

A STUDY OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN
ENGLISH SCHOOLS TO 1945

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Faculty of the College of Education
University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
George Augustus Knaggs
June 1957

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer is indebted to Professor Wallace H. Strevel, Professor Milo E. Kearney, Professor Harry H. Fouke, and Dean Arvin N. Donner, members of the dissertation committee, for their encouragement and suggestions. Particular appreciation is expressed for the valuable criticism and comments offered by Professor June Hyer, who served as chairman of the committee.

The writer wishes to express his gratitude to his friends and colleagues who assisted him in so many ways. In particular, he wishes to acknowledge the debt owed Miss Phyllis Downie and Miss Brenda Hill, head librarian and assistant librarian respectively of the Ministry of Education Library, Ministry of Education, London, for their kindness in making source material available; and to Professor Emeritus W. O. Lester Smith, University of London, for his helpful advice and introductions to school personnel throughout England.

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ABSTRACT

Knaggs, George Augustus. A Study of the Historical Development of Physical Education in English Schools to 1945. Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, University of Houston, Houston, Texas, 1957. 568 pp.

The study traces the historical development of physical education in English schools to 1945 and the historical development of each physical education activity employed in the schools of England. Various factors which contributed to the formation of the English program of physical education are also discussed, and an account presented of English education pertinent to the development of physical education.

The political, economic, and social history of England, and in particular, parliamentary acts, were considered in their relationship to the education of the masses. Data were collected and evaluated in England during the academic years 1952-1953 and 1954-1955. This data included interviews in English elementary and secondary schools, universities, and gymnastic colleges, as well as that gathered from primary and secondary sources in libraries of government ministries, of the University of London, the British Museum, and of gymnastic training colleges.

The evidence indicates that prior to the twentieth century, two programs of physical education developed in English schools. The traditional English games and sports

developed in private boarding schools catering to the upper classes, without the sanction of the administration of the schools. Military drill, calisthenics, and Swedish therapeutic exercises developed in government-aided elementary schools for the lower classes. After the turn of the century military drill lost its educational prestige as a disciplinary measure in elementary schools and was replaced by the Swedish system of physical exercises, while games and sports continued as the program of physical education in the private schools. During the 1920's swimming, dancing, and the traditional games and sports of the private schools gradually took equal rank with physical exercises in government-aided and state schools, and in the 1930's became a formally recognized part of the program. In private schools the traditional games and sports still predominated. In 1939, as national efforts were turned toward war, expansion of physical education was halted, and revision of the physical education curriculum was postponed until the end of the war in 1945.

Each of the foregoing developments has been described in detail and documented in the study.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM, REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE, METHOD OF PROCEDURE, AND ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

I. THE PROBLEM

The study has three primary objectives: (1) tracing the history of physical education in English schools to 1945, (2) tracing the historical development of each physical education activity employed in the schools of England and its subsequent place in the English physical education program, and (3) giving bibliographical data concerning the history of English physical education and education generally. The secondary objectives of the study are: (1) discussing various factors which contributed to the formation of the English system of physical education, and (2) supplying such history of English education as is needed to show the framework in which the program of physical education developed.

Importance of the Study

Not only is the study intended as a contribution to the understanding of the development of physical education in English schools and, in consequence, to that of other lands borrowing and modifying English practices, but also as a contribution to understanding of the English educational

system in general. An account of the historical development of the system of physical education of another English speaking country should be helpful and useful to those interested in comparative education, and particularly to those interested in physical education.

An understanding of the history of the English system of physical education should enable American educators to enter more fully into the spirit of the American physical education system, and perhaps become more sensitive to its ideals, quicker to grasp the signs which mark its growing or changing structure, and readier to ward off the dangerous pressures which may threaten it. The study should lead to better understanding of the historical relationship between the European system of physical education and the American system.

Need for the Study

The study undertakes to facilitate the recognition and identification of many of the factors in the growth of the English system of physical education. It may serve as a possible guide for others interested in making a historical comparison of the American system of physical education with that of England. It provides an integration of the history of physical education in England heretofore not written.

Limitations of the Study

The study does not seek to compare the English system with the American system of physical education; however, the reader will inevitably draw his own comparisons. The period given consideration terminates in 1945, because World War II and its aftermath--economic disintegration, political, social, and educational revolutions--led to rapid changes in the organization of English schools that are not yet stabilized. Although founded entirely upon objectively validated accounts, the fact that the material was recorded in the light of experiences and purposes of past generations in a country other than the United States necessitated interpretation of the data. The study does not seek to offer criticism of the English system of physical education.

The Term Physical Education

The term physical education was first used in The Annual Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education¹ in reference to physical exercises for elementary schools.

The term was first defined in 1927 in the report of the Consultative Committee on post-primary education in

¹Board of Education, Annual Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1913), pp. 291-300.

England and Wales. According to the report of the committee, physical education was defined as,

. . . systematic physical exercises . . . , games and athletic sports, folk dancing, swimming, and indeed all physical activities which help to produce a sound and healthy constitution.²

Since that time the definition has been broadened, with the educational and social values of physical education taking a place coordinate in importance with the development of health and strength.

Physical education activities employed in English schools to develop the health and strength of pupils which have historical significance are: (1) games suitable for elementary school children; (2) field games, such as cricket and football; (3) systematic physical exercises--freestanding exercises, sometimes referred to as calisthenics; (4) gymnastics which involve the use of apparatus; (5) athletic sports--cross-country, sprint, and hurdle racing, throwing weights, and jumping events; (6) handball (fives) and rowing, which are peculiar to a certain type of school; (7) swimming; (8) folk and country dancing; and (9) military drill.

In the context of the study, physical education refers to the activities employed in English elementary and secondary schools to promote physical development, health,

²Board of Education, The Education of the Adolescent: Report of the Consultative Committee (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927), p. 243.

and habits of conduct.³ The physical education activities considered in the study are limited to those previously mentioned. Historically, these activities either originated in a specific type of English school or were adapted from sports, games, or exercises generally popular among the people. In addition, they are the activities recognized in official publications as the component parts of the English program of physical education.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the United States, the term physical education connotes an immediate connection with schools. In England, the ever-growing sense of nationalism, of national preparedness, and of adult recreation has often broadened interpretation of the term to include more than a program of physical activities in schools. Numerous broad outlines of the history of English physical education as well as of other countries are available, yet in no single work are to be found the details needed to complete the picture of the development of physical education in English schools from its inception to World War II.

³To offer a comparison, Carter V. Good, ed., in Dictionary of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1945), p. 298, defined physical education as "the program of instruction and participation in big-muscle activities designed to promote desirable physical development, motor skills, attitudes, and habits of conduct."

Among histories of physical education which include chapters on English or British physical education is Fred E. Leonard's A Guide to the History of Physical Education, first published in 1919.⁴ It was one of the first comprehensive efforts to trace the history of physical education. George B. Affleck revised and enlarged the third edition published in 1947. Chapter XIX, "Physical Education in Great Britain,"⁵ was devoted largely to a description of Rugby football, cricket, and the importance of Archibald Maclaren's activities in the introduction and development of military gymnastics and physical exercises in England.

Emmett A. Rice's A Brief History of Physical Education (first published in 1929) appeared in 1932 as a revised and enlarged edition.⁶ In Chapter XIII, "Great Britain Since 1800," Rice noted that British physical education was of two types, the outdoor sports and gymnastics.⁷ In 1952, John L. Hutchinson revised and enlarged the book, with ". . . major

⁴Fred E. Leonard, George B. Affleck, A Guide to the History of Physical Education, third ed., (London: Henry Kimpton, 1947), Preface to first edition, pp. 9-10.

⁵Ibid., pp. 200-18.

⁶Emmett A. Rice, A Brief History of Physical Education (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1932), 288 pp.

⁷Ibid., pp. 124-32.

consideration . . . given to the second part of the book which relates the history in America."⁸

In 1952, Physical Education in England Since 1800⁹ was published. It is a comprehensive book dealing with many aspects of physical education in England since 1800, but, in addition to the obvious omission of physical education before 1800, development of the school system of physical education was only one of many facets considered. The author summed up his purpose as follows:

. . . to trace and try to account for the growth of two traditions of physical education /games and gymnastics/ in the nineteenth century, and to examine how far they have become fused in the 20th century.¹⁰

A World History of Physical Education, Cultural, Philosophical, Comperative,¹¹ published in 1953, is a comprehensive survey of the history of physical education. The authors ". . . attempt to identify historically the general purposes and functions of health, physical education,

⁸Emmett A. Rice and John L. Hutchinson, A Brief History of Physical Education, third ed. (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1952), Preface to third ed., p. viii.

⁹Peter C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800 (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1952), 259 pp.

¹⁰Ibid., Introduction, p. 12.

¹¹Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education, Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1953), 640 pp.

and recreation with the usually more inclusive role of total education."¹² Excluding their treatment of health and recreation, the authors give a brief and concise survey of the history of physical education in English schools, page 302.

It may also be noted that much of the material on physical education in England in each of the works cited (though to a lesser extent in McIntosh) concerns not physical education in the schools, but training in armed services, for professional sports, and for amateur adult competitions.

III. METHOD OF PROCEDURE IN COLLECTION, CRITICISM, AND CLASSIFICATION OF DATA

Preliminary studies of the political, economic, and social history of England were made during 1951 and 1952. Detailed consideration was given to the parliamentary acts and government regulations and their relationship to the education of the masses and to other influences tending to equalize educational opportunity in England.

These investigations, as they continued into direct consideration of source material on physical education in particular, led to the conclusion that it would be necessary to go to England to secure material unavailable in the

¹²Ibid., Preface, p. 2.

United States and to view first hand how physical education was conducted in English schools. The school years 1952-53 and 1954-55 were devoted to such investigation. Comparative education was studied in 1952-53 in the Institute of Education, University of London, under the tutelage of Professor W. O. Lester Smith. Various persons connected with individual elementary and secondary schools, universities, and gymnastic training colleges were interviewed. Persons were contacted in the Public Schools of Harrow, Eton, Rugby, Clifton, Winchester, and Westminster; in elementary schools in London, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire areas; in grammar schools in London and Gloucestershire areas; in secondary modern schools in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and London areas; in Central Y. M. C. A., London; in the London Polytechnic Gymnasium; in The Central Institute of Gymnastics; and in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Many of these persons were most cooperative, especially in arranging for observation of present-day facilities and methods.

Pertinent data were gathered from documents, textbooks, histories, and newspaper and magazine clippings in the following libraries:

Ministry of Education Library, Ministry of Education

The Senate Library, University of London

The Comparative Education Library, Institute of
Education

The Library, Institute of Education

The British Museum Reading Room

The Library of the London County Council

Chelsea College of Physical Training for Women

Ling Physical Education Association, London.

Security checks leading to permission to use the Ministry of Education Library required two weeks, with four months additional delay to secure full personal access to stacks. Nomination as a "reader" in the library of the British Museum had to be secured from an established British reader, and securing a book therein was a three-hour process.

The following primary sources were investigated:

1. The debates and questions in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords dealing with health, physical fitness, physical training, and education

2. The biographies, autobiographies, monographs, and letters of educators, educational philosophers, teachers, and organizers of physical education (H. A. L. Fisher, Herbert Spencer, Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin, Robert Owens, James Stuart Mill, Cyril Norwood, Sir Henry Hadow, M. L. Jacks, A. MacLaren, P. H. Ling, Madame Bergman Osterberg, Thomas Arnold, Edward Thring, Samuel Butler)

3. Government documents, reports, and minutes

4. Parliamentary Education Acts

5. Parliamentary Factory Acts dealing with child labor

6. Government publications

7. Physical education syllabi, handbooks, and suggestions for teachers

8. Articles in magazines, newspapers, and educational journals

9. Historical novels.

Some of the works cited that were unavailable in libraries were secured through a determined search of second-hand book stores. Copies of statutes and government reports, school regulations, bulletins, and syllabi were also brought back from England.

Criticism was, of course, simultaneous with collection of material, involving as it did consideration of genuineness of documents and the agreement of primary and secondary source material and oral and written statements of persons consulted.

Because of the historical nature of the problem, historical narrative and description seemed best suited for the presentation of the study. The historical sources having yielded single, undeveloped facts, it was necessary in order to show inductively the development of physical education to classify the data topically and chronologically. Resolution of the problems of reconciling these two classifications led to the general organization set forth below.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

In Chapter II is traced the development of physical education in Public Schools¹³ up to 1900, in which games and sports predominated.

In Chapter III is examined the completely different trend during the same chronological period in elementary (state-aided) schools, in which military drill, Swedish exercises, and calisthenics predominated.

In Chapter IV is treated the merger of games and sports and formal exercises after 1900 in both the Public Schools and elementary schools. This integration is traced to 1920.

In Chapter V the consideration of the development of physical education in English schools is continued from 1920 to 1945.

In Chapter VI is given a summary of the historical development of physical education in English schools to 1945.

¹³Americans would call these private schools; see p. 15.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO 1900

The development of physical education in England to 1900 was treated in separate chapters for Public Schools and state-aided elementary schools due to the radical difference in the activities in the two classes of schools up to the twentieth century. In state-aided schools, the emphasis was upon rigidly teacher-disciplined, formal physical exercise; whereas in Public Schools were developed the famous traditional sports and games of cricket, Rugby football, Association football, rowing, and fives (handball). The games and sports which developed in Public Schools were spontaneously commenced and engaged in by the pupils, not having been encouraged nor even sanctioned by school authorities until well into the middle of the nineteenth century.

The historical development of physical education in Public Schools was derived from the consideration of five basic topics: (1) the historical development of the old type of Public Schools, (2) unorganized activities of Public School pupils, (3) organized games and sports, (4) the spread of sports and games in Public Schools, and (5) the transference of games and sports to the University of Oxford and the University of Cambridge.

Preceding the discussion of the historical development of the old type of Public School, in which the physical education activities of games and sports developed, the definition of the term Public School was established because the British meaning of the term corresponds to American use of private. Consideration was then given to the unorganized, and sometimes illegal, sports of hunting, poaching (illegal procurement of game), gambling, cockfighting, and fighting (with townsmen) with which Public School pupils occupied their leisure time before the development of games and organized sports. Following the topic of unorganized sports, an account of their origins and Public School refinement was given the organized team games of cricket and football; the athletic sports of cross-country running, sprint and hurdle racing, high and broad jumping, throwing weights, and pole vaulting; and the minor sports of rowing, swimming, and fives (handball). The spread of the same games and sports throughout the Public School system was discussed next, with the transference of games and sports from Public Schools to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge noted last. To clarify the term Public School, a discussion of its meaning and historical development was undertaken.

Before the Education Act of 1944, a Public School was not a school supported out of public funds, nor was it a school to which the general public sent its children, nor was

it a free school. Public School in British parlance would have meant private school to an American. There were two general types of Public Schools. One type of school was generally thought of as an old, privately endowed, expensive school, free of government control, to which the upper classes sent their sons, and closely associated with either the University of Oxford, the University of Cambridge, or both. Among schools of this type were Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Charterhouse, Rugby, Saint Paul's, and Shrewsbury. The other type of Public School was developed in the nineteenth century by private, municipal, and county agencies that wished to establish schools patterned on the old, privately endowed schools which would be available to the middle classes. Important schools of this type included Uppingham, Clifton, Cheltenham, Radley, Marlborough, and Wellington.

In order to oppose government interference in both types of schools, Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham from 1853 until 1887, organized the Headmasters' Conference in 1869. Since its inception, it represented the "independent" schools; that is, those schools free of government control--Public Schools.¹ Some years after its foundation, the old

¹John W. Adamson, A Short History of Education (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), p. 349. Also see Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 34.

Public Schools joined the ever-increasing number of lesser known schools affiliated with the conference. In 1944² its membership included more than two hundred headmasters of "independent schools," receiving no financial aid from the government, and of "aided schools," receiving aid "either by grants from the national Board of Education or by the Local Education Authorities."

In 1940 the governing boards of endowed schools (whose duties entailed administering the endowments of their schools) formed an association to deal with problems of policy and administration of Public Schools. In 1944 the Governing Bodies Association had "143 members, including the governors of 87 independent schools, and 59 government-aided schools."³

In July, 1942, when the Committee on Public Schools was created by the Board of Education "to consider means whereby the association between the Public Schools and the general educational system of the country could be developed and extended . . .,"⁴ the Committee found it necessary to determine which schools were Public. No simple set of characteristics was common to all the schools, so the Committee

²Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 34.

³Ibid., p. 34.

⁴Ibid., Preface, p. 1.

defined a Public School as one belonging to either the Headmasters' Conference or the Governing Bodies Association.⁵

Schools of both types contributed to the historical development of physical education activities in England, but only a few of the first type--the old, privately endowed, schools--led in developing and organizing games and sports. Consequently, consideration was given to the historical development of these particular schools, on which all others were modeled.

I. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD TYPE OF PUBLIC SCHOOL, AND A CONSIDERATION OF FEATURES COMMON TO SCHOOLS OF THIS TYPE

Consideration of the chronological development of physical education activities in Public Schools involved tracing the origin and development of the activities from the individual old, privately endowed, expensive, boarding school in which they commenced as schoolboy activities and developed into team games and organized sports. Attention was focused on Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, and Shrewsbury, because specific games and sports developed in these boarding schools.

⁵Ibid., p. 2. The Committee limited its term of reference to "89 independent schools, and 99 schools . . . aided either by grants from the Board of Education or by the Local Education Authorities."

