 hr.
- High Street: 1 hr.
- Hindle Street: 1 hr.
- Homerton Road: 1 hr.
- London Fields: 1 hr.
- Mandeville Street: 1 hr.
- Mornington Lane: 1 hr.
- Millfields Lane: 1 hr.
- Northwold Road: 1 hr.
- Orchard Street: 1 hr.
- Rushmore Road: 1 hr.
- Sidney Road: 3/2½ hrs.
- Wilton Road: 3/2 hrs.
- Brechnock: 1 hr.
- Haverstock Hill: 2 hrs.
- Medbury Street: 2 hrs.
- Netley Street: 2/4 hrs.
- Bingley Road: 6 hrs.
- Charlton Road: 1½ hrs.
- Kentish Town: 2 hrs.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Physical Drill of All Nations, George Philip & Son, London, 1897.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barnard, H.C.</td>
<td>A History of English Education from 1760</td>
<td>University of London Press</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Short History of English Education</td>
<td>University of London Press</td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell, A.</td>
<td>An Experiment in Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betou, la De.J.G.</td>
<td>Therapeutic Manipulation</td>
<td>Male Asylum, Madras</td>
<td>1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binns, H.B.</td>
<td>A Century of Education</td>
<td>Dent</td>
<td>1908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birchenough, C.</td>
<td>A History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day</td>
<td>University Tutorial Press</td>
<td>1938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blendell, C.M.P.</td>
<td>Medicina Mechanica or the Theory of Active and Passive Exercises and Manipulations Considered as a Branch of Therapeutics and as adapted both to the treatment and cure of many forms of chronic diseases.</td>
<td>London 1852.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booth, C.</td>
<td>Life and Labour of the People in London</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1886 - 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scientific Enquiry into the Metropolis</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boyd, W.</td>
<td>History of Western Education</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broman, A.</td>
<td>Physical Education in Elementary Schools</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapman, M.J.</td>
<td>Ling's Educational and Curative (Gymnastic) Exercises</td>
<td>Bailliere, Tindall &amp; Cox</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chesterton, T.</td>
<td>Manual of Drill and Physical Exercises</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1897</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physical Education for Boys, in Final Report of the School Board for London</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>1904</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- 265 -

The Theory of Physical Education,

Clarke, J.J.: The Local Government of the United Kingdom and
the Irish Free State,

S.P.C.K, 1959

Cliax, P.: An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises,

Cole, G.N.H. and
Postgate R.: The Common People 1746 - 1938,


Colson, P.: Lord Goschen and His Friends, The Goschen Letters,
Hutchinson.

Cordell, A.: The Rape of the Fair Country,

Education,
P.S. King, 1929.

Cruikshank, M.: Church and State in English Education from 1870,

Cubberley, E.P.: A Brief History of Education,
A History of the Practice and Progress and
Organisation of Education,

Curtis, S.J.: A History of Education in Great Britain,

Curtis, S.J. and
Boulwood M.E.: An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800

Disraeli, B.: Sybil, The Two Nations,
Bodley Head.

Dobbs, A.E.: Education and Social Movements, 1700 - 1850,
Longmans, 1919.
Donald, R.: The London School Board at Work,
Windsor Magazine, 1897.

Dowd, D.L.: Physical Culture for Home and School,

Dudley, E. and Kellor F.A.: Athletics, Games in the Education of Women,
Bell, London, 1909.

Eaglesham, E.: From School Board to Local Authority,

Edmonds, The School Inspector,
Routledge, 1952.

Ensor, England 1870 - 1914,

Fabian Society: Fabian Tract No.106, The Education Muddle and the Way Out,
Facts for Londoners, London Programme, 1901.
1899.
1892.

Felt, A.: Recollections of Sixty Years,

Finer, S.E.: The Life and Times of Edwin Chadwick,

Fulford, R.: Votes for Women,

Fried, A. and Elman, R.M.: Charles Booth's London,

Galbraith, A.M.: Hygiene and Physical Culture for Women,
Dodd Mead & Co., New York, 1895.

Gardiner, A.C.: Pillars of Society,
Ballantyne, Edinburgh, 1879.

Gardiner, D.: English Girlhood at School,

Gibbon, Sir G. and Bell, R.W.: History of the London County Council, 1883 - 1939,


Games, Vienna, 1896.