The literature revealed that all old, privately endowed Public Schools were patterned on Winchester, founded in 1382 as a boarding school for seventy pupils. The statutes of Winchester provided a model for schools founded later. Consequently, consideration of the seven boarding schools in which games and sports were first organized involved a chronological development of the characteristics of these old Public Schools. Basic historical features common to these schools were also given consideration in order to show clearly the significant reasons why games and sports developed in these schools rather than in others.

The Chronological Development of the Characteristics of the Old Public Schools

Eton had the distinction of being the first grammar school to which the term "public" was applied. Soon after founding Eton in 1440, Henry VI issued a warrant granting it a monopoly as a "public" grammar school. A. F. Leach translated the warrant as follows:

We have granted to the Provost and our college aforesaid that they and their successors for ever should have forever within the boundaries of the said our Royal College a public and general grammar school. . . .⁶

The warrant also allowed Eton pupils, like those at the earlier founded Winchester College (1382) on which Eton was

⁶A. F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 412.

modeled, to be selected from the whole kingdom, and for this reason, more recently founded schools, modeled on Winchester and Eton and not limiting their enrollment to any specified geographical area, came to be known as Public Schools.

Founders established Public Schools to educate "poor and needy scholars," but in every instance Public Schools departed from the intentions of the founders and allowed "sons of noble and powerful persons" to attend for fees. The clause allowing fee-paying pupils to attend school originated in Winchester.⁷ It was copied by Eton and later-founded Public Schools. The inclusion of fee-paying pupils (commoners) created in Public Schools a group of pupils, rich and often noble, which soon became more numerous than the "poor and needy" pupils provided for in the statutes.⁸ Public Schools adhered to the number of foundation pupils specified in the charters, but ignored or changed the number of commoners or fee-paying pupils allowed. Fees gradually became higher and higher. By the nineteenth century only the upper classes could afford to send their sons to this type of Public School.

⁷A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), p. 96.

⁸Winchester was founded for "seventy poor and needy scholars. . . ." See Leach, A History of Winchester College, p. 66. In 1441, Eton enlarged its foundation scholarships from twenty-five to seventy. See Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909, p. 231.

Close ties between Public Schools and the universities dated from foundation days of most Public Schools. William of Wykeham established Winchester as a preparatory school for New College, Oxford, founded in 1379. Henry VI had royal scholarships endowed at Eton to King's College, Cambridge, and to Magdalen College, Oxford.⁹ By Queen Elizabeth's direction, scholarships to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge were endowed at Westminster.¹⁰

In order for a young man to attend Oxford or Cambridge he had to demonstrate proficiency in basic prerequisites for a classical education. To obtain such a preparatory background, it was necessary for him to have attended one of the Public Schools where the classics were taught, and from which he could apply for a position in a university college. (Position referred to the limited number permitted to matriculate.) Among the purposes of the founders of Public Schools, the study of Latin grammar, the first and basic subject of the Seven Liberal Arts, was the most important. Grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric formed the trivium, and music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy made the quadrivium of the Seven Liberal Arts. It was only after a boy had made

⁹A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), pp. 64, 205.

¹⁰A. F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), pp. 497-99.

some progress in the reading of Latin that he could take advanced study in university colleges for the ministry, law, or government service.¹¹

Based on the historical influence and importance of a number of the old, endowed, expensive schools to which the upper classes sent their sons and which were closely connected with either the University of Oxford or the University of Cambridge, the practice of referring to the larger and more famous as "great" Public Schools began in the eighteenth century.¹² Schools usually referred to as "great" included Winchester, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, Charterhouse, and Saint Paul's, the last being a London day school.

When the Public Schools Commission was set up in 1861 "to inquire into the financial resources, administration,

¹¹John W. Adamson, A Short History of Education (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), pp. 12-13.

¹²An instance in which the term was used occurred in the correspondence of Lord Chesterfield. Commenting on the merits of a private education, Lord Chesterfield in a letter to the Bishop of Waterford, in 1752, wrote: "If you would have him be a very learned man, you must certainly send him to some great school. . . ." See M. Maty, Miscellaneous Works of the Late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, Vol. IV, (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1777-1779), pp. 243-44.

The term was frequently used in the nineteenth century. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby from 1825 until 1842, stated in October, 1827, "My opinions . . . might, perhaps generally be considered as disqualifying me for the situation of master of a great school. . . ."; and again, in January, 1835, stated, "It seems to me that we have not enough of co-operation in our system of public education including both the great schools and universities." See Arthur P. Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, Vol. I (New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Company, 1877), pp. 73, 347.

management, studies, religious and moral training, discipline, and general education" of Public Schools, they considered only nine schools. The schools investigated were Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, Saint Paul's Merchant Taylor's, Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. The title Public was applied only to these nine by that commission, although for comparison, information from other schools was incorporated into the report.¹³

The study of the early development of physical education in Public Schools depended primarily on the seven boarding schools--Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury--investigated by the Public Schools Commission, because games and sports were played as schoolboy physical activities and incorporated into the school curriculum originally in these schools. In addition to all seven schools providing pupils with boarding accommodations, these schools provided ample leisure time in which pupils might indulge in games and sports, and left to the discretion of the pupils the activities they were to enjoy. These practices, combined with the normal schoolboy impulse to expend his energies, were reasons why games and sports developed in the seven old boarding schools rather than in

¹³Board of Education, Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), pp. 29-35.

other types of schools. Therefore, a consideration of the origin of each practice was undertaken in turn.

Practices Common to the Seven Old Boarding Schools

In each instance, boarding facilities were either provided by the foundation statutes or were soon incorporated into the school organization. Winchester, the first Public School, founded in 1382 by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, included seventy scholars, who were "to live and study in community," and for whom room and board were provided.¹⁴ Winchester served as model for Eton College, founded in 1440 by Henry VI (1422-1460). In 1441, provision was made at Eton for seventy scholars (the same number as Winchester) and for twenty commoners (fee-paying boarders).¹⁵ In 1560, Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) refounded the monastery school at Westminster for forty scholars to live and study together.¹⁶ John Lyon, a landed Protestant, founded Harrow School at Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex County, in 1571. Lyon, like his predecessors, allowed fee-paying boarders to attend school in order to add to the enrollment and to

¹⁴A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), p. 66.

¹⁵See A. F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 407.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 497.

increase revenue.¹⁷ Charterhouse was founded in 1611 by Thomas Sutton, who acquired the confiscated property of a monastery from the Crown. The school was located in cramped quarters in the heart of London until 1872, at which time it moved to Godalming, Surrey County.¹⁸ Rugby was founded in Warwickshire by Laurence Sheriff as a school for local boys in 1567; however, it soon grew into a non-local, large, boarding school.¹⁹ Shrewsbury was founded in 1552 as the result of a request by residents of the Shropshire neighborhood for a grammar school. Local in character at first, it also became primarily a boarding school.²⁰

In addition to being boarding schools where boys lived most of the year (except for a Christmas holiday of two weeks, an Easter vacation of two to three weeks, and an end-of-summer-term holiday period of two or three weeks in August and September), the seven schools had similar daily schedules, which gave pupils ample leisure time in which to play or amuse themselves in any manner they wished. In the sixteenth century, Public School pupils usually had whole holidays on Tuesdays and Thursdays and half-holidays on Saturdays, as well

¹⁷E. D. Laborde, Harrow School, Yesterday and Today (London: Winchester Publications, 1948), Appendix A, p. 217.

¹⁸John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 90.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 78-90.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 65-66.

as free time on holy days. Such was the amount of leisure time of pupils at Winchester, Eton, and Westminster.²¹ In other schools, Tuesdays and Thursdays were only half-holidays, but every holy day was a holiday from studies. Over the centuries, Public School schedules changed very little. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Eton gave pupils the same amount of leisure time that it had given them in the sixteenth century.²² By the nineteenth century, schedules had become traditional. A. F. Leach in A History of Winchester College²³ stated that the sixteenth century Winchester daily schedule described by Johnson in 1549 was "still apropos in 1862" when he had been a schoolboy there.

How pupils spent their leisure time did not concern the founders of the schools, as long as the activities of the pupils were not destructive to school property nor interfered with official school activities. The forty-third rubric of the Statutes of Winchester College was a model for later-founded schools to follow. It stated that pupils were not to play or cavort in a disorderly manner in the college

²¹Winchester's sixteenth century schedule was given in a poem written by Christopher Johnson (a pupil from 1549 to 1553), and translated by A. F. Leach in A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), pp. 268-72.

²²Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College, fourth edition (London: Macmillan and Company, 1911), pp. 308-14. Also see A. D. C. Peterson, A Hundred Years of Education (London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, 1952), p. 90.

²³A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), p. 276.

precincts, nor "to carry arms nor shoot in college."²⁴ If founders mentioned games and sports at all, it was only to forbid pupils to participate in specific sports. William of Wykeham forbade Winchester pupils "the keeping of dogs, hawks, or ferrets for sport . . . and the gentle art of fishing."²⁵ In drawing up the Statutes of Eton College, King Henry VI was somewhat more mindful of sports than Wykeham, for "sufficient ground for archery . . ." was set aside, but no other sport was mentioned.²⁶ Later-founded Public Schools either followed the pattern of the first two, or ignored sports altogether.

Consequently, left on their own during their leisure time, with the authorities of the school showing little or no concern for their activities, and required to remain at school for months on end, Public School pupils devised their own physical activities in order to ward off boredom and to work off excess energy. Before team games and sports became organized, pupils in these schools participated in unorganized activities in their leisure time. Hence, the chronological study of the development of physical education in Public Schools was begun with a consideration of the unorganized

²⁴Ibid., pp. 72-73.

²⁵Ibid., p. 184.

²⁶A. F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), pp. 407-409.

activities of hunting, poaching, gambling, cockfighting, and fighting, which were the forerunners of the now time-honored, organized team games and sports of English schools.

II. UNORGANIZED LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES OF PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS

Foundation statutes of Public Schools did not recognize physical education activities as part of the curricula, nor did they provide activities to occupy the leisure time of pupils. Consequently, pupils were left free to engage in games and sports as long as those pastimes did not interfere with school activities. To occupy their unsupervised leisure time, pupils provided their own amusements, which usually took the form of popularly accepted sports and pastimes adapted to the surroundings and facilities of the school. Before the games of cricket, football, and other games and sports were accepted by pupils, they engaged in less organized activities.

The unorganized, and sometimes illegal, activities of hunting, poaching, gambling, cockfighting, and fighting were the activities most frequently noted in historical literature to engross the attention of Public School pupils over a period of several years, extending through pre-adolescence and adolescence. These activities were treated in the random order named, since all were indulged in simultaneously. The treatment of each activity included consideration of (1) the

class of society in which each activity was popular and the period of time in which it dominated as an English pastime, followed by (2) the activity as it was practiced in Public Schools and the span of time in which it was popularly participated in by pupils.

Hunting and Poaching

Hunting with hounds was a favorite pastime of the English gentry from the Saxon period on. According to Christina Hole,

The deer, the otter, the wild cat, and the hare were usual quarries, with the wolf and the wild boar in early years. Foxes were occasionally hunted, but not regularly until 1679; before that date they were regarded as vermin, scarcely worth the true huntsman's attention.²⁷

Although hunting was difficult to transfer to school life, pupils in some Public Schools maintained horses, dogs, and guns, and engaged in this sport. An occasion in which Winchester commoners, accompanied by their headmaster, joined the county gentry in a hunt was described in a letter, dated October 21, 1731, from a Mrs. Osborn of Chilbolton (about eight miles from Winchester) to her brother in London. The letter read as follows:

Last Monday we were particularly well pleased. For by invitation we had Dr. Burton, the Master of

²⁷Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes (London: B. T. Batsford, 1949), p. 2; see also pp. 10-16; and G. M. Young, editor, Early Victorian England, Vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 285-88.

Winchester School, and his ten young noblemen's sons that live with him, for which he has 200 pounds a year for each. . . . These with four other young gentlemen of the School met us in the field a-hunting. They and their attendance and ours made in all forty people, and after very good sport all came home to dine here. . . . Indeed, I have not seen a finer sight than those boys and their master together. . . .²⁸

Thus, pupils rich enough to own horses and dogs spent a leisurely day hunting with their headmaster.

During the early part of the nineteenth century the introduction of organized games and sports, together with the withdrawal of official approval, was responsible for hunting ceasing to be popular in Public Schools. Withdrawal of official approval was displayed by Thomas Arnold soon after he became headmaster of Rugby in 1825. Heretofore, Rugby pupils had kept horses, dogs, and guns for hunting purposes at boarding houses; however, Arnold, knowing that many boys spent their leisure time hunting, did not forbid the boys this sport, but ruled houses in which dogs and guns were kept "out of the School's bounds."²⁹ Thereupon the house masters, in order to avoid financial ruin, refused the boys the privilege of keeping dogs and guns at their houses, resulting in the decline of hunting.

²⁸E. F. D. Osborn, Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century (London: Griffith, Farron, Okeden, and Welsh, 1891), p. 45.

²⁹Sir Joshua Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold (London: William Heinemann, 1899), p. 82.

Whereas the gentry hunted with hounds, the poor man, if he were not allowed to ride to hounds, made up for it by coursing, stalking, fowling, and fishing. There were always game laws to restrict his pleasures, but he could usually enjoy these sports without serious danger from lord or magistrate, until enclosures became widespread in the eighteenth century, causing him to poach in order to get game for food.³⁰

Similar circumstances faced Public School pupils, who, until enclosed in the school premises, very likely did not poach; but upon finding themselves thus limited and with too much leisure time on their hands, immediately took the illegal step of poaching to break out of their confining situation. It was comparatively easy for pupils to walk away from the grounds of the school and find themselves in the woods or fields of the neighbors, where they engaged in all sorts of poaching feats. They enjoyed bird-nesting (taking and preserving the eggs of birds), catching young birds to keep as pets or to cook as food, line-setting (leaving fish lines over night and returning next day to reset them or take off any fish), and stealing animals and fowl from neighboring farmers. Among the examples of poaching by pupils, the

³⁰Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, second edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), pp. 38-39. Also see G. M. Young, editor, Early Victorian England, Vol. I (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 251-54.

following was related about boys of Rugby in Thomas Hughes'

Tom Brown's School Days:

Why should that old guinea-fowl be lying out in the hedge just at this particular moment of all the year? Who can say? Guinea-fowls always are . . . requisite for getting one into scrapes. . . . At any rate, just under East's nose popped out the old guinea-hen, scuttling along and shrieking "Come back, come back," at the top of her voice. . . . East first lets drive the stone he has in his hand at her, and then they are all at it for dear life, up and down the hedge in full cry, the "Come back, come back," getting shriller and fainter every minute. . . .

Meantime the farmer and his men steal over the hurdles and creep down the hedge toward the scene of action. . . .

Had he (Tom) been by himself, he would have stayed to see it out with the others, but now his heart sinks and all his pluck goes. The idea of being led up to the doctor . . . for bagging fowls, quite unmans and takes half the run out of him.³¹

The possibility of getting caught was a chance pupils had to take when they poached on neighboring land; one which, no

³¹Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days (New York: J. H. Sears and Company, undated, first published in 1857), pp. 175-76.

Walter B. Woodgate, author of Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909), pp. 63-64, told of his poaching feats while a pupil at Radley School, 1850-58. He recorded: ". . . on dark November evenings, while the woods were still plentifully stocked with birds, I used to look around at wires that I had set in the runs where Radley Copse adjoined the north park. Often there was a pheasant or two in them. I secured my plunder, and sneaked down to waylay the carrier's cart, due at the school between five and six. I consigned my game to him labelled to myself; as if a present from some patron or parents. Then I had it for dinner next day. I suspect it often arrived still warm, and not stiffened!"

doubt, made the chase all the more exciting.³² Poaching, like hunting, did not endure after organized games were introduced in Public Schools during the nineteenth century.

In addition to hunting and poaching, the sometimes illegal activities of gambling and cockfighting occupied the leisure time of pupils.

Gambling and Cockfighting

Primarily non-physical activities, gambling and cockfighting warranted consideration in the study of unorganized activities due to the number of allusions in historical literature to Public School pupils' enjoying these pastimes. They were popular in Public Schools as long as they were popular and tolerated by society in general.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries all classes of people enjoyed dice-playing. This universal popularity was demonstrated in the Statutes of Westminster School (1560), which strictly forbade playing dice, specifying that any pupil found with dice in his possession would be whipped. Translation of the statute by A. F. Leach was as follows:

³²Thomas Hughes, Memoir of A Brother, second edition (London: Macmillan and Company, 1873), p. 26, quoted a letter written by his brother George, in which George, a pupil at Rugby at the time (1837), stated: "There has been a row about fishing. Mr. Boughton Leigh's keeper took away a rod from a fellow. . . ." The trouble started because George and his friends poached on Mr. Boughton Leigh's part of the river.

. . . but should any boy be found with dice in his possession, he must taste a stroke of the rod for each pip of the dice.³³

Other schools did not concern themselves with pupils playing dice or engaging in gambling as long as pupils used moderation. Such a school was Shrewsbury (1552), where statutes stated that the only sports allowed were "shooting the long-bow, chess playing, . . . and gambling for limited stakes: 'a penny a game and fourpence a match, all other betting, openlie or covertlie' was punishable, if necessary by expulsion, . . ."³⁴ Low or moderate stakes allowed boys to enjoy the universal pastime without undue loss of money or temper.

In addition to playing dice, cockfighting was a popular activity in Public Schools before games and sports were introduced to occupy the leisure time of pupils. As early as the twelfth century, London school boys were allowed to hold cock fights in school. William Fitzstephens wrote a description of London in 1174, in which he noted,

Annually on the day which is called Shrovetide, the boys of the respective schools bring each a fighting cock to their master, and the whole of that forenoon

³³A. F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 515. Two London day schools, Saint Paul's, founded in 1509, and Merchant Taylor's, founded in 1561, forbade cockfighting because it kept pupils away from lessons. See John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England, p. 53.

³⁴John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 67.

is spent by the boys in seeing their cocks fight in the schoolroom.³⁵

In the sixteenth century, founders of schools encouraged cockfighting in order to collect "cock pennies,"³⁶ the fee charged pupils for permission to bring fighting cocks into school. During the following century, the allied activities of gambling and cockfighting began to lose respectability and to fall into disrepute,³⁷ and during the nineteenth century, like hunting and poaching, gave way entirely to organized team games and sports, even though their popularity lasted until the 1800's to some degree in the country.³⁸

Too much unsupervised leisure time also resulted in frequent fights between pupils and townspeople. References

³⁵John Stow (1525?-1605), The Survey of London, Everyman's edition (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1912, first published in 1598), p. 507.

³⁶John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 57. Manchester Grammar School, founded by Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, in 1575, allowed pupils "twenty days per year to sport them." See Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England, p. 53.

³⁷In commenting on the sport in 1700, it was referred to as "a most barbarous amusement," by James Peller Malcolm, in Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1808), p. 309.

³⁸As late as 1850, the sport of cockfighting was still popular in certain sections of the country. Walter B. Woodgate (1840-1920), in Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909), p. 93, recalled, "In my school and Oxford days (a pupil at Radley from 1850 until 1858) fighting cocks were to be seen in most outlying hamlets and there was many a main fought among bucolic audiences."

to fighting were especially numerous during the eighteenth century, when Public Schools came under a great deal of public criticism for their lack of instruction and the low moral state of pupils and masters.

Fighting

Fights between pupils of Public Schools and townspeople sometimes took the form of pitched battles, with clubs, stones, and occasionally firearms used as weapons. An example of one such fight occurred at Winchester in 1770 when a "great riot" was provoked by a battle between a group of ale-drinking Winchester pupils and some townspeople, in which "one townsman was wounded by a shot in his leg."³⁹ Further evidence of pupils of Public Schools becoming involved in fighting outsiders appeared in the letters of Horace Walpole (1717-1797), who wrote his friend George Montagu in 1736, saying that he was happy that he was never quite a schoolboy while at Eton; ". . . an expedition against bargemen . . . may be very pretty . . . to recollect . . ." but he was glad that he could ". . . remember things . . . very near as pretty."⁴⁰ Though Walpole recollected fighting

³⁹A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), p. 396. Leach quoted a letter written by the mother of the Earl of Malmesbury, dated "February 23, 1770," to her son who had been at Winchester.

⁴⁰Horace Walpole, Earl of Oxford, Correspondence with George Montagu, edited by W. S. Lewis and Ralph S. Brown, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), I, pp. 2-3.

with distaste, Lord Byron, a pupil at Harrow in 1805, wrote of fighting as somewhat pleasurable in "Childish Recollection":

Still I remember in the factious strife
The rustic's musket aim's against my life;
High poised in air the massy weapon hung,
A cry of terror burst from every tongue;
Whilst I, in combat with another foe,
Fought on, unconscious of th' impending blow.⁴¹

In the nineteenth century, disciplinary action by school authorities began to follow outbreaks of strife between pupils and townspeople. As early as 1819 Samuel Butler (headmaster of Shrewsbury from 1789 until 1836) took disciplinary action against pupils who persisted in fighting. On April 3, 1819, he sent to all parents a circular which read in part:

. . . they got up fights in the town; they very nearly killed a farmer's pigs, in what they called a boar hunt, and intimidated the farmer . . . so greatly that when brought in the school . . . and asked to identify the offenders he was unwilling or afraid to do so. . . .⁴²

Dr. Butler warned parents that pupils who persisted in such schemes of mischief were to be promptly expelled. It was not until pupils became interested in organized team games and sports that they were able to get along with neighbors of the school.

⁴¹Lord Byron, The Works of Lord Byron, Illustrated new edition (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1853), p. 444.

⁴²Samuel Butler, The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, Vol. 10, The Shrewsbury Edition of the Works of Samuel Butler, edited by Henry J. Jones and A. T. Bartholomew (London: Jonathan Cape, 1924), p. 179.

As noted in the treatment of the unorganized activities of hunting, poaching, gambling, cockfighting, and fighting, the spontaneously developed activities of Public School boys tended to lead into channels officially disapproved, if not thoroughly illegal. The activities flourished as leisure-time sports during the period they were popular throughout the country, having been introduced by the pupils themselves to occupy their unsupervised leisure time and to continue at school the sports popular at home.

Concurrently began to develop in England the forerunners of some organized games and sports, which in turn found their way into Public Schools. These required some organization, including selection of teams, special equipment, and rules of behavior; and they replaced the formerly popular unorganized activities. Each concurrently developing organized game and sport which contributed toward the formation of physical education curriculum in English schools was treated in the study of Organized Games and Sports.

III. ORGANIZED GAMES AND SPORTS

From earliest times, various games and sports were popular in every class of English society. Young gentlemen were trained from childhood to ride, tilt, hawk, shoot, fence, and hunt as part of their knightly education. Pitching the bar, high jumping, running, wrestling, and tossing

the pike were among the exercises of the lower ranks. Stool-ball, club ball, cricket, and football were among the games enjoyed by both country and town folk.

Team games and sports popular with the people of England slowly evolved into organized physical education activities in Public Schools. Physical education activities which Public Schools contributed to the English system were cricket, football, footracing, hurdling, cross-country running, throwing weights, broad and high jumping, rowing, swimming, and fives (handball). It might be said that the activities of football, cross-country running, rowing, and fives originated in Public Schools.

Each team game and sport was considered in turn, evaluating the place of each in the development of the Public School activities later to become recognized parts of the curriculum. The progressive treatment of each included (1) its development in England to 1900 or until its introduction into Public Schools, followed by (2) an account of its introduction and subsequent development in Public Schools to 1900, by which time they were acknowledged physical education activities in the Public School system, and ready to be incorporated into English schools generally.

As the most English of all team games, cricket was considered first, having a place in English national life similar to that of baseball in the United States.

The Development of Cricket into the National Game of England

The earliest mention of the game of cricket was in the sixteenth century. From the anonymously compiled History of Guildford, published in 1801, appeared extracts from the ancient Constitution Book of Guildford in which the first mention of cricket as a game was made. From Cricket (The Badminton Library), the following extracts from the manuscript were quoted:

In the thirty-fifth year of Elizabeth one William Wyntersmall withheld a piece of common land, to the extent of one acre, from the town. Forty years before, John Parvishe had obtained leave to make a temporary enclosure there, and the enclosure had never been removed. In the fortieth year of Elizabeth this acre was still in dispute, when John Derrick, gent, aged fifty-nine, one of the Queen's Coroners for the county, gave evidence that he 'knew it fifty years ago or more. It lay waste and was used and occupied by the inhabitants of Guildeford to saw timber in and for saw-pits. . . . When he was a Scholler in the free school of Guildeford he and several of his fellowes did run and play there at crickett and other plaies.'⁴³

No mention was made as to how the game was played, but some organization evidently had taken place. According to Andrew Lang, writing in 1888, "it was clearly a boy's game."⁴⁴

⁴³Andrew Lang, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1888), pp. 6-8.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 8.

Cricket did not develop of itself, but from the older and simpler children's games of stool-ball,⁴⁵ club ball,⁴⁶

⁴⁵Stool-ball involved one player protecting a stool from being hit by a ball tossed by another player. Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, new edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), p. 97, described it as follows: "Stool-ball consists in simply setting a stool upon the ground, and one of the players takes his place before it, while his antagonist, standing at a distance, tosses a ball with the intention of striking the stool; and this it is the business of the former to prevent by beating it away with the hand, reckoning one to the game for every stroke of the ball; if on the contrary, it should be missed by the hand and touch the stool, the players change places. I believe the same also happens if the person who threw the ball can catch and retain it when driven back, before it reaches the ground. The conqueror of this game is he who strikes the ball most times before it touches the stool."

Using as her source The National History of Wiltshire, written in 1671 by J. Aubrey, Christina Hole, in English Sports and Pastimes (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1949), pp. 59-60, described a form of stool-ball played in Wiltshire, in which a flat staff was used to strike the ball: 'They smite a ball, stuffed very hard with quills and covered with soale leather, with a staff commonly made of withy, about three feet and a halfe long. Coleherne downe is the place so famous and so frequented for stobbal playing. The turfe is very fine and the rock (freestone) is within an inch and a halfe of the surface which gives the ball so quick a rebound. A stobbal ball is of about four inches diameter, and as hard as a stone.'

⁴⁶Club ball was played at least as early as the thirteenth century. Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 105, reproduced a thirteenth century manuscript engraving, which showed two persons engaged in playing the game, one player holding a flat board in his right hand and a large round ball in his left hand, poised to bat the ball to the other player who stood ready to catch or chase it. A fourteenth century manuscript engraving showed another form of club ball, with one player holding a club or piece of plank, and the other player poised to bowl a large ball. According to Strutt, other players (not pictured) stood behind the bowler, "waiting attentively to catch or stop the ball when returned by the batsman."

and cat and dog,⁴⁷ to each of which features of cricket can be traced. These features were: (1) tossing or bowling a ball at any fixed object, (2) which was defended by a player armed with a stick, stump, or other instrument, and (3) the player running backward and forward, after hitting the ball, between the object he defended and some distant goal before the ball was returned. Club ball entailed the use of a bat and fielders to catch the ball, but there was no wicket--the object to be protected. This feature of cricket was probably borrowed from stool-ball, in which a ball was thrown or bowled towards a stool set in the ground. In both stool-ball and cat and dog, there was a change of places if the bowler successfully bowled out the batter.⁴⁸

By the eighteenth century, cricket had developed into a definitely organized game and was popular all over England.

⁴⁷Andrew Lang, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888), p. 4., described this ancient children's game as follows: "Two holes are cut at a distance of thirteen yards. At each hole stands a player with a club, called a 'dog.' A piece of wood, four inches long by one in circumference, is tossed, in place of a ball, to one of the dogsmen. His object is to keep the cat out of the hole. If the cat be struck, he who strikes it changes places with the person who holds the other club, and as often as the positions are changed one is counted as won the game by the two who hold the clubs. A man was bowled (out) when the cat got into the hole he defended."

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 2-5. Also see Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, second edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), p. 106; and Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1949), p. 59.

As early as 1700 a match on Clapham Common, London, was advertised in The Postboy; and in July, 1720, The Postman recorded that London and Kent County held a match at Eslington, London.⁴⁹ The first definite rules of the game were drawn up in 1744,⁵⁰ and "the first score of a match was printed in 1746."⁵¹ During the same century, Alexander Pope (1688-1744) criticized democratic fellowship of cricketers in The Dunciad, written about 1740. In the Fourth Book, line 592, Pope wrote, "The Senator (Lord John Sackville) at Cricket urge the Ball."⁵² Pope criticized Lord John, an early patron of the game, for playing cricket with commoners. Also during the eighteenth century, cricket was first referred

⁴⁹Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1949), p. 61.

⁵⁰A committee of "gentlemen and nobles" met at the Star and Garter Coffee House, Pall Mall, London, February 25, 1774, and drew up a set of rules, which included setting the stumps twenty-two inches out of the ground, with a six-inch ball resting on them; a toss of a coin determined the team to bowl or to bat; the bat was not to exceed four and a quarter inches at its widest part; and four bowled balls constituted an over, after which a second bowler bowled to the batsman standing at the other wicket. See A. G. Steel, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 218. Also see Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1949), p. 16; and Norman Wymer, Sport in England (London: George G. Harrap and Company, 1949), p. 156.

⁵¹R. H. Lyttelton, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 35.

⁵²Alexander Pope, The Dunciad, edited by James Sutherland (London: Methuen and Co., 1943), p. 402.

to as the national game of England. George Huddesford, a pupil at Winchester in 1764, wrote a cricket song for the Hambledon Cricket Club in 1769, in which he proclaimed cricket as the national game. The following excerpts from the song were quoted by A. F. Leach:

Attend, all ye muses, and join to rehearse
An old English sport, never praised yet in verse
'Tis cricket I sing of illustrious fame,
No nation e'er boasted so noble a game.⁵³

The nineteenth century saw cricket become established as the most important of English games. Writing in 1801, Joseph Strutt stated,

Cricket of late years is becoming exceedingly fashionable, being much countenanced by the nobility and gentlemen of fortune, who frequently join in the diversion.⁵⁴

According to Norman Wymer, it had become "undisputably the most popular of all . . . sports and pastimes engaged in by the populace."⁵⁵ The popularity of cricket increased to the point that all sorts of people were giving it their support. Wymer quoted an enthusiastic writer in "Baily's Magazine of Sports, May, 1864," as follows:

Prince, peer, parson, peeler, and peasant all
participate in the game. It is professionally taught

⁵³A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), p. 440.

⁵⁴Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), p. 106.

⁵⁵Norman Wymer, Sport in England (London: George G. Harrap and Company, 1949), p. 165.

in school. . . . The clergy award it their support; nearly every shire in England has its county club. Heads of large mercantile firms shrewdly encourage cricket among their employees; factories turn out their elevens. The government patronizes the game among their hard-working civil service men; and among the thews and sinews of most large towns the Saturday afternoon during the season is now termed the cricket afternoon.⁵⁶

Thus, cricket was firmly established as the national game of England during the nineteenth century,⁵⁷ having developed from the sixteenth century children's game.

The popularity of cricket was reflected in the Public Schools, in which the game was introduced during the eighteenth century as a part of school life.

The Introduction and Development of Cricket in Public Schools

It was not until after cricket became organized and uniform rules governing the game were drawn up, that Public School pupils began to play it to any great extent. Before that time, allusions to cricket in Public Schools existed only in English literary works. Evidences of cricket being played at Eton and Westminster dated from about 1730 to 1745;

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 165-6.

⁵⁷Matches between Cambridge and Oxford, Eton and Harrow, and Gentlemen and Players became annual highlights. Gentlemen were amateurs and Players were professional cricketers. Their first match was played in 1806. By 1857 it had become an annual affair, and a second match was played. Thus, four important matches were played annually. See R. H. Lyttelton, Cricket, pp. 353-69. According to Norman Wymer, op. cit., p. 165, an English team traveled to Canada and the United States, and "noblemen had taken to laying out private cricket grounds on their country estates."

therefore, these two schools understandably claimed to be the first cricket schools. Horace Walpole, a student in King's College, Cambridge, in 1736, wrote George Montagu recalling days spent together at Eton, in which he said:

. . . Dear George, were not the playing fields at Eton food for all manner of flights? . . . I can't say I am sorry I was never quite a schoolboy; an expedition against barge-meat, or a match at cricket may be very pretty things to recollect; but thank my stars, I can remember things that are very near as pretty.⁵⁸

In 1741 William Cowper, at the age of ten, was sent to Westminster, where, he later related in his long poem Tiracinium, he hated everything, cricket included.⁵⁹ The Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773), writing to his son at Westminster in 1741, encouraged him by saying,

Whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well . . . for if you have a right ambition, you will desire to excel all boys of your age, at cricket, . . . as well as in learning.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Horace Walpole, Earl of Oxford, Correspondence with George Montagu, Vol. I, edited by W. S. Lewis and Ralph S. Brown, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), pp. 2-3.

⁵⁹William Cowper, Memoir of the Early Life of William Cowper, second edition (London: R. Edwards, 1816), p. 30. According to Cowper in "Tiracinium" in Vol. I of The Poetical Works of William Cowper, edited by John Bruce (London: George Bell and Sons, 1909), p. 209, if parents wanted to send their sons to a school where, among other vices, they would learn "to pitch the ball into the grounded hat, or drive it devious with a dexterous pat," then they should send their sons to a Public School.

⁶⁰Philip Dormer Stanhope Chesterfield, Earl of Chesterfield, "Letter LXXI, May, 1741," in Letters to His Son, Vol. II (Universal Classics Library, Washington, D. C.: M. Walter Dunn, 1901), p. 197. Thomas Gray (1716-1771) recalled his

First popular at Westminster and Eton, cricket also became an important game in other great schools,⁶¹ with Winchester pupils having played a recorded match in 1803. Quoting from the Salisbury and Winchester Journal, July 25, 1803, A. F. Leach noted that "a grand match of cricket between eleven gentlemen of Winchester College and eleven gentlemen of the town" took place.⁶² Lord Byron, a pupil at Harrow at the turn of the century, in "Childish Recollections" mentioned playing cricket:

In scatter'd groups each favor'd haunt pursue;
Repeat old pastimes, and discover new;
Flush'd with his rays, beneath the noontide sun,
In rival bands between the wickets run,

schooldays as very pleasant memories in his poem "Ode: On a Distant Prospect of Eton College," written in 1747, in which he asked:

What idle progeny succeed
To chase the rolling circle's speed,
Or urge the flying ball,

"Or urge the flying ball" referred to a batted cricket ball. See Thomas Gray, Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard, with the Complete Poems of Thomas Gray (New York: Peter Pauper Press, 1940), p. 31.