Kingsfield Book of Remembrance.
Knights, E.: Physical Education for Girls,
in Final Report of the School Board for
London, 1904.
Laspee, H.de: Calisthenics or The Elements of Bodily
Culture on Pestalozian Principles,
Leese, J.: Personalities and Power in English Education,
Legge, Mr.: Reports to the School Board for London,
1881, 1898.
Leonard, F.E. and
McKenzie, G.B.: A Guide to the History of Physical Education,
Lea & Febige, 1927.
Leonard, F.E. and
Affleck, G.B.: The History of Physical Education,
Lester-Smith, W.O.: Government of Education,
Lofving, G.C.: Physical Education and its Place in a National
System of Education,
Lowndes, G.A.N.: The Silent Social Revolution,
Oxford University Press : Geoffrey Cumberlege,
Lowthers Clarke, W.H.: The History of the S.P.C.K.,
McIntosh, P.C.: Games and Sports,
Educational Supply Association, 1932.
Landmarks in the History of Physical Education,
Physical Education in England Since 1800,
Sport and Society,


*National System of Bodily Exercises*, 1863.


*Register of Trained Gymnastic Teachers*, 1885 - 1908, 1913.

*Reports of Hampstead Physical Training College*, 1893, 1895.


*Synopsis of the Ling System*, c1885 - 1915.


**Physical Education Association:**


Preston, W.C.: Light and Shade, Pictures of London Life, The Bitter Cry of Outcast London,
Quennell, P.: Mayhew's London.
Quick, R. H.: Essays on Educational Pioneers, Robert Clarke, Cincinnati, 1888.
Handbook of the Movement Cure, London, 1856.

Movements or Exercises, according to the Ling System for the due development and strengthening of the human body in childhood and in youth, London, 1852.


On the neglect of physical education and hygiene by Parliament and the Education Department as the principal cause of the degeneration of the physique of the population, London, 1879.

A plea for the compulsory teaching of the elements of physical education in our national elementary schools, London, 1870.


Table of a few gymnastic exercises without apparatus according to the system of P.H. Ling, from the due development of strengthening of the body, the improvement of the figure, adapted to the use of teachers and parents, London, 1853.

Ruskin, J.: Unto the Last, 1862.

Time and Tide, London, 1868.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaman, D.</td>
<td>The Practical Parts of Lancaster's Improvement on Bell's Experiment,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salzman, C. G.</td>
<td>Gymnastics for Youth; or a Practical Guide to Healthful and Amusing Exercises for the Use of Schools,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwaintz Karl de</td>
<td>England's Road to Local Authority,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selby-Biggs, Sir L</td>
<td>The Board of Education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shakoor, A</td>
<td>The Training of Teachers in England and Wales 1900 - 1932,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaw, G. B.</td>
<td>Fabian Tract No. 41,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Fabian Society: Its Early History,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaders of Socialism, 1894.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon, B.</td>
<td>Education and The Labour Movement, 1870 - 1920,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smellie, K.B.</td>
<td>A History of Local Government,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Hundred Years of Local Government,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, A.</td>
<td>Wealth of Nations,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1776.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, D.</td>
<td>A History of English Elementary Education,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Life and Times of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spalding, T. A.</td>
<td>The Work of the London School Board,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>King, London, 1900.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Spencer, F. H.: An Inspector's Testament, 

Spencer, H.: Education, Intellectual Moral and Physical, 
Williams and Norgate, London, 1861.

Stanley, A.P.: Thomas Arnold, 
Hutchinson, Oxford, 1884.

Thomson, D.: England in the Nineteenth Century (1815 - 1914), 

Thring, E.: Theory and Practice of Teaching, 

Trall, R. T.: The Illustrated Gymnasium, Containing the 
Most Important Methods, 
Fowler & Wells, New York, 1857.

Tressell, R.: The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists, 

Trevelyan, G.M.: British History in the Nineteenth Century 
and After, 1782 - 1919, 

Illustrated English Social History, 

Trimmer, S.: Reflections Upon the Education of Children 
in Church Schools,

Tropp, A.: The School Teachers, 

Walker, D.: Exercises for Ladies Calculated to Preserve 
and Improve Beauty, 
Thomas Hurst, London, 1837.