⁶¹Rugby pupils were playing cricket at this time, and it was recorded by William S. Patterson in Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), p. 2, that in 1817, Shrewsbury had been playing cricket "for some years."

⁶²A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Company, 1899), p. 441. Leach also stated that William Ward, a pupil of Winchester from 1800 until 1804, and who in 1825 bought out Thomas Lord's interest in Lord's Cricket Grounds, London, was the "most famous of early Wykehamical cricketers and played for All England as early as 1810."

Together we impell'd the flying ball;
 . . . Together joined in cricket's manly toil.⁶³

After its introduction, cricket spread rapidly within the great Public Schools, being an excellent summer term game. The season commenced in June or July and continued until the latter part of August or early September. Within a short time after its introduction into any given school, cricket enthusiasts began to clamor for competition with other schools, hence inter-school matches.

The rise of inter-school matches. Inter-school matches were made possible by uniform rules promulgated by the privately constituted Marylebone Cricket Club. The club membership consisted of ex-pupils of Public Schools, who encouraged their schools to play matches on the club grounds in London.

Inter-school matches were neither sponsored nor organized by school authorities, but arranged by the boys themselves,⁶⁴ being played during the summer holidays after

⁶³Lord Byron, The Works of Lord Byron, Illustrated new edition (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Co., 1853), pp. 443-4.

⁶⁴Charles Wordsworth, later Bishop of Saint Andrews, Scotland, recalled that while captain of the Harrow eleven (He played on the Harrow eleven from 1822 until 1825.), he carried on correspondence with captains of cricket at "Eton, Winchester, Rugby, and . . . Charterhouse." See Bishop of Saint Andrews, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 328.

the summer term. Captains of Public School elevens (the best eleven cricket players in a school)⁶⁵ were responsible for finding a convenient place (not too far from either school and preferably on a railroad) and time to play.

Public Schools located in and near London found it easier to play inter-school matches than did those schools located far from London or not on a direct route. The first inter-school match was played between the boys of Eton and Westminster in 1796 in London. According to John W. Adamson, Eton was beaten twice in this match,

. . . first by the Westminsters on Hounslow Heath where the match was played, and again, on the next

⁶⁵The first eleven of a Public School were usually selected by the captain of the school, a sixth form prefect who already had proven himself to be an excellent cricketer and a leader of boys. He was elected by the preceding eleven. Sometimes a committee of prefects and/or players assisted him in picking the eleven. According to A. G. Steel, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 209, ". . . the captain is responsible for the selection of the team." Steel also stated, "an energetic and keen boy captain will usually manage before the close of the summer term to get together a team of fair merit . . . even if the stuff he has to work upon is inferior in quality, the great amount of time at his disposal for practice, and the assistance he receives from the school professionals and masters, ought always to insure a keen captain having a tolerable eleven before the summer holidays begin." According to Steel, each school eleven required "for bowlers, a well trained and coached wicket-keeper, and properly taught batters."

Commenting on training habits of school and university elevens, A. G. Steel, Cricket, pp. 210-16, allowed them to eat anything they liked, but recommended that they drink moderately. While playing a match, Steel recommended "shandy-gaff

day by their own headmaster as punishment for absence from school.⁶⁶

Subsequent matches between pupils of these schools were never arranged, but in 1805 Eton played Harrow at Lord's cricket grounds,⁶⁷ London. In a letter to Charles O.

Gordon, dated August 4, 1805, Lord Byron related:

We have played the Eton and were most confoundedly beat; however, it was some comfort to me that I got 11 notches the first Innings and 7 the second, which was more than any of our side except Brockman and Ipswich could contrive to hit.⁶⁸

[ginger ale and fruit juice], sherry, or claret, and soda" He found "beer and stout . . . too heady and heavy, gin and ginger beer . . . too sticky, sweet, etc., to the palate." He also recommended that elevens avoid "smoky rooms" and refrain from keeping late hours.

⁶⁶J. W. Adamson, A Short History of Education (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), p. 220. Also see Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College, p. 350; and John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School, p. 227.

⁶⁷In 1787 Thomas Lord, with the aid of some members of the White Conduit Club, which had been dissolved, made a cricket grounds in the space which later became Dorset Square, London. This was the first Lord's. Because of rising real estate values, he moved in 1812 to North Bank, London, finally settling in Saint John's Wood in 1814, where Lord's remained. He was entirely bought out in 1825; and in 1863 the Marylebone Cricket Club gained complete control of the grounds, but the name of the grounds was not changed. Norman Wymer, in Sport in England, pp. 166-7, recorded that "Lord's is, as all the world knows, the scene, not only of Club (Marylebone) and of Middlesex (County Club) matches, but of Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge, and Gentlemen and Players. . . ." Also see Christina Hole, English Sports, p. 63.

⁶⁸He also related that after the match the Harrow and Eton boys joined forces, got drunk, and went in a body to the Haymarket Theatre where they almost had "a battle royal" with some other theatre patrons. See Lord Byron, A Self-Portrait, Letters and Diaries, 1798-1824, Vol. I, edited by Peter Quennell (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), p. 17.

This match became an annual affair, held regularly from 1822 on, except for a break from 1854 to 1858. In 1825 Winchester first played Harrow at Lord's. This match was arranged by the brothers Wordsworth, Christopher of Harrow and Charles of Winchester. It was played on July 27 and 28, 1825.

Charles Wordsworth recorded that Winchester won "by a single run in the first and by 211 to 73 in the second innings."⁶⁹

In 1826 Harrow played both Winchester and Eton at Lord's, with Eton and Winchester playing subsequently.⁷⁰

Public Schools located far from Lord's or not on a direct route to London, such as Shrewsbury, Rugby, Uppingham, and Clifton played lesser known schools nearby. For example, Uppingham, situated in the Midlands of England, played the nearby schools of Oundle and Malvern, rather than travel great distances. Uppingham was also near Rugby and Shrewsbury

⁶⁹Bishop of Saint Andrews, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 328. During the night the pavilion at Lord's was destroyed by fire. The cause of the fire was never determined, but as A. F. Leach stated in A History of Winchester College, p. 442, "not, we will hope, as a bonfire wither to cheer the victorious, or avenge the defeated champions. . . ."

⁷⁰Harrow lost both matches, while Winchester beat Eton by 53 runs. See Leach, A History of Winchester College, p. 443.

Costumes worn by Public School players were beginning to take on aspects of uniformity by this time. In the Eton-Winchester match, the Eton eleven were recorded as having "no particular dress; some were in flannels, and one of the bowlers was in knee-breeches and silk stockings, Winchester boys were dressed alike in white-duck trousers, white jean jacket bound with pink, and high hats." See A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College, p. 443.

but transportation routes made it difficult for boys to travel between these places and Uppingham. Only one match was played between Uppingham and Rugby, and that in 1897. Uppingham also played Shrewsbury only once, 1876.⁷¹ In addition to distance and transportation, snobbery was a hindrance to inter-school matches, for it determined that Shrewsbury would not play Westminster in 1866. In that year Shrewsbury tried unsuccessfully to arrange a match in London, because the captain of the Westminster eleven contended that Shrewsbury was not a Public School.⁷²

⁷¹William S. Patterson, Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), p. 291.

⁷²Correspondence between the captains of the elevens was quoted from the Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 123.

The Schools, Shrewsbury,
February 27, 1866.

To the Captain of the Westminster Eleven.
Dear Sir,

I write to ask if a match between Westminster and Shrewsbury can be arranged for this season? The most convenient date for us would be any day in the week beginning June 17. We shall be happy to play on any ground in London which you may select. . . . Yours, etc.,

J. Spencer Phillips, Capt.

Westminster, March 6, 1866.

To the Captain of the Shrewsbury Eleven.
Sir,

The Captain of the Westminster Eleven is sorry to disappoint Shrewsbury, but Westminster plays no schools except Public Schools, . . . Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, and Winchester,

Yours truly,
E. Oliver, Capt.

As was noted above, pupils of one school arranged cricket matches with other schools, completely free of official school supervision. Schools in and near London began the practice, with other schools soon following suit. One might deduce that an outcome of inter-school cricket matches would be the formation of cricket leagues or conferences in which more than two schools would play each other. This aspect of the development of cricket in Public Schools was also given consideration.

Cricket leagues. The formation of permanent cricket leagues or conferences, in which more than two schools would hold matches, did not materialize; even though Eton, Harrow, and Winchester held a Public School week of cricket at Lord's from 1834 until 1855. In the first year Winchester beat Harrow by one wicket, and lost to Eton by 13 runs. A. F. Leach⁷³ recorded that Winchester failed to beat Eton because three Winchester boys did not appear for the game, which necessitated filling their positions with inferior players. By 1854 it seemed that most boys went to London to enjoy life in the city rather than to play cricket, which resulted in parental complaints about the expense and danger of their sons being a week in London during the summer holidays without supervision.⁷⁴ Consequently, the matches were discontinued

⁷³A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College, p. 443.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 444.

after that year. In 1856 Winchester resumed playing Eton on a home-and-home basis, but did not play Harrow again.⁷⁵ In 1858 the Eton-Harrow match was resumed in London, but the Public School week of cricket was never held again. Other schools did not attempt it.

The popularity of the game produced a desire on the part of pupils and graduates of Public Schools to improve the style of play, resulting in the practice of employing permanent professionals to coach cricket elevens.

The appearance of professional cricket coaches. The practice of employing permanent professionals to coach in Public School was introduced during the middle years of the nineteenth century. From 1849 Westminster had a coach for several weeks annually; and from 1850 Rugby had the services of a permanent professional, adding a bowler in the sixties. In addition to Westminster and Rugby, Marlborough, only ten years old in 1853, hired a professional in that year; Cheltenham, another newly founded school, hired a permanent

⁷⁵Ibid., pp. 444-45. According to Leach, Winchester failed to maintain its cricket position because it did not resume its matches at Lord's, as did Eton and Harrow. His comment was as follows: "It not only affected the cricket of the School, and the chances of its players achieving subsequent fame at the Universities; that was of course; but it affected its prestige in every direction. . . . What a reflection it was on the character of the School that Eton and Harrow boys could be trusted in London for their Lord's matches, but Winchester 'men' could not. . . ."

Eton traveled to Winchester for the first match. See Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College, p. 556.

coach in 1855; and by 1863 Charterhouse and Shrewsbury, as well as lesser known Brighton, Tonbridge, Sherborne, and Repton, had regular professionals. Eton in 1868 had two permanent professionals. In 1872 Edward Thring, headmaster of Uppingham, consented to follow the trend of hiring professional cricketers, fired the professional who had been coming for a few weeks each winter, and hired a resident professional to coach Uppingham cricketers.⁷⁶ By the end of the century the practice was an accepted part of school life.

The function of a professional cricketer was stated by William S. Patterson of Uppingham as follows:

The professional was appointed to teach boys cricket by living among them permanently, and by establishing in the entire school, a correct and sound style which might be handed on from year to year, instead of the casual, hasty, go-as-you-please style heretofore generally prevailing.⁷⁷

In 1888 R. A. H. Mitchell (1843-1905) gave Public School professional cricketers some pointers with which to improve the style of play. He explained that once a boy was in school,⁷⁸ he should have ample time to practice and receive

⁷⁶William S. Patterson, Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), pp. 54-55, 69.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁷⁸R. A. H. Mitchell, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 371, prefaced his statement with the following: "We do not . . . presume to say that the game must necessarily be learnt whilst a child is under his nurse's care; but nevertheless we know of no instance, . . . of any one attaining to the first rank who had not received his early lessons in the noble game while still a boy. . . ."

instruction in batting, bowling, and fielding. According to Mitchell, the duty of the Public School professional was to send well-rounded cricket players to the universities.⁷⁹

Employing professionals to teach pupils raised the level of cricket playing in Public Schools, but at the same time it caused pupils to place more emphasis on batting than on bowling. With two or more professional bowlers employed only to bowl to the school elevens, pupils no longer spent time bowling to one another, but occupied their time improving their batting. Writing in 1888, A. G. Steel (1858-1914)⁸⁰ voiced regret that professionals did not spend more time teaching bowling to pupils. According to Steel, the great demand at Public Schools for professional bowlers to improve the batting of the boys resulted in a scarcity of "first-class amateur bowlers." Steel stated that before this demand,

. . . the large public schools had, as a rule, one professional bowler, who took charge of the ground, coached the boys, and made himself generally useful in various capacities.⁸¹

With only one professional bowler, each boy had to spend some

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 371-77, denounced the manner in which university students spent their leisure time, saying, "if they would practice as assiduously as Public School boys, they would develop into excellent cricketers."

⁸⁰A. G. Steel, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), pp. 97-101.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 99.

of his practice time bowling, "resulting in the development of some good amateur bowlers"; but by 1888 Public Schools, according to Steel,

. . . boast perhaps three or four professional bowlers, whose duty entails them to bowl to each batter, relieving the boys of bowling to one another.⁸²

Steel claimed that professionals at Public Schools had failed to provide England with good amateur bowlers.⁸³

In addition to employing professional cricketers, some Public Schools encouraged masters, and especially house-masters, to coach pupils. Masters at Eton and Harrow, and at Rugby under Thomas Arnold, first interested themselves in the skills of the elevens; and at Uppingham, as early as 1853, Edward Thring, when he took over as headmaster, served as the chief supporter and coach of the school elevens.⁸⁴ By the end of the century it was the custom to have professional cricketers and masters coach pupils, but professional cricketers were seldom former pupils of Public Schools, and

⁸²Ibid., p. 100.

⁸³The term "amateur" was defined by R. H. Lyttelton in Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 353, as "men who play when they chance to find it convenient. . . ." According to Lyttelton, the Marylebone Cricket Club ruled (circa 1880) that amateurs might take expenses. Lyttelton defined a professional cricketer as one "who makes the game the business of his life."

⁸⁴William S. Patterson, Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket, p. 55.

were not ranked as equals of masters in the social life of the school.

The introduction and organization of cricket in Public School resulted in a great deal of time being devoted to the game during the summer months, and in pupils and graduates introducing to school life "house" and "old boys" matches, which became traditional highlights of every school's cricket season.

Consequences of the popularity of cricket. During the spring and summer, pupils spent a great deal of their leisure time practicing and playing cricket. Daily schedules provided ample leisure time in which to play, usually without exception, from twelve to one o'clock, and two to three o'clock; with Tuesdays and Thursdays half-holidays before Easter, Tuesdays whole holidays thereafter.⁸⁵ A great deal of practice was required in order for a boy to be elected to the school eleven; consequently, every available area was

⁸⁵A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College, p. 472. As there was little variation in the daily schedules of Public Schools, Winchester served as the example.

Leach, in A History of Winchester College, p. 476, recalled that, because Tuesdays were whole holidays, with the boys free at eleven o'clock, the entire day was "dedicated to playing cricket during the summer term, and matches with outside teams were usually played on this day." He further stated, "immense interest was taken in them and few did anything else in the morning but watch the cricket."

Matches with outside teams could conceivably have begun at eleven-thirty, and with an hour or an hour and a half for lunch, end about six-thirty or seven o'clock.

used by pupils to practice batting, bowling, and fielding. At Uppingham in 1868 William S. Patterson⁸⁶ recorded that four teams practiced daily during the summer on the "upper ground," where they played two games on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays; four teams practiced on the "middle ground"; and "two elevens used the lower ground." In addition to the one hundred and ten boys in the Upper School, "space was reserved for the Lower School."

The popularity of cricket resulted in Public Schools spending large sums of money to purchase additional playing space for their pupils. To play cricket properly required a large, level, grassy area of ground. The old schools were first to provide their pupils with the necessary space; and as new schools were founded during the middle and late years of the nineteenth century, they also provided large playing areas on which their pupils might play cricket. The popularity of the game during this period gave adequate playgrounds to succeeding boarding school generations.

The establishment of school-run boarding houses furthered the popularity of cricket, with matches between houses taking up much of the leisure time of pupils. House matches determined the winners of house cups and school prizes. These matches took precedence over all matches, and

⁸⁶William S. Patterson, op. cit., p. 53. Patterson did not specify the number of young boys in the Lower School who were involved in playing cricket.

by the end of the century were being encouraged by school authorities. Rivalry between houses hastened the development of all organized games in Public Schools.

During the century the practice of graduates' returning to school once a year for a reunion originated the custom of "old boys" challenging the school eleven to a cricket match, which became established by the end of the century in all Public Schools.

The practice of devoting all leisure time in the spring and summer to cricket, the addition of play space to school grounds, and the establishment of house and old boys matches were direct outcomes of the universal popularity of the game of cricket. Once introduced, the practice of devoting an entire part of the year, of house matches, and of annual old boys matches was established as part of school life and became a tradition in Public Schools.

Summary of cricket. Cricket, the most English of all games, developed from the older games of stool-ball, club ball, and cat and dog. There was no mention of the game of cricket until the sixteenth century. At that time it was a game played by children.

During the eighteenth century it became popular all over England, played by adults as well as children. In order to alleviate differences in style of play and to bring about uniformity, rules were drawn up in 1744 which were adopted by

clubs all over the country. These rules were also adopted by pupils in Public Schools.

Cricket became the popular summer sport in Public Schools during the nineteenth century. Pupils held interschool matches, matches between themselves and graduates, and between boarding houses within the schools. With a great deal of outside pressure on pupils to improve their cricket skills, professionals were employed, resulting in a nationwide improvement in the type of play. By the end of the nineteenth century Public Schools had accepted cricket as their summer term game.

In addition to an account of the origins and development of cricket, consideration was also given to the origins and development of the more ancient game of football. Unlike cricket, the present game of football developed in Public Schools and spread from them to the country in general. Each great Public School modified the original, simple game to fit its particular needs, resulting in the development of two distinct types of the game, Rugby and Association football.

The consideration of football included (1) tracing the origin of the game as an English sport until it was incorporated into Public School life in the nineteenth century, (2) the earliest evidences of the game in Public Schools, (3) modifications of the game in certain schools, and (4) the development of Rugby and Association football in

Public Schools, from which they spread to the Public School system, to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to the country generally.

The Origin of Football and Its Development up to Introduction in Public Schools

Long before cricket developed into an organized game, football was played in England. The very beginnings of football⁸⁷ were found to rest on legends connected with mass celebrations on Shrove Tuesday, when the inhabitants of many towns played an annual game of ball. At Chester, "the people had played a game on Shrove Tuesday for centuries before any written mention of the game was made, in which the ball had first been the head of a Dane."⁸⁸ The earliest reference to schoolboys playing football was made by William Fitzstephen, in Descriptio Nobilissimoe Civitatis Londoniae, who wrote in the twelfth century about a game played by London schoolboys as follows:

⁸⁷According to Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), pp. 274-5, the term "football" probably was first used to describe the ball itself, and meant a ball which was big enough to be kicked and could be kicked with the foot." Joseph Strutt, writing in 1801, stated, "football is so called because the ball is driven about with the feet instead of the hands." See Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 100.

⁸⁸Montague Shearman, op. cit., p. 271. Another Shrove Tuesday celebration mentioned by Shearman was held at Derby as early as the third century, in which the people had played football as a memorial of a victory over the Romans.

Annually upon Shrove Tuesday, they go into the fields immediately after dinner, and play at the celebrated game of ball, every party of boys carrying their own ball. . . .⁸⁹

Football did not develop from other and older games, although it was known in different sections of England as hurling and camp-ball. An early reference to hurling, as well as to football, appeared in the poem The Cytezen and Uplondyshman: An Eclogue, written in 1514 by Alexander Barclay (1475-1552). From the First Eclogue, the shepherd spoke as follows:

I can dannce the raye, I can both pipe and sing,
If I were mery I can bothe hurle and sling;⁹⁰

In the Fifth Eclogue, he spoke of football:

Loke in the stretes, beholde the lytell boys . . .
They get the bladder, and blow it grete and thyn
.
Eche one contendeth and hat a grete delyte
With fote or with hande the bladder for to smyte.⁹¹

And he continued,

⁸⁹William Fitzstephen, Descriptio Nobilissimoe Civitatis Londonioe, printed as an appendix in John Stow's (1552?-1605) The Survey of London (written in 1598 and first published in 1603), Everyman's edition (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1912), pp. 506-7. "The celebrated game of ball" has been universally accepted as having been the popular Shrove Tuesday game of football. Also see Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, pp. 271-72.

⁹⁰Alexander Barclay, The Cytezen and Uplondyshman: An Eclogue, edited by F. W. Fairholt (London: The Percy Society, 1847), p. xi.

⁹¹Ibid., pp. 4-5.

The sturdy plowmen, lusty, stronge, and bolde,
Overcometh the wynter with drynyng the fote ball,
Forgetynge labour and many a grevous fall.⁹²

Camp-ball was popular in eastern England, where open, level areas of ground abounded, on which any number of participants might play. Camp-ball was described as "a friendly fight" by Phillip Stubbes, in Anatomy of the Abuses in England, written in 1583.⁹³ The game was played with the ball being tossed up midway between the goals (far apart or close together), among the players who tried to take it across the opponent's goal. A player with the ball, if caught and held securely by an opponent, was required to

⁹²Loc. cit. Hurling was described in 1602 by the writer of The Survey of Cornwall, which Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, p. 282, summed up by saying, "simply football with much running and little or no kicking." Any number of players took part, but usually there was an equal number on either side; the goals were from a few yards to a few miles apart; and after the ball was tossed up in the middle of the area, the players endeavored to carry it across their opponents' goal by any means possible. From the manuscript, Shearman quoted the following: 'The play is verilie both rude and rough, yet such as is not destitute of policies in some sort resembling the feats of war. . . .' Also see Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes, p. 56. Joseph Strutt in The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 99, used the same source to describe hurling, but added that about 1775, he watched some Irishmen play a game they called hurling in which "a kind of bat to take up the ball and to strike it from them," was used, implying that the game had undergone some modifications bordering on hockey, and that, by the middle of the eighteenth century, was no longer a football-type game.

⁹³Edited by F. J. Furnivall (London: The New Shakspeare Society, 1877-79), p. 184.

throw the ball to a teammate, which allowed the opposition an opportunity to gain possession.⁹⁴

In the early game of football, goals were two bushes, posts or sticks stuck in the ground, houses, or any objects at any distance apart, from a few yards to a few miles. The ball was placed midway between the goals. The players tried to get the ball, by force or strategy, through the goal of the opposition. Strutt described the ancient game as follows:

When a match at foot-ball is made, two parties, each containing an equal number of competitors, take the field, and stand between two goals, placed at the distance of eighty or an hundred yards the one from the other. The goal is usually made with two sticks driven into the ground, about two or three feet apart. The ball, which is commonly made of a blown bladder, and cased with leather, is delivered in the midst of the ground, and the object of each party is to drive it through the goal of their antagonists, which being achieved the game is won.

When the exercise becomes exceeding violent, the players kick each other's shins without the least ceremony, and some of them are overthrown at the hazard of their limbs.⁹⁵

Thus, the original game of football was a simple game, the purpose of which was to get the ball across the opponents' goal by any means possible. Football was played in streets,

⁹⁴Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, new edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), p. 101. Strutt made no difference between camp-ball and football. He stated that camp-ball was "probably a contraction of the word campaign, because it was played to the greatest advantage in an open country." According to Strutt, in The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 100, if a "large football was used, the game was called kicking camp; and if played with shoes on, savage camp."

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 100.

alleys, fields, roads, pastures, or a combination of any or all such locations. Any number of players, from a few to the whole adult population of a town or parish, might take part.

The early game of football was often rough, sometimes hazardous to players, and destructive to houses and other property.⁹⁶ In 1314, in answer to a request by the merchants of London, Edward II issued a proclamation forbidding it to be played in London, as a breach of the peace. From Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis, Francis P. Magoun translated the following:

'Foreasmuch as there is great noise in the city caused by hustling over large balls . . . we command and forbid on behalf of the king, on pain of imprisonment, such game to be used in the city in future.'⁹⁷

From its beginning, football was popular among the lower classes of people. In 1349, it lured so many young

⁹⁶Using the Middlesex County Records as his source, Montague Shearman, writing in Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), pp. 275-6, related that "in 1589 Roger Ludforde, yoman was killed while playing 'with other persons at foote-ball. . . .'"

⁹⁷Translated from Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis, Vol. III, Appendix ii, pp. 439-41, by Francis P. Magoun, in History of Football (Bochum Langendreer: Verlag Heinrich Poppinghaus, 1938), p. 5. An interesting satirical description of the customs and life in England during the reign of Edward II, in which games were mentioned, was written about 1320. The full title of the poem was A Poem on The Times of Edward II, from a Manuscript Preserved in The Library of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, edited by Rev. C. Hardwick (London: The Percy Society, 1849), 35 pp.

men from the practice of archery that Edward III ruled it a useless and unlawful game.⁹⁸ Laws passed against playing games to protect archery did not have the desired effect, since similar statutes were passed in 1389, 1401, 1457, 1491, and still later in the reigns of Henry VIII (1509-1547) and Elizabeth (1558-1603).⁹⁹ According to Montague Shearman,

The English people . . . both in town and country would have their football, and throughout the sixteenth century football was as popular a pastime amongst the lower orders as it has ever been before or since.¹⁰⁰

A decline in the popularity of football began with the growth of Puritanism in the seventeenth century. Montague

⁹⁸Francis P. Magoun, in History of Football (Bochum Langendreer: Verlag Heinrich Poppinghaus, 1938), p. 7, translated from Calender of Close Rolls, Edward III, pp. 181-82, the proclamation as follows: 'To the sheriffs of London. Order to cause proclamation be made that every able-bodied man of the said city on feastdays when he has leisure shall in his sport use bows and arrows or pellets or bolts . . . forbidding them under pain of imprisonment to meddle in the hurling of stones, loggots and quoits, handball, football . . . or other vain games of no value. . . .' Also see Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 55.

⁹⁹Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, new edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), pp. 55-58. The statute of 1389, passed by Richard II, forbade 'all playing at tennise, football, and other games. . . .' See Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 55. Also see Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, p. 273.

¹⁰⁰Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1894), p. 274. The use of muskets and gun powder by the armed forces rendered bows and arrows ineffective weapons of warfare, and archery gradually ceased to be a popular pastime.

Shearman stated:

The hold that it took upon the manners and feelings of the nation not only put a stop in a great measure to Sunday football, but rendered the game less acceptable upon other days.¹⁰¹

Puritanism triumphed when it managed to destroy the Book of Sports. On April 27, 1643, the hangman publicly burned the book (full title: The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects concerning Lawful Sports to be used), in which Charles I had allowed the people to play games and hold wakes and fairs on Sundays and holy days. Football was not specifically mentioned, but as it was illegal at the time, no doubt it was included.¹⁰² During the eighteenth century the popularity of the game continued to decline. Joseph Strutt, writing in 1801, said:

. . . it was formerly much in vogue among the common people . . ., though of late years it seems to have fallen into disrepute, and is but little practiced.¹⁰³

It did not resume national prominence until the nineteenth century, at which time Public Schools developed it into the organized games of Rugby and Association football.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 277-8, 286.

¹⁰²L. A. Govett, The King's Book of Sports (London: Elliot Stock, 1890), p. 104. Also see John Noorthouck, A New History of London (London: R. Baldwin, 1773), p. 178.

¹⁰³Joseph Strutt, op. cit., p. 100. Norman Wymer deduced in Sport in England (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1949), p. 237, that as the game became less brutal and "more orderly" in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, "it declined in popularity."

With the investigation of the origin and development of football among the people of England, investigation was made concurrently into (1) introduction of the game in Public Schools, (2) its modifications, and (3) the development and organization of Rugby and Association type games. The introduction and subsequent modification of football in Public Schools were treated first.

The Introduction of Football and Its Subsequent Modification in Public Schools

Football was played by school boys as early as the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁴ Among the earliest references to football in Public Schools was a line in Vulgaria. Francis P. Magoun¹⁰⁵ translated 'Lusui erit nobis follis pugillari spiritu tumens' as "in sport we shall have a ball enflated with air to kick." The Annals of Eton, Westminster, and Charterhouse contained references to football, as did the poem written by Christopher Johnson, a Winchester pupil in 1550. From Johnson's poem A. F. Leach translated and paraphrased the following:

They go to the green slopes of the lofty mountain
 . . . till the top of Hills is reached. . . . Then

¹⁰⁴See page 62 for the quotation from William Fitzstephen, the twelfth century writer, who related that London School boys played a game of ball in his time.

¹⁰⁵Francis P. Magoun, History of Football (Bochum Langendreer: Verlag Heinrich Poppinghaus, 1938), p. 20.

they play games, quoits, handball, . . . or football, and other games which I will not describe.¹⁰⁶

Football reached Public Schools as the simple game of getting the ball across the opponents' goal, without any previously constituted rules governing size of playing field or ball, number of players, placement of goals, or code of behavior. Consequently, each school developed its own style of the game to fit its needs and playing area. At both Charterhouse and Westminster, where they had only the cloisters in which to play, pupils developed a short kicking and dribbling game. The cloister at Charterhouse "was about seventy yards long, nine feet wide, and twelve feet high."¹⁰⁷ The cloisters at Westminster were not as long as those at Charterhouse, but were somewhat wider, being about fifteen to eighteen feet wide on two sides. Writing in 1898, John Sargeaunt of Westminster stated:

Certainly the game in the cloisters two hundred years ago . . . was unorganized . . . and which any number could take part in it, and the cry of the time was never heard. . . . In 1710, the chapter vainly endeavoured to repress it.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Co., 1899), p. 270.

¹⁰⁷Francis P. Magoun, op. cit., p. 81. In order to get out of the cramped quarters in London, Charterhouse moved to Godalming, Surrey County, in 1872, where it had adequate space and playgrounds. See John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 90.

¹⁰⁸John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School (London: Methuen and Co., 1898), p. 133.

On the other hand, pupils of Rugby with plenty of space maintained many early characteristics of football; namely, running with the ball and great numbers of participants. Winchester adopted the game to fit the narrow strips of ground bordering the grassy Meads.¹⁰⁹ There was little danger of participants getting hurt in that area; therefore, shoving and pushing remained a part of the game.¹¹⁰ Harrow, situated on a hill, changed football to fit the marshy, poorly drained playing area at the foot of the hill; therefore, Harrow pupils developed a game with a great deal of catching and free kicking.¹¹¹ At first, the only playgrounds at Eton were small fields near the college buildings; consequently, their game consisted of kicking, with no catching or running with the ball.¹¹² Cramped within the town until 1882, Shrewsbury allowed catching with the hands, drop-kicking, and

¹⁰⁹In 1867 Meads was a narrow, grassy track of land, some "four acres only." See A. F. Leach, op. cit., p. 502.

¹¹⁰A. F. Leach, op. cit., p. 445.

¹¹¹According to E. D. Laborde in Harrow School, Yesterday and Today (London: Winchester Publications, Ltd., 1948), p. 191, in 1680 part of an orchard was acquired; in 1750 the governors bought additional ground on which to build the church, part of which was used for playing fields; and in 1803 they purchased eight acres of ground to be used for playing fields, but proper draining methods were unknown at that time; consequently the boys played in the mud.

¹¹²Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), p. 297.

punting, but did not allow running with the ball.¹¹³ The early game of football proved adaptable to the facilities and surroundings of the schools, with each of the above mentioned schools modifying the game to fit its specific needs.

Further steps of development followed in the nineteenth century, at which time two types--Rugby and Association--football were evolved from the old, simple type of game played earlier. The development of Rugby and Association type football in Public Schools, in which they first became organized, was the third step in tracing the development of football in Public Schools.

Differentiation of Rugby and Association Football

Although these two games originated from the same source, they differed in their main characteristics. Rugby developed into primarily a running and tackling game, whereas Association football developed into a kicking game. The history of Rugby football was considered first, for it evolved from the ancient game with fewer changes than did Association football.

Rugby football. By 1800 Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Charterhouse, and Westminster had developed entirely new and

¹¹³Shrewsbury moved from the town to a site on the banks of the Severn River in 1882. See John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 68. For an account of the work of Dr. Samuel Butler toward purchasing buildings and grounds for Shrewsbury, see Samuel Butler, The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, p. 288.

individual varieties of football from the old, common origin. Only at Rugby the old game survived in anything like its traditional form; however, by 1800 Rugby pupils had changed it from a carrying and running game to primarily a kicking one, allowing a player to catch the ball, but not allowing him to run forward with it, having to kick it or run with it back toward his own goal. The change from a kicking to a running and tackling game was made some years after 1823, when William Webb Ellis caught a punt and ran forward to a touchdown. To commemorate his feat, the first of its kind in modern football, a granite slab was placed in a wall facing the grounds on which the event took place. The inscription on the stone was copied as follows:

This Stone
Commemorates the Exploits of
William Webb Ellis
Who With a Fine Disregard For The Rules of Football
As Played in His Time
First Took The Ball in His Arms and Ran With It,
Thus Originating The Distinctive Feature of
The Rugby Game.
A. D. 1823¹¹⁴

Ellis' "disregard for the rules of football" impressed the Rugbians to such an extent that by 1830 running forward with the ball had become a part of the Rugby game.

Rugby type football was best described in Tom Brown's School Days (first published in 1857), from which the following was taken:

¹¹⁴Copied from the stone during a visit to Rugby School in the spring of 1953.

Hold the punt-about! To the Goals! are the cries . . . and the whole mass of boys moves up toward the two goals, dividing as they go into three bodies. That little band on the left, consisting of from fifteen to twenty boys, . . . are the school-house boys who are not to play-up, and have to stay in goal. The larger body moving to the island goal, are the schoolboys in a like predicament. The great mass in the middle are the players-up, both sides mingled together;

You will see . . . that the sixth-form boy, . . . has spread his force (the goal-keepers) so as to occupy the whole space behind the goal-posts . . . a safe and well-kept goal is the foundation of all good play. Old Brooke is talking to the captain of quarters . . . see how that youngster spreads his men (the light brigade) carefully over the ground, half-way between their own goal and the body of their own players-up (the heavy brigade).

Old Brooke takes half a dozen quick steps, and away goes the ball . . .; seventy yards before it touches ground . . .; and the school-house cheer and rush on; the ball is returned, and they meet it and drive it back among the masses of the school already in motion. Then the two sides close, and you can see nothing for minutes but a swaying crowd of boys, at one point violently agitated. That is where the ball is. . . . This is what we call a scrummage. . . .

But see! it has broken; the ball is driven out . . . and a rush of the school carries it past the school-house players-up. . . . The school-house captain of quarters has caught it on the bound . . . and sends it back with a good drop-kick. . . . And then follows rush upon rush, and scrummage upon scrummage, . . .¹¹⁵

As described by Thomas Hughes, features of the game included (1) unlimited number of players, (2) the use of large numbers of boys to fill up the goals, (3) the scrummage formation, used to force the ball forward without allowing it to escape backwards, and (4) drop and place kicking the ball.