Manly Exercises, 

Whitby, W.: Pilgrim Soul, 

Wilderspin, S.: The Infant System,

The London Programme, c1886.
Socialism True and False, 1894
The 19th Century, 1901.

Reminiscences,
St. Martin's Review, 1929.
Index of Sources

Board of Education,

Annual Reports, 1899-1900
Code of Regulations, 1900
History of the Training of Teachers, 1912-1913
Rules to be observed in Playing and Fitting up, 1902

Public Elementary Schools,

Committee of the Privy Council on Education,

Reports of, 1839-40; 19 vii, 19-20, 71, 464, 18, 1842-43.

Education Acts, etc.

The Industrial Schools Act, 1835
The Industrial Schools Consolidated Act, 1861
The Elementary Education Act, 1870
The Elementary Education Act Amendment Act, 1873
The Elementary Education Act, 1876
An Act to Make Further Provision as to the Bye-Laws Respecting the Attendance of Children at School Under the Elementary Education Act, 1880
The Technical Instruction Act, 1889
An Act for Making Operative Certain Articles of the Code, 1890
The Local Taxation Act, 1890
The Elementary Education Act, 1891
The Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893
The Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act, 1893
The Voluntary Schools Act, 1897
The Elementary Education Act, 1897
The Elementary Education Act
(School Attendance Act 1893) Amendment Act, 1899
Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act, 1899
Bill to limit the Authority of School Boards, 1896
The Board of Education Act, 1899
The Education Act, 1902
The Education (London) Act, 1903

Education Department,
Annual Code of Regulations, 1870-99
Annual Reports, 1840
1844, 1845, 1846, 1852-3, 1853-4, 1859-60, 1862-3, 1867-8,
1871, 1872-3, 1878, 1885, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1893-4, 1895-6,
1897-8, 1899.
Special Enquiries and Reports, 1898, vol 2 186, 188, 109,
vol iv 1900 194, vol 2 1891 188.

Hansard, 3rd Series,
8th July 1862 Vol 168 Col 22, 17th Feb 1870 Vol 199 Col 444,
8th March 1871 Vol 204 Col 1559, 1875 Vol 222 Col 1409,
Vol 223 Col 794, Vol 225 Col 111, Vol 240 Col 351, 1878
Miscellaneous Reports,

Reports on the Exhibits in Relation to School Hygiene,

International Health Exhibition, 1884,

Reports of the Charity Commissioners, 1818-1843,

Reports of the International Congress of Women,

Women in the Professions, 1899

Women in Education, 1899

Report of the International Science Conference, 1885

Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1816, 1818

Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1884
Papers and periodicals,