¹¹⁵Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days (New York: J. H. Sears and Co., undated), pp. 63-70.

Refinements of the game were subsequently made, until finally certain features of the game came to endure. These included fifteen players on a team; the ball was kicked, from the ground, between the uprights and over the crossbar to make a goal; the player with the ball might run, kick, or hand it to another player of his own side; kicking or throwing the ball forward to teammates was forbidden, but laterally throwing the ball was permissible; getting up after being tackled with the ball was not allowed--once the ball carrier was down, the ball was put in play from a scrummage.¹¹⁶

The Rugby game, incorporating the above features, spread from Rugby school to other Public Schools, to the universities, and to the country generally. The character of the game did not change after it once became organized. According to Montague Shearman, writing in 1887,

. . . the running and tackling game has always been played, since it first became an organized sport, substantially in one way, that in which it came from Rugby School to the country at large.¹¹⁷

Whereas the consideration of Rugby football involved exploring the game in only one school, the consideration of

¹¹⁶Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), pp. 333-4. The scrummage formation did not develop solely at Rugby. Winchester and Eton used similar formations. The Rugby scrummage, as described by Shearman in Athletics and Football, p. 323, entailed the eight or nine forward players of each team locking themselves together, shoulder to shoulder, in an effort to force the ball forward with their feet, the ball having been placed between the first two opponents.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 318.

Association football involved five schools, where kicking type games originated independently, each school playing a different style of football except for the common feature of moving the ball forward by kicking. First consideration was given to the characteristics of the different games, followed by a consideration of the universal adoption of the common feature outside the Public Schools, which unified the style of play into the Association game.

Association football. Whereas Rugby boys developed the running and tackling game of football, Charterhouse, Westminster, Harrow, Eton, and Winchester boys developed the kicking game. Each school had its own type game, differing in many ways, except for prohibiting tackling and running with the ball as done at Rugby, and allowing kicking as the only means to move the ball forward. Charterhouse and Westminster perfected the dribbling style of play, in which the ball was propelled forward with short, alternate kicks. In 1887 Montague Shearman stated:

It is from Charterhouse and Westminster that the dribbling game as it is played at present under association rules came almost in its present form.¹¹⁸

At Winchester, on its narrow playing grounds, dribbling was

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 296. According to John Sargeaunt in Annals of Westminster School, p. 260, "the football of Westminster and Charterhouse was the mother of the present Association game."

discarded in favor of long hard kicks. According to A. F. Leach,¹¹⁹ it was played on "a ground eighty yards long by twenty-seven yards wide," and was originally "played by six on a side and twenty-two on a side, but twenty-two was changed to fifteen . . ." during the time he was a pupil at Winchester (1863-1869). Goals were the entire ends of the area--twenty-seven yards wide. With dribbling not allowed, "kicks were long and hard, but not high, for any ball kicked higher than shoulder height became a foul." Harrow developed a game in which players were continually on the move, with much free kicking allowed and few rules to stop or delay its progress.¹²⁰ It developed into a kicking and chasing

¹¹⁹A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Co., 1899), pp. 445-6. Leach, in A History of Winchester College, p. 447, recorded that a match started with a scrummage, called a "hot," which, "in the early years of the game, lasted as long as the players were able to keep the ball between their feet, and stand up, but which was finally limited to sixty seconds by 1868." Leach, in A History of Winchester College, pp. 447-8, commented on the merits of the game as he played it in 1868 as follows: "It gives occasion for every form of physical excellence--strength and persistence . . . kicking power and cleverness . . . speed of foot and instant decision . . . and above all, pluck. . . . There is no pause in it. All are engaged at once. You pursue the ball for yourself."

¹²⁰E. D. Laborde, in Harrow School, Yesterday and Today (London: Winchester Publications, Ltd., 1948), pp. 191-92, stated: "The most important . . . rule . . . referred to offside." A player was offside ". . . and out of the game until an opponent kicked the ball, . . . if he was ahead of his teammate who was kicking the ball." A player with the ball kept it until it was taken away from him by an opponent. Montague Shearman, in Athletics and Football, p. 313, quoted the free kick rule as follows: "Whomever catches the ball is

game, usually with eleven players on a side.¹²¹ Two types of football developed at Eton; namely, the field game and the wall game.¹²² The field game contributed to the development of Association football, while the wall game remained peculiar to Eton. According to Montague Shearman,¹²³ the playing field at Eton was eventually enlarged to "about 100 to 120 yards long by 80 to 100 yards wide," with goals at

entitled to a free kick if he calls 'yards'; the ball must be kicked without delay. . . . When a player catches the ball, he may take his three yards (three running strides), or each of them, in any direction he likes."

¹²¹E. D. Laborde, op. cit., p. 192, stated that football was compulsory for all pupils unless medically unfit, with "thirty or forty" playing in the compulsory games and "eleven on a side for . . . House matches."

¹²²According to John Rogers, in The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 40, "the origin of the wall game is somewhat obscure. . . ." But Shearman in Athletics and Football, p. 304, wrote that it developed from "passage football, a game common to all Houses at Eton, in which boys, shod in slippers, kicked a small ball through the passages." Rogers, in The Old Public Schools of England, p. 40, reported that it became customary to play it (outside), "against a wall about one hundred and twenty yards long and about ten feet high [built in 1717], . . . the goals a door [four feet wide by five feet high in a wall running at right angles to the playing wall] and the trunk of an elm tree at the other end." With the wall as one boundary, the other was "a line six yards distant" from it. "Eleven players on a side" became customary. The game "was started by a bully in the centre of the wall," in which the players shoved and pushed, trying to force the small ball toward the opponents' goal. Every time the ball went out-of-bounds, another bully was formed. According to Rogers, "goals are scored on an average about three times in a hundred years, and the game is difficult for anyone to understand who has not played it."

¹²³Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), pp. 308-12.

the ends, "twelve feet wide by six feet high." The ball was round and about five inches in diameter. It became customary ". . . for eleven . . . to play on a side, but no rule was ever made to limit the number on a side"; consequently ". . . many more than eleven played in ordinary games." Eton pupils developed a scrummage formation they labeled "bully," and a match was "commenced by a bully in the centre of the ground." When the ball got loose from the bully, any player might dribble the ball until he scored or had it taken from him, but he was not "to pass it to a teammate." "Charging the player with the ball" became an important part of the game; but no player whose teammate had possession of the ball was allowed "ahead of it." Shearman¹²⁴ likened the game "to resemble two packs of hounds, the foremost player . . . like a hound to the scent."

The feature of forward propulsion of the ball solely by kicking was common in each school's version of the game, becoming the common denominator on which ex-pupils based the Association game in university and private amateur clubs. In 1863 representatives from amateur clubs of both varieties of football (Rugby and Association) met in conference to organize an association which would arrange matches and codify rules. The more numerous Association football clubs voted against

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 312.

running and tackling, and voted in favor of kicking as the sole means of moving the ball. The Rugby clubs withdrew and the remaining clubs formed the Football Association.¹²⁵

Summary of football. For centuries football flourished as the most popular game of the lower classes. Played in both rural and populated areas of the country, it was a rough, and sometimes brutal, game. In spite of royal proclamations, it continued as the game of the lower classes until its popularity waned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Football was played by both children and adults. As early as the twelfth century London schoolboys played a type of ball game later identified as football.

Football was a game ideally suited to the needs of Public School boys. In adapting the game to their environment, the pupils eliminated characteristics unsuitable to the circumstances under which they had to play, resulting in each school's developing a somewhat different type of game.

In the nineteenth century Rugby School allowed tackling and running with the ball, the primary characteristics of Rugby football. Other Public Schools continued the kicking-dribbling game, from which the Association game of football developed in the universities and in the country as

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 301.

a whole. During the latter part of the nineteenth century either Association or Rugby football became the winter term game at Public Schools all over England.

In addition to tracing the chronological development of the organized team games of cricket and football to 1900, it was necessary to trace athletic sports from their beginnings until they also became traditional activities in Public Schools in order to give full consideration to the various aspects of English curricula in physical education.

Athletic Sports--Racing, Jumping, Weight-Throwing, and Pole Vault

Athletic sports consisted of sprint races, cross-country runs, hurdle races, high jump, broad jump, putting the shot, throwing the hammer, and pole vault. Discussion of these sports was presented in the following order: first, consideration was given to the origin and historical advance of English athletic sports in general until they were introduced into Public Schools in the nineteenth century, followed by a review of the development of athletic sports in Public Schools. Under athletic sports in Public Schools, the sport originating within the schools was described, followed by a consideration of the history of athletic sports meets in Public Schools, and finally, of athletic sports meets in which pupils of one school might compete against pupils of another.

History of Athletic Sports and Sports Meets to 1900

Foot-racing, jumping obstacles (hurdles), and throwing weights were indigenous to the people of England. According to Montague Shearman, "They are so natural . . . that in one sense it may be said they no more have a history than laughing or weeping."¹²⁶ One of the earliest references to athletic sports appeared in Descriptio Nobilissimoe Civitatis Londonioe, written in the twelfth century by William Fitzstephen. He recorded:

. . . during the holydays in summer the young men exercise themselves in the sports of leaping, archery, wrestling, casting of the stone, as well as other exercises.¹²⁷

From the twelfth century numerous references were made to athletic sports engaged in frequently by both town and country folk. Alexander Barclay (1475-1552), in The Cytezen and Uplondysham: An Eclogue, enumerated the sports enjoyed

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 3. Strutt, in The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 77, commented on the history of foot-racing as follows: "It is needless, . . . to assert the antiquity of this pastime, because it will readily occur to everyone, that variety of occasions continually present themselves, which call forth the exertions of running even in childhood; and when more than one person are stimulated by the same object, a competition naturally takes place among them to obtain it. . . ."

¹²⁷William Fitzstephen, Descriptio Nobilissimoe Civitatis Londonioe, printed as an appendix to John Stow, The Survey of London, (1603), Everyman's edition (London: J. M. Dent and Co., 1912), p. 508.

by a shepherd, who spoke as follows:

I can daunce the raye
I can both pipe and sing,
If I were mery I can both hurle and sling;
I runne, I wrastle, I can well throw the
barre. . . .¹²⁸

Roger Ascham (1515-1568), author of The Scholemaster, written between 1563 and 1568, advised schoolmasters to allow "young gentlemen" to engage in athletic sports, with the following sports considered "Courtellie exercifes . . .":

. . . to ride cumlie: to run faire at the tilte
or ring: to plaie at all weapones: . . . to vault
luftely: to run: to leape: to wreftle: to fwimme:
. . . and all pafetimes generally. . . .¹²⁹

William C. Hazlitt quoted "The English Courtier and the Cutrygentleman," written in 1586, in which the country gentleman spoke of sports as follows:

¹²⁸Alexander Barclay, The Cytezen and Uplondysham: An Eclogue, edited by F. W. Fairholt (London: The Percy Press, 1847), First Eclogue, p. xi. Athletic sports were mentioned in the fourteenth century proclamation "forbidding . . . the hurling of stones, loggots and quoits, . . . or other vain games of no value . . ." See Francis P. Magoun, History of Football, p. 7, for the full quotation from Calender of Close Rolls, Edward III, pp. 181-82. Also see Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 55; and Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes, p. 55. According to Montague Shearman, in Athletics and Football, p. 6, ". . . the statute . . . appears to have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance . . . for the people continued to practice them."

¹²⁹Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, edited by Edward Arber (London: English Reprints, 1870), p. 64.

'Among our Yeomen, you fhall finde fome wel
brought up . . . fome of them alfo can . . . leape
wel, run and daunce. . . .'¹³⁰

From the same source Hazlitt quoted the city gentleman as
saying:

' . . . Fair weather when we have ftraungers, or
holly daies wel exercife our felves in fhooting. . . .
We caft the Bar or fledge, Leape or Run, if our ages
and condicion bee fit for fuch exercife. . . .'¹³¹

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
Puritans were bitter opponents of athletic sports, primarily
because these took place on Sundays and holy days and tended
to encourage rowdy behavior at fairs and wakes.¹³² The
staunch Puritan, Phillip Stubbes, in Anatomy of The Abuses
in England (1583)¹³³ condemned "the maner of sanctifying the
Sabaoth in Ailgna" by the lower classes. Instead of ". . .
hearing the Word of God read . . . [some] fpend the Sabaoth
day . . . in Church-ales, feafts, and wakeeffes . . ." and
engaged in "pyping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling,

¹³⁰William C. Hazlitt, Illustrations of the Manners,
Opinions, and Occupations of Englishmen During the Sixteenth
and Seventeenth Centuries (London: Roxburghe Library, 1868),
p. 38.

¹³¹Ibid., p. 57.

¹³²William Harrison (1534-1593), in Description of
England, 1577-1587, Vol. II, edited by Frederick J. Furnivall
(London: The New Shakspeare Society, 1877), pp. 100-106, listed
more than three hundred important fairs being held annually.

¹³³Phillip Stubbes, Anatomy of the Abuses in England
(1583), edited by F. J. Furnivall (London: The New Shakspeare
Society, 1877-9), p. 137.

tenniffe playing; in Beare-bayting, cock-fighting, . . .
 in football playing, and fuch other deuillifh paftimes . . ."
 Stubbes prayed, "Lord remoove thefe exercifes from thy
 Sabaoth!" Stubbes also stated: "Any exercife which with-
 draweth vs from godlines, either vpon the fabaoth or any
 other day els is wicked & to be forbidden. . . ." Robert
 Burton (1577-1640), in The Anatomy of Melancholy (1660)¹³⁴
 noted that the recreations of the lower classes took place
 at "May-games, feasts, fairs, and wakes."

With the fall from power of the Puritans, athletic
 sports regained their popularity, becoming either amateur
 events participated in by country folk, or professional
 events engaged in by persons of agility or strength for a
 price or bet. Joseph Strutt gave an account of two country
 folk gatherings, the "Cotswold games," held in Gloucester-
 shire annually, and the "Carnival, kept every year, about
 the middle of July, upon Halgaver-moor, near Bodmin in
 Cornwall," where visitors engaged in

. . . wrestling, cudgel-playing, leaping,
 pitching the bar, throwing the sledge, tossing

¹³⁴Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (1660),
 Vol. I, edited by Rev. A. R. Shilleto (London: George Bell
 and Sons, 1893), pp. 355-57. Paul McPharlin, editor,
Spectator Papers (Mount Vernon, N. Y.: Peter Pauper Press,
 n.d.), pp. 27-28, included "Country Festivals," printed
 September 4, 1711, in which the author described country
 wakes and fairs as places where country folk gathered to
 "wrestle, run, and make love."

the pike, with various other feats of strength and activity.¹³⁵

The seventeenth century writer Samuel Pepys often referred to professional athletic sports matches. In The Diary of Samuel Pepys, the following notation appeared:

August 10, 1660, . . . after dinner . . . saw a fine foot-race three times round the Park between an Irishman and Crow, that was once my Lord Claypoole's footman. . . . Crow beat the other by above two miles.¹³⁶

James Peller Malcolm, the eighteenth century historian, in Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London, wrote,

There was an established Cockpit in Prescot-street Goodman's fields 1712: there . . . the nobles and others were entertained by the edifying exhibition of the agility of their running footmen. His Grace of Grafton declared his man unrivalled in speed. . . .¹³⁷

During the nineteenth century, changes in the taste of the people were reflected in the popularity of athletic sports. Wakes and fairs in which athletic sports had been

¹³⁵Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, new edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), Introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

¹³⁶Samuel Pepys, The Diary of Samuel Pepys, edited by Henry B. Wheatley (London: George Bell and Sons, 1928), Vol. I, p. 218. In Vol. II, p. 219, it was recorded: "July 30, 1663, . . . the town talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race this day on Banstead Downes, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a Tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him, . . ."

¹³⁷James Peller Malcolm, Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London (London: Longmans, Hurst, Rees, and Arne, 1808), p. 321.

an important part of the program were soon replaced by athletic meets, or athletic sports were dropped altogether.¹³⁸ The great number of matches between professional runners, jumpers, and weight-throwing athletes which had flourished in the first half of the century became less frequently patronized.¹³⁹ During the latter years of the century, the working and professional classes began to form athletic clubs in order to continue their practice of the popular sports. According to F. A. M. Webster,

. . . public interest in the doings of the professional encouraged the spirit of emulation among the amateurs. . . . There were other contributory factors . . . the institution of the Volunteer movement; . . . the increasing pressure of professional and business life and the over-crowding of people in towns, which led to a craving for freedom from constriction both in space and clothing, accompanied by violent exercise.¹⁴⁰

Thus, industrialization and the growth of towns and cities fostered the desire of town-dwellers to engage in athletic sports in order to counteract their confining day-to-day lives.

¹³⁸The first wholly athletic meet took place in 1819. Shearman, in Athletics and Football, pp. 25-26, related, "In 1819, Major Mason, of Necton, Norfolk County, organized the local wake into an athletic sports meeting." According to Shearman, "he allowed no stalls, stands, or booths for variety entertainments, . . ." and among the sports, were ". . . foot-races, . . . jumping in sacks, wheelbarrow races blindfolded, . . . jumping."

¹³⁹F. A. M. Webster, Athletics of To-Day (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1929), pp. 4-5.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 6-7.

To give vent to their desires, they formed clubs, which as collective enterprizes could buy or rent ground on which to hold meets. In 1864 the Mincing Lane Athletic Club was formed and held its first meet. In 1866 the London Athletic Club, open to all amateurs, was formed out of the earlier-established club.¹⁴¹ During the same year, "old boys" of Public Schools and university men formed the Amateur Athletic Club, limiting membership to "gentlemen amateurs." The purpose of the club was stated to be:

. . . to supply the want of an established ground upon which competitions in amateur athletic sport might take place, and to afford as completely as possible to all classes of gentlemen amateurs the means of practicing and competing against one another.¹⁴²

After twenty-two years of segregation, "amateurs" and "gentlemen amateurs" resolved their differences and united their forces. In 1880 the London Athletic Club and the Amateur Athletic Club, together with representatives from other clubs, formed the Amateur Athletic Association, thereby bringing together under one head all amateur athletic sports clubs outside the Public Schools. According to Webster,

¹⁴¹The Mincing Lane Athletic Club held its first meet on "April 9th, 1864, at Brompton . . . and during that year acquired its first two challenge cups, the one for the 10 miles walk and the other for a 220 yards Sprint." See F. A. M. Webster, op. cit., p. 11. According to Webster, p. 12, "the Mincing Lane A. C. changed its name . . . to London A. C. in 1866."

¹⁴²Webster, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

. . . six years later, one hundred and fifty-four clubs had affiliated with it, representing about 20,000 amateur athletes from all walks of life.¹⁴³

Such interest and enthusiasm in athletic sports had not gone unnoticed in Public Schools, for they too had been forming clubs and engaging in athletic sports in their own annual meets.

The Cultivation of Athletic Sports in Public Schools

Consideration of the development of athletic sports and sports meets in Public Schools was divided into the following topics: (1) cross-country running, (2) introduction of athletic sports meets, and (3) introduction of meets in which all Public School pupils might compete against one another.

Footracing, hurdle racing, throwing weights, high and broad jumping, and cross-country running were not organized as sports in Public Schools until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Before that time, running, jumping obstacles, and throwing weights were simple pastimes or parts of games. Cross-country running formed the nucleus around

¹⁴³Domination of the Amateur Athletic Club by university men led other amateurs to seek affiliation with the London club. For thirteen years--1866 to 1880--the Amateur Athletic Club held an annual championship meet in which the London club members did not participate. Finally, in 1880, a conference was held at Oxford, differences ironed out, and the Amateur Athletic Association was formed. See F. A. M. Webster, Athletics of To-Day, pp. 13-18.

which Public School pupils built athletic sports meets; therefore, the development of this sport was described first.

The development of cross-country running. Cross-country running developed from the sixteenth century school boy's game, "hunt-the-fox." Joseph Strutt quoted from the sixteenth century comedy, 'The longer thou leviest the more Fool thou art,' in which 'idle boy' said:

'And also when we play and hunt the fox
I outrun all the boys in the schoole.'¹⁴⁴

Strutt described it as a game in which one or more boys (fox) ran ahead, and after gaining some distance, were pursued by the rest of the players (hounds). The object of the game was to catch the fox before he returned home.

In the nineteenth century Rugby and Shrewsbury boys organized forms of "hunt-the-fox" into cross-country runs. According to Montague Shearman,¹⁴⁵ Rugby and Shrewsbury organized their runs "about 1837." At Rugby it was called "hare-and-hounds." The sport consisted of freshmen's tearing up bits of paper to be used as scent, which were scattered over the course by two hares, who had six minutes head-start on the pack of hounds. When the six minutes were up, the

¹⁴⁴Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, new edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), p. 381.

¹⁴⁵Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), p. 47.

hounds began their chase, using the scent as a guide to the whereabouts of the hares. As many boys as wished took part in the runs, in which they raced, jumped hedges, forded streams, and forced their way across plowed fields in an effort to catch or pass the hares to a previously determined goal.¹⁴⁶

At Shrewsbury pupils organized their runs like mounted fox hunts, entailing elaborate preparations and organization. The captain of the run was called "the huntsman,"¹⁴⁷ who wore "black velvet cap with crossed golden whips on the peak, a bright scarlet jersey, and stockings . . . and carried a hunting horn."¹⁴⁸ There were first whips, senior boys, who led the pack, and second whips, junior boys, who acted as "whippers-in."¹⁴⁹ Whips carried hunting crops and "gentlemen of the run (boys who previously had won races)" carried bludgeons, as defensive weapons against the town toughs,¹⁵⁰ with all the rest of the boys "running in jackets and mortar boards, from which every atom

¹⁴⁶Description of hare-and-hounds was taken from Thomas Hughes' Tom Brown's School Days (New York: J. H. Sears and Co., n.d.), pp. 91-95.

¹⁴⁷John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, 1938), p. 67.

¹⁴⁸F. A. M. Webster, Athletics of To-Day (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1929), p. 167.

¹⁴⁹Rogers, op. cit., p. 67.

¹⁵⁰Webster, op. cit., p. 167.

of stiffening material had been removed."¹⁵¹ Anything up to one hundred thirty couples of hounds would start in an ordinary run, but for longer distances, varying from nine to twelve miles, six or eight picked couples only were allowed to start.¹⁵² John Rogers noted that Shrewsbury hunts were held "once a week during the Christmas term . . . culminating in the Senior and Junior Steeplechases held in the Spring."¹⁵³ The spring events were held like steeplechase races, according to Rogers,

. . . race-cards giving the names of the horses and of the owners were printed, and . . . owners helped train the runners . . . and encouraged them during the races.¹⁵⁴

Other schools where countryside was accessible held runs similar to those at Rugby and Shrewsbury.¹⁵⁵ In 1867 the

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 168. Webster also stated, "boys were equipped with hedging gloves sewn to the sleeves of their jerseys . . ." to help them get through hedge rows.

¹⁵²Ibid., p. 167.

¹⁵³Rogers, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

¹⁵⁴Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁵"Paper chasing," another form of hare-and-hounds was run at Radley in 1857. Walter B. Woodgate, in Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman, pp. 77-78, recalled that he took part in a "paper chase in the spring of 1857 . . . that . . . must have been over twenty-two miles. . . . I had the honour of being one of the first two hounds to arrive." Webster, in Athletics of To-Day, p. 168, stated that runs had been held for many years at "Bradford, where the course followed the Pang river," and "the finish . . . made through about 15 feet of deep water"; and "Sedburgh . . . , where boys covered all of 10 or 12 miles of real hill country."

Thames Rowing Club, London, in imitation of the Rugby hare-and-hounds, organized the first cross-country run outside the Public Schools.¹⁵⁶ Thereafter, the sport spread to all sections of the country.

During the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century, school boys combined other athletic sports with cross-country runs to form athletic sports meets.

The introduction and extension of athletic sports meets. As early as 1845, Eton held a cross-country run to which sprint and hurdle races had been extra events,¹⁵⁷ but the first regularly held athletic sports meet was held at Kensington Grammar School, London, in 1852.¹⁵⁸ Harrow and Cheltenham started meets in 1853, Rugby in 1856, Winchester

¹⁵⁶To keep themselves in good physical condition during the winter months, a few members of the Thames Rowing Club held a cross-country run in 1867. Their debt to Rugby was recorded by Walter Rye, in Athletics and Football, p. 257. Rye stated, "the graphic description of the Barby Hill run by Mr. T. Hughes in 'Tom Brown's Schooldays' had long been before the eyes of paperchasers, and . . . he had taken a kindly interest in our movement, and had come down and judged T.H.S. No. 2 for us. . . ." Rye also recorded that "when the writer started the idea, he never thought that the new sport would spread as it has done. . . ."

¹⁵⁷Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College, fourth edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), pp. 321-22. Also see Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, p. 47.

¹⁵⁸F. A. M. Webster, Athletics of To-Day (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1929), p. 9.

in 1857, and Westminster and Charterhouse in 1861.¹⁵⁹ After 1860 organized athletic meets in Public Schools became widespread.

Athletic meets were organized by pupils and lasted one or two days in the spring after football season ended and before cricket practice began. Usually a committee of boys made up of prefects and representatives from each boarding house determined the sports to be included, the time and place the meet was to be held, and gathered together the equipment to be used.¹⁶⁰ Other than the practice gotten in playing football and in the cross-country runs, boys did not train for athletic meets. With only one or two days given to the meet, little time was set aside for training. For instance, F. A. M. Webster¹⁶¹ stated that "hurdling was not

¹⁵⁹Merchant Taylor's School, London, commenced meets about this time, if not earlier. F. A. M. Webster, op. cit., p. 10, quoted a newspaper writer as having said in 1869, '... the importance of athletics ... and the sport catered for, fully forty years earlier.' Walter B. Woodgate, in Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman, p. 78, recalled that Radley School inaugurated "athletic sports in 1858." Also see Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, pp. 46-49.

¹⁶⁰At Winchester, arrangements were made "by a College and a Commoner prefect until 1867, when a committee of nine, made up of the two prefects and a representative from each of the seven houses," managed the meet. See Leach, A History of Winchester College, p. 499. At this time uniform costumes were unheard of. Woodgate, in Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman, p. 45, recalled that "no running attire or shoes had been then invented. Cricket shoes were in favour for those who had them."

¹⁶¹Webster, op. cit., p. 140.

scientifically practiced. . . . Ten flights of hurdles were set up a week or so before the sport, and the boys just jumped them." As evinced by the dearth of outstanding records as well as the lack of kept records, boys did not practice for any event in the meets as assiduously as they did for football and cricket.

Boys included sports that could be conducted without undue loss of time to their organized games and without undue financial strain on their pocketbooks. Besides cross-country runs, the events most often noted in Public School athletic sports meets were sprint races, hurdles, broad and high jump, putting the shot, pole vault, and throwing the hammer. Consideration of each activity was made from three points. First, notation was made of the earliest positive date that the event took place in a school meet, followed by giving any records of times, heights, or distance which focused attention on the development of the meets, and third, consideration was given to any importance that pupils attached to the activity as a part of the whole development of athletic sports in Public Schools.

In 1845 the meet at Eton included sprints of one hundred yards and one-quarter of a mile, but it was not until twenty years had passed that any record was made by a Public School boy in an English meet. According to Montague Shearman,

. . . in 1866, an Eton boy, J. H. Ridley, won the English Championship quarter mile in 55 seconds, and the following year retained that title, returning 52 3/4 seconds, and won the 100 yards as well.¹⁶²

A sprinter of Merchant Taylor's, the London day school, was also drawing attention of athletic sports enthusiasts about that time. F. A. M. Webster recorded:

C. L. Lockton, in 1869 twelve years of age won the school 100 yard dash in 13 seconds; in 1872 in 12 seconds, in 1873 in 10 3/5 seconds, . . . in 1879 the English 100 yards championship with 10 1/5 seconds . . ., but at this time he was not a pupil at Merchant Taylor's.¹⁶³

Jumping ten hurdles on a one hundred yard track was included in the 1845 Eton athletic meet. Montague Shearman¹⁶⁴ quoted an undetermined source by stating that hurdle races had been run as early as 1837 at Eton, but 'only at most of the tutor's and dames' houses.' Shearman noted that "the chief homes of hurdle racing are the public schools and universities." No championship hurdle records were found to have been made by Public School boys. F. A. M. Webster voiced regret that,

. . . no one even put down the height of the hurdles, and the length of the track varied from 100 yards to 300 yards.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶²Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), p. 88.

¹⁶³Webster, op. cit., p. 44.

¹⁶⁴Shearman, op. cit., p. 47.

¹⁶⁵Webster, op. cit., p. 151.

Webster quoted the "Sporting Gazette of 1874," in which it was recorded, 'C. L. Lockton of Merchant Taylor's School' was the winner of 'a contest at 200 yards over 12 flights. . . . He returned 26 1/5 seconds.'¹⁶⁶

The broad jump and high jump were included in athletic meets, but as in hurdle races, few Public School pupils made jumps outstanding enough to go into the record books. Merchant Taylor's School had the only athlete who did everything well:

C. L. Lockton, in 1869, high jumped 4 feet, 1 inch, and long jumped 13 feet, 5 inches. . . . At the age of sixteen, while still in school, he won the English Championships at 19 feet, 4 inches long jump, and before leaving school cleared 22 feet.¹⁶⁷

In 1873 a pupil of Rugby school made jumps that were outstanding enough to be recorded. According to Webster,¹⁶⁸ "M. J. Brooks, eighteen years of age," won "the Rugby high jump at 5 feet, 3 inches," and "the long jump at 20 feet, 3 inches."

It probably did not occur to pupils at this time to secure a less heavy shot when they included the shot-put event in their meets. The shot weighed sixteen pounds, and

¹⁶⁶Loc. cit.

¹⁶⁷Ibid., p. 185.

¹⁶⁸Ibid., p. 187. Webster also recorded that Merchant Taylor's produced another jumper in 1875, for "L. F. E. Despard won the high jump with 5 feet, 5 inches" at Merchant Taylor's.

accordingly, putting the shot was "confined almost entirely to the rowing men and Rugger forwards. They alone possessed the strength to propel the 16 lb. missele. . . ."169 It was recorded that Montague Shearman of Merchant Taylor's School won "the shot putt . . . in 1874 . . . with 30 feet, 4 inches . . ., who in 1875 beat his record with 34 feet, 4 inches."170

Pole vaulting was a popular sport outside Public Schools, but no evidence was found of pupils making any championship records until they had left school. Their names began to appear in record books after entering the universities. It was stated by Webster 171 that Public Schools gave up pole vaulting "in 1889 . . . after several men had impaled themselves on broken poles . . .," and that it did not again become popular "until 1925." Throwing the hammer of sixteen pounds did not produce champions in Public School meets either, but no doubt the event was included in meets at schools where a hammer could be borrowed or purchased. Numerous references existed in which university students made championship records in this sport.172

169 Ibid., p. 333.

170 Loc. cit.

171 Ibid., pp. 230-35.

172 Ibid., pp. 298-300, 306.

Following the rising interest and enthusiasm of the general public, Public School pupils during the latter half of the nineteenth century incorporated athletic sports meets into their school activities, but their interest in the sports was confined to holding an athletic meet once a year in the spring, for which they did not receive any professional coaching, and for which they seldom, if ever, practiced. Nevertheless, by the middle of the century, athletic meets had become recognized annual affairs in Public Schools. As graduates of Public Schools and the universities, as well as others not associated with either type of institution, showed interest in athletic sports, Public School pupils began to take part in championship meets outside their immediate environment.

The introduction of championship meets. In 1890, in order that pupils of one school might compete against pupils of another, the London Athletic Club inaugurated the "Public School Challenge Cup Meet" in which the trophy went to the winner of a quarter-mile race.¹⁷³ The first winner was T. C. Eastley, a pupil of Haileybury, who won with "55 seconds. . . ."¹⁷⁴ The following year, B. C. Whitaker set

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 64, recorded, "in 1890, Mr. C. H. Mason, a member of the London Athletic Club, presented to the club a quarter mile challenge cup to be competed for annually by Public School boys. . . ."

¹⁷⁴Loc. cit.

the championship record with "52 2/5 seconds . . . which lasted until 1927."¹⁷⁵ In 1896 two more cups were added, and in 1897, to commemorate Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, five more cups were added. The first eight events were 100 yards, 440 yards, 880 yards, 1 mile, 120-yard hurdles, 3/4 mile steeplechase, high jump and broad jump.¹⁷⁶ The practice of holding a Public School championship meet each year continued without interruption except for short periods during the two world wars.

Summary of athletic sports. Footracing, jumping obstacles, and throwing heavy weights were practiced in England long before they became recognized sports. They were pastimes of the lower classes, and part of the training of gentlemanly youths. From time to time the government forbade some of these pastimes, since the practice of them interfered with archery.

Country and town folk engaged in footracing, jumping obstacles, and throwing weights at their festivals, fairs, and wakes. Puritans deplored the practice of these sports

¹⁷⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁷⁶Pole vaulting was added after the turn of the century and in 1929, throwing the javelin and the discus was added "in the hope that their practice at the schools would produce better results from British throwing men. . . ." See Webster, Athletics of To-Day, pp. 31-32.

on Sundays or holy days, because they resulted in much rowdiness on the part of participants. The popularity of athletic sports waned, but did not completely disappear. In the nineteenth century, to take the place of wakes and fairs, workers in the new industrial towns and cities began to form athletic clubs.

In Public Schools, running and jumping were parts of games played by pupils. From the old game of hunt-the-fox developed the modern sport of cross-country running. In the nineteenth century Public Schools began to hold meets in which footraces, hurdle races, throwing weights, and cross-country runs were events. The first regular Public School athletic sports meet was held at Kensington Grammar School, London, in 1852.

By the end of the nineteenth century, athletic sports meets were a regular part of Public School life, usually held in the spring after football and before cricket. Little time was devoted to practicing sports for these meets until after amateur clubs interested themselves in providing the nation with more good amateur athletes, resulting in the Public School Challenge Cups Meet held annually from 1890.

In addition to the consideration of the development of cricket, football, and athletic sports as parts of the physical education activities in Public Schools, consideration was given the minor physical education activities of

rowing, swimming, and fives (handball). These three sports warranted consideration because (1) they developed concurrently with team games and athletic sports and (2) they endured as organized physical education activities in Public Schools. Within the time limit of this chapter, rowing and fives became integral parts of the physical education curricula of a few schools, from which they spread to the country in general; and swimming was adopted in some Public Schools as a desirable activity, spreading through English schools generally in the twentieth century.