**British Illustrated Magazine,** 1884-5

**British Quarterly Review,** April 1858

**Charity Organiser Reporter,** May 1884

**Daily Mail,** 17th Oct. 1902

**Journal of the United Services Institute,** 1888

**Kingsfield Book of Remembrance,** 1888

**Pall Mall Gazette,** 1888

**School Board Chronicle,** 1870-1903

**The Chelmsford Chronicle,** 29th June 1883

**The Daily News,** 7th July 1884

**The Globe,** 25th June 1883

**The Schoolmaster,** 30th June 1883

**The Standard,** 25th June 1883

**The Times,** May 2nd 1851, Nov. 29th 1870, Oct. 12th 1871,
March 20th 1873, July 31st 1873, July 22nd 1875,
July 23rd 1875, July 23rd 1875, June 26th 1875
Sep. 11th 1865, May 4th 1876, Mar. 23rd 1876,
July 14th 1875, July 20th 1875, May 16th 1878,
Apr. 12th 1879, Sep. 23rd 1879, Jul. 8th 1880,
June 30th 1880, Nov. 9th 1881, May 20th 1881,
Aug. 28th 1882, May 23rd 1883, June 25th 1883,
Oct. 23rd 1884, Jan. 22nd 1884, Mar. 12th 1884,
Nov. 13th 1884, May 18th 1884, July 10th 1885,
Apr. 8th 1885, July 26th 1886, Nov. 3rd 1886,
July 16th 1886, Nov. 30th 1886, July 20th 1886,
July 28th 1887, July 23rd 1887 Jun. 7th 1888,
June 13th 1888, Dec. 6th 1888, Dec. 10th 1888,
July 2nd 1888, Sep. 18th 1888, Dec. 26th 1889,
July 3rd 1890, Feb. 7th 1890, July 13th 1890,
Mar. 26th 1890, Apr. 9th 1890, Oct. 15th 1890,
Oct. 22nd 1890, Jun. 13th 1890, Oct. 7th 1892,
Jul. 22nd 1892, Oct. 23rd 1892, Oct. 23rd 1893,
May 19th 1894, Apr. 6th 1895, Mar. 23rd 1895,
Apr. 8th 1895, May 31st 1895, Jul. 17th 1895,
Sep. 12th 1895, Nov. 25th 1895, Dec. 6th 1895,
Jul. 17th 1896, Nov 25th 1896, Jan 18th 1897,
Mar. 8th 1897, Jun 5th 1897 Oct 24th 1898,
Nov 21st 1898, Oct 27th 1899, Jul .27th 1900,
Jul 4th 1900, Jan 2nd 1900, Feb 5th 1900,
Mar 30th 1900, Apr 14th 1900, Oct 11th 1901,
Nov 8th 1901, Oct 3rd 1901, Apr 16th 1901,
Oct 14th 1901, Jul 1st 1901, Mar 25th 1902,
Jul 23rd 1902, Aug 16th 1902, Jun 23rd 1902,
Dec 26th 1902, Jan 31st 1902, May 2nd 1903.

Westminster Review,

Woman's Herald,

Royal Commissions,

Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Enquire

into the State of Popular Education in England
Report of the Public Schools' Commission,
(Clarendon Commission), 1864

Report of the Schools Enquiry Commission,
(Taunton Commission) 1868

Report of the Royal Commission on Science, 1874

Report of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge, 1874

Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, 1874


School Board Gazette 1896 - 1904 4 Vols.

School Board for London,

Annual Reports, 1870 - 1904

Annual Regulations, 1870 - 1902

Final Report, 1904

Minutes of the Sub-Committees on Physical Education.

Special Sub-Committee on Physical Exercises:-

Aug 2nd 1883, Oct 8th 1883, Oct 15th 1883, Oct 22nd 1883,
Oct 29th 1883, Nov 19th 1883, Dec 3rd 1883, Dec 17th 1883,
Jan 10th 1884, Jan 28th 1884, Feb 25th 1884, Mar 10th 1884,
Mar 24th 1884, May 5th 1884, May 19th 1884, Jun 16th 1884,
Jun 30th 1884, Jul 14th 1884, Jul 28th 1884, Sep 29th 1884,
Oct 13th 1884, Oct 27th 1884, Nov 10th 1884 Nov 24th 1884,
Dec 8th 1884, Jan 12th 1885, Jan 22nd 1885, Feb 9th 1885,
Mar 9th 1885, Apr 20th 1885, May 1st 1885, May 16th 1885,
Sep 20th 1885, May 1887, June 1887 - May 1888,

Standing Sub-Committee of the School Management

Committee on Physical Education:-

Nov 7th 1888, Nov 9th 1888, Feb 27th 1888, Mar 13th 1889,
Apr 29th 1889, May 13th 1889, Jul 8th 1889, Aug 1st 1889,
Nov 4th 1889, Dec 12th 1889, Jan 27th 1890, Feb 5th 1890,
Mar 19th 1890, May 8th 1890, May 13th 1890, Jul 2nd 1890,
Nov 12th 1890, Dec 17th 1890, Feb 4th 1891, Feb 25th 1891,
Apr 15th 1891, May 13th 1891, Jul 15th 1891, Oct 21st 1891,
Nov 4th 1891, Feb 22nd 1892, Mar 21st 1892, May 30th 1892,
Jul 18th 1892, Oct 10th 1892 Nov 7th 1892, Nov 28th 1892,
Dec 5th 1892, Feb 13th 1893, Mar 20th 1893, Apr 24th 1893,
Jun 26th 1893, Jul 24th 1893, Oct 16th 1893, Nov 13th 1893,
Dec 11th 1893, Feb 5th 1894, Mar 5th 1894, Apr 23rd 1894,
Jun 11th 1894, Jul 9th 1894, Jul 19th 1894, Jul 26th 1894,
Oct 4th 1894, Oct 22nd 1894, Nov 19th 1894, Feb 12th 1895,
Mar 11th 1895, Mar 25th 1895, Apr 3rd 1895, May 6th 1895,
May 27th 1895, Jul 1st 1895, Oct 28th 1895, Dec 2nd 1895,
Dec 16th 1895.

Sub-Committee on the Special Subjects of Instruction,
Sub-Committee on Physical Education:-
Mar 8th 1901, Mar 21st 1901, May 1st 1901, Jul 5th 1901,
Oct 9th 1901, Nov 7th 1901, Dec 20th 1901, Feb 1st 1902,
Mar 20th 1902, Apr 30th 1902, Jun 23rd 1902, Oct 3rd 1902,
Nov 26th 1902, Jan 30th 1903, Mar 26th 1903, May 18th 1903,
Jul 3rd 1903, Oct 7th 1903, Oct 16th 1903, Nov 25th 1903,
Mar 2nd 1904.

Report of the Huxley Committee 1871
Report of the Scheme of the Education Committee 1871
Report of the Special Committee on Physical Education 22nd Oct 1888

Studies:-
Andrews, P.H. Post Elementary Education in the Area of the
The central government in this country, when establishing successively the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, the Education Department and the ad hoc School Boards, had no thought of becoming involved in the development of educational policy except in the broadest sense. Indeed, throughout the lifetime of the Board of Education and Ministry of Education and even now under the Department of Education and Science, this has remained largely true despite the considerable powers of the Minister since 1944. Central government in education is concerned with overall matters of minimal provision, national co-ordination and financing, and the local government agencies are in most matters the policy making bodies.

A great deal, therefore, depended upon the initiative of the School Boards, and later the local education authorities. At the outset, it was the School Board for London which was the largest and perhaps the most influential amongst the new education authorities.

One of the many problems facing the School Board for London in 1870 was the development of an appropriate curriculum for its schools. In the event this was done in three phases, building the various subjects it seemed sensible to support, reacting to problems which arose which suggested too much pressure was being put on pupils, and the development of a balanced, co-ordinated curriculum.
Within this we can detect the development of physical education. Accepted, in theory if not too often in practice by both the nation at large and the School Board for London, the subject that we would today classify as physical education usually took the form of military drill. National objectives in the matter were more concerned with national defence than education, but this was by no means generally true of educationists. Exercises, particularly of the Swedish variety, were added to drill largely upon the initiative of the School Board for London. In fact the programme of Swedish Gymnastics for girls and a choice of Swedish Gymnastics or English Combined Gymnastics for boys, which was decided upon by the London Board, became the basis of physical education in state schools throughout England and Wales for over a quarter of a century after the dissolution of the School Boards. Developments in Swimming, Gymnastics with apparatus and Games also took place during this period, and the School Board for London played a leading role. "In the training of teachers in and of physical education and the establishing of an embryo inspectorate, publishing syllabuses and developing facilities the School Board for London was also significantly active.

The School Board for London claimed that it established a firm foundation for a whole educational system which went far beyond its original brief to provide a sound and cheap system of elementary education, and that where it went, on the whole, others followed. It claimed that in the absence of a strong policy making central authority, it established many key
Within this we can detect the development of physical education. Accepted, in theory if not too often in practice by both the nation at large and the School Board for London, the subject that we would today classify as physical education usually took the form of military drill. National objectives in the matter were more concerned with national defence than education, but this was by no means generally true of educationists. Exercises, particularly of the Swedish variety, were added to drill largely upon the initiative of the School Board for London. In fact the programme of Swedish Gymnastics for girls and a choice of Swedish Gymnastics or English Combined Gymnastics for boys, which was decided upon by the London Board, became the basis of physical education in state schools throughout England and Wales for over a quarter of a century after the dissolution of the School Boards. Developments in Swimming, Gymnastics with apparatus and Games also took place during this period, and the School Board for London played a leading role. In the training of teachers in and of physical education and the establishing of an embryo inspectorate, publishing syllabuses and developing facilities the School Board for London was also significantly active.

The School Board for London claimed that it established a firm foundation for a whole educational system which went far beyond its original brief to provide a sound and cheap system of elementary education, and that where it went, on the whole, others followed. It claimed that in the absence of a strong policy making central authority, it established many key
SUMMARY (contd.)

traditions in education in this country. It suggested that this was true of the development of the curriculum of elementary schools. A consideration of the information available would seem to establish that this was in fact true where physical education was concerned.

J. May