The account of the minor school sports of rowing, swimming, and fives followed the same general pattern as that of athletic sports, except that important historical data concerning the sports before introduction into Public Schools prefaced the chronological discussion of the sport within the schools, rather than being treated as a separate topic. However, no less emphasis was placed on tracing the history of each sport before its introduction in Public Schools, if findings contributed meaning and understanding to the development of the sport in the schools.

The Minor Sports of Rowing, Swimming, and Fives

In every instance, rowing, swimming, and fives were practiced and enjoyed by the populace long before they were accepted into the Public Schools in the nineteenth century.

Rowing and swimming dated from the earliest times,¹⁷⁷ and records of fives dated from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷⁸

As with other physical education activities discussed in this chapter, rowing, swimming, and fives became accepted sports in a few schools before spreading to the system in general. The consideration of each sport included: first, a notation of pertinent data contributing to the history of the sport in England before its introduction into Public Schools; second, the introduction of the sport in Public Schools; and third, the development of the sport within the schools to the time of its spread to other schools. Consideration of the spread of these sports was given in a

¹⁷⁷Joseph Strutt, in The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, new edition (London: Thomas Tegg, 1838), p. 88, stated: ". . . the primitive inhabitants of Britain . . . frequently committed themselves to the mercy of the sea in open boats, constructed with wicker work, and covered with leather." The Normans introduced boat-quintain (tilting) to England in the eleventh century, which was the second step toward the sport of rowing. William Fitzstephen, in Descriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londoniae, p. 508, described boat quintaining in which oarsmen guided the boat toward "the target . . . firmly fastened to the trunk of a tree which is fixed in the middle of the river. . . ." Also see Christina Hole, English Sports and Pastimes, p. 35; and Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 116, for references to boating and rowing.

¹⁷⁸John Armitage, Rackets, Squash-Rackets, Tennis, Fives, and Badminton, edited by Lord Aberdare (The Lonsdale Library, London: Seeley Service and Co., n.d.), pp. 20, 22. Also see Joseph Strutt, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 95.

separate division of the chapter. The first sport considered was rowing, followed by swimming, with fives discussed last.

The origin of rowing and its subsequent development in Public Schools. The first recorded boat race took place in 1715, as a result of the establishment by Thomas Dogget, a celebrated comedian, of a fund to provide three prizes to be won by six competing watermen.¹⁷⁹ From that time, rowing became popular and fashionable. In 1839 the town of Henley first held a regatta which proved so popular that a regatta was held each year thereafter.¹⁸⁰ As early as 1830, sculling was a popular sport on the Thames at London.¹⁸¹

Evidence of rowing in the Public Schools of Eton and Westminster dated from the eighteenth century. Thomas Gray in "Ode: On a Distant Prospect of Eton College," written in 1748, mentioned boat racing at Eton:

Say, Father Thames, for thou hast seen
Full many a sprightly Race,

¹⁷⁹Strutt, op. cit., pp. 89-90. Also see James Peller Malcolm, Anecdotes of the Manners and Customs of London, pp. 415-17; and Frank G. Menke, The Encyclopedia of Sports (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1955), p. 239.

¹⁸⁰Norman Wymer, Sport in England (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1949), pp. 178-9.

¹⁸¹Frank G. Menke, The Encyclopedia of Sports (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1955), p. 268.

Disporting on thy Margent green
The Paths of Pleasure trace. . . .¹⁸²

Further evidence that Eton pupils held boat races in the eighteenth century appeared in Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte's A History of Eton College.¹⁸³ Using Nuroe Etonenses, written in 1765, as his source, he listed three boats as having been used by Eton pupils in 1766; namely, "Piper's Green, Snake and My Guineas's Lion." As early as 1793, to celebrate the birthday of King George III, a procession of boats, manned by Eton pupils dressed in festive costumes, went up the river on June fourth.¹⁸⁴ Westminster pupils also enjoyed boating on the nearby Thames during the same period, as John Sargeaunt stated:

In the eighteenth century it was no uncommon thing for Westminsters to disport themselves in the river, but there is little evidence that they

¹⁸²Thomas Gray, Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard, with the Complete Poems of Thomas Gray (New York: Peter Pauper Press, 1940), p. 31.

¹⁸³H. C. Maxwell Lyte's A History of Eton College, fourth edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), pp. 323-24. According to Maxwell Lyte, "the same MS mentions a 'race between Piper's old and new four-oared boats. . . .' There are some grounds for believing that the crews in such races consisted of a waterman and three Eton boys."

¹⁸⁴Maxwell Lyte, op. cit., pp. 360-61, quoted a letter from "M Hicks Beach," twelve years of age, to his mother, as follows: 'On Tuesday, the King's birthday, there went up six boats, all with flags to them . . . and all different from each other. All the boys that pulled in them had caps with feathers in them.'

were skillful with the oar. . . . The two boys who were drowned in 1778 were upset from a sailing boat.¹⁸⁵

With boys of both schools enjoying the pastime of boating during the last half of the eighteenth century, it was only a short time until succeeding groups of schoolboys took the next step of racing in boats made especially for the purpose.

Actual evidence that pupils of Eton and Westminster rowed dated from the early years of the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁶ Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte¹⁸⁷ noted that ". . . ever since the beginning of the nineteenth century, boys of Eton had been practically free from interference while they were on the river. . . ." He also recorded that "races

¹⁸⁵John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School (London: Methuen and Co., 1898), p. 225.

¹⁸⁶Shrewsbury pupils were also endeavoring to establish rowing, but the opposition of their headmaster, Dr. Samuel Butler, prohibited them from developing into a rowing school until the latter part of the century when the school was moved to the banks of the Severn. Dr. Butler held up the development of rowing at Shrewsbury by forbidding pupils to rent boats. In The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, p. 276, there was an entry in Dr. Butler's letter-book, dated "August 17, 1822," which read as follows: 'Went to Harwood with Mr. Sheepshanks (assistant master) and told him that I had strictly forbidden the boys to hire boats. . . . He replied that he kept his boats for hire, and should let them whenever desired to do so. Upon this I called on the Mayor . . . and was promised by the Mayor that he would see Harwood this evening, and inform him that if he did so in defiance of this warning the law should lay hold on him.'

¹⁸⁷Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College, fourth edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), p. 414.

between Fours, Sixes or Eights of different houses, were alike instituted as early as the days of Keate" (headmaster of Eton from 1809 until 1834).¹⁸⁸ As early as 1811 it was recorded that Eton pupils were maintaining six boats suitable for racing and had elected a "Captain of the Boats."¹⁸⁹ In commenting on the introduction of the sport at Westminster John Sargeaunt recorded,

The school boatman died in 1816 . . ., but before Robert's death the six-oared Fly had put out from Lambeth Wharf. . . . The Fly was no racing boat, but its successor, the Defiance, in 1818 lowered the unbeaten colours of the Templars.¹⁹⁰

However, the introduction of rowing as a sport by pupils of Westminster and Eton did not receive the approval of school authorities.

If they engaged in the sport at all, they did so in opposition to the masters and headmasters. As early as 1798, there was serious trouble at Eton. Upon finding out that "many of the Fifth Form, and some of the lower boys, intended to row up to Maidenhead . . ." the headmaster "tried to dissuade them."¹⁹¹ In spite of his threats, they

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p. 420.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 415.

¹⁹⁰John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School (London: Methuen and Co., 1898), p. 226. Also see Norman Wymer, Sport in England, p. 173.

¹⁹¹Maxwell Lyte, op. cit., p. 361.

carried out their plan, "and were soundly flogged on their return. . . ." John Sargeaunt, in Annals of Westminster School¹⁹² noted that "in 1818, a challenge from Eton was refused by Page's [headmaster] positive orders." Again in 1820 Eton oarsmen made arrangements to race Westminster, but "the authorities intervened, threatening expulsion, and the scheme had to be abandoned."¹⁹³

In 1829, in spite of the opposition of school authorities, the pupils of Eton and Westminster held their first race, which the Etonians won by more than a quarter of a mile. Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte noted that for some time before the race,

. . . both parties had been . . . in active training but, being unfamiliar with the course, they had to be steered by local watermen. . . . The Etonians eventually won by more than a quarter of a mile. The race . . . excited much interest. . . .¹⁹⁴

As late as 1838, the crews were still faced with the opposition of school officials. John Rogers, in The Old Public Schools of England, wrote,

In 1838, when the Eton eight was actually waiting at the post at Westminster Bridge, the headmaster of Westminster locked up one of the crew in his boarding

¹⁹²Sargeaunt, op. cit., p. 226.

¹⁹³Maxwell Lyte, op. cit., p. 421.

¹⁹⁴Loc. cit. Also see John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School, p. 238.

house, threatened expulsion to two others, and thus succeeded in preventing the race from taking place.¹⁹⁵

Even so, the persistence of pupils at Eton and Westminster, together with the popularity of the sport throughout the country, resulted in recognition of the sport as a school activity. At Eton it was accepted about 1840. According to Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte,¹⁹⁶ "boating was not formally recognized by the School authorities before 1840. . . ." It was never formally recognized at Westminster, even though pupils continued to row matches with Eton and other amateur clubs, and to send distinguished oarsmen to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At Eton, the sport grew to be more important year by year, and eventually was placed on an equal footing with cricket as a summer-term sport. But Westminster ceased to row in 1883 as a result of interfering traffic on the Thames near the school and the great distance up the river that boys were required to travel in order to practice.¹⁹⁷

After the introduction of rowing at Eton and Westminster, and after the sport had been generally accepted,

¹⁹⁵John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 40.

¹⁹⁶Maxwell Lyte, op. cit., p. 414.

¹⁹⁷Sargeaunt, op. cit., p. 260.

other Public Schools conveniently located on rivers formed rowing clubs and began to hold races.

Another sport that commenced in Public Schools, and that began without the sanction of school authorities, was swimming.

The progress of swimming as a sport in Public Schools.

In a country abounding in rivers, pools, and creeks, there was always ample opportunity for swimming; but swimming, like bathing, required getting wet and perhaps clean; consequently, it was not encouraged much before the eighteenth century among the gentry, but frequently enjoyed by country folk.¹⁹⁸

In Public Schools, evidence that pupils went swimming dated from the nineteenth century, but no doubt boys, and especially country boys, enjoyed swimming as a pastime from much earlier times. Numerous references to leisure-time swimming by pupils of Public Schools were made during the nineteenth century. Lord Byron, a Harrow pupil in 1805, recalled in "Childish Recollections" the enjoyment that he and his friends derived from the pastime.

In scatter'd groups each favor'd haunt pursue;
Repeat old pastimes, and discover new,
But these with slower steps direct their way
Where Brent's cool waves in limped current's stray

¹⁹⁸Strutt, op. cit., p. 85.

Or shared the produce of the river's spoil;
 Or plunging from the green declining shore,
 Our pliant limbs the bouyant billows bore,¹⁹⁹

Thomas Hughes, in Tom Brown's School Days, described the Rugby swimming place when he was a pupil there in the 1830's.

The river Avon . . . is . . . a capital river for bathing, as it has many nice small pools and several good reaches for swimming all within about a mile of one another, and at an easy twenty minutes walk from the school.²⁰⁰

After the middle of the nineteenth century, at which time athletic sports became recognized as a part of school life, swimming was also accepted. Walter B. Woodgate, a Radley pupil in 1850, recalled,

. . . unwary youngsters who could not swim now and then got out of their depth, and there was excitement and alarm when they began mysteriously to bob up and down, but there never was any casualty.²⁰¹

A. F. Leach, pupil at Winchester from 1863 until 1869, recorded the pleasurable evenings he spent swimming in the canal between Winchester and Southampton, which was the swimming pool of Winchester School.

¹⁹⁹Lord Byron, The Works of Lord Byron, illustrated new edition (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Co., 1853), pp. 443-4.

²⁰⁰Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's School Days (New York: J. H. Sears and Co., n.d.), pp. 126-7.

²⁰¹Walter B. Woodgate, Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909), p. 81.

Never was a better bathing place than that. The water came bubbling in through the hatches . . . and it was like bathing in champagne to plunge into it and be carried under and thrown up at the farther end.²⁰²

After the introduction of swimming into a few schools and its acceptance by the populace as a pleasant and healthful recreation, schools began to provide swimming facilities for pupils, with Harrow as one of the first schools to do so. According to E. D. Laborde,²⁰³ "in 1809, the school governors rented a piece of land for ten shillings [~~1955--\$1.41~~]/ a year, and excavated a pool . . .," which pupils called old duck puddle, and which served as the school pool until 1881, when "New Duck Puddle . . . was constructed, with wooden siding and a dressing area provided. . . ." First efforts to improve swimming facilities took a similar course at other Public Schools. Where it was possible, schools rented or bought stretches of river frontage rather than excavate a pool, which required hand work and a large outlay of money. Rugby had long rented a stretch of the Avon when Thomas Hughes wrote Tom Brown's School Days in 1857; and when Shrewsbury School moved to the banks of the Severn in 1882, an area of the river was set aside for swimming.²⁰⁴

²⁰²A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Co., 1899), pp. 474-5.

²⁰³E. D. Laborde, Harrow School, Yesterday and Today (London: Winchester Publications, 1948), p. 203.

²⁰⁴John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1938), p. 68.

As a school sport, swimming did not spread to any extent until after the turn of the twentieth century, but in the nineteenth century the introduction and acceptance of swimming in Public Schools conveniently located on rivers or having access to a pond paved the way for its spread throughout the English system of education.

Public Schools, in addition to contributing rowing and swimming to English physical education activities, also organized and made popular the handball game of "fives."

The origin of fives and its subsequent development in Public Schools. The early game of fives was played by hitting a small ball against a wall or the side of a building, or batting it back and forth across a net with the hand. The introduction of the racket in the sixteenth century changed one form of the game into tennis, leaving the other form to develop into handball--fives.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵Norman Wymer, Sport in England (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1949), pp. 36-37. Joseph Strutt, in The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, pp. 92-93, used Essais Historiques sur Paris, Vol. I, p. 160, to trace the development of the tennis racket. Strutt stated: "In former times they played with the naked hand, then with a glove, which in some instances was lined; afterwards they bound cords and tendons round their hands to make the ball rebound more forcibly, and hence the racket derived its origin." Strutt noted, "in the sixteenth century tennis courts were common in England, and the establishment of such places countenanced by the example of the monarchs." Also see John Armitage, Rackets, Squash-Rackets, Tennis, Fives, and Badminton, pp. 20, 22.

The simplicity of playing fives made it an extremely suitable pastime for Public School pupils; however, it was in Eton and Rugby that the game developed into an organized sport, and from which it passed to other schools. According to Norman Wymer,

Those villagers who first started hitting a ball against the church wall were . . . the real founders of fives . . . even though it remained for the scholars of Eton and Rugby of later times to hand it on to us in its present . . . form.²⁰⁶

At Eton, it was played exclusively between the buttresses of the college chapel until 1840, at which time the headmaster, Dr. Hawtrey, built a block of four courts. These four courts were patterned on the lines of the area between the buttresses of the chapel, with two levels of floor and a buttress extending into the playing area about half-way down the court from the left wall. These were the first fives courts ever built.²⁰⁷ In 1847 formal recognition was accorded to the sport, and eight more courts were added to the four built in 1840. The building of additional courts attested to the growing popularity of the game at Eton. According to Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte,

²⁰⁶In Sport in England, p. 37. Also see Frank G. Menke, The Encyclopedia of Sports, pp. 146-47.

²⁰⁷John Armitage, Rackets, Squash-Rackets, Tennis, Fives, and Badminton, p. 200.

In 1864, two Fives Courts were added . . . , six years later, . . . eight new Courts were built . . . , and in 1880, twenty more were added to them . . . , others have been added since. So popular indeed is this game, between Christmas and Easter, that some fifty courts are hardly sufficient for a thousand boys.²⁰⁸

According to John Armitage,²⁰⁹ "between 1890 and 1900 Eton Fives was at the height of its popularity and prosperity." Rugby pupils did not complicate the game with two levels of floor and a jutting side-buttress, preferring instead to play it against one, three, or four smooth walls. The history of the development of the game at Rugby was summed up by Armitage,²¹⁰ who said, "one wall, three walls, four walls . . . that is the history of Rugby fives." The simplicity of the court, together with the lack of complicated rules, made the Rugby game popular and served to popularize it in other schools during the latter years of the nineteenth century.

The third step in tracing the growth of physical education in Public Schools involved a consideration of the spread during the nineteenth century to lesser-known schools

²⁰⁸Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College, fourth edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), p. 559.

²⁰⁹Armitage, op. cit., p. 203.

²¹⁰Ibid., p. 239.

of team games and sports from the old, established schools in which they first appeared and were developed.

IV. THE SPREAD OF GAMES AND SPORTS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The rise of numerous lesser Public Schools during the middle and late years of the nineteenth century, in which emulation of all praiseworthy features of the older, established schools was undertaken as rapidly as possible, contributed to the spread of team games and sports throughout the Public School system.

Treatment of the spread of team games and sports in Public Schools began with a consideration of the generally appalling conditions in the great Public Schools during the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries, followed by an evaluation of the reforms initiated by the two foremost Public School educators of the time: Dr. Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury and Thomas Arnold of Rugby; and finally, consideration was given to the transmission of team games and sports from the newly reformed great schools to the lesser Public Schools.

During the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries, intolerable conditions so existed in the great Public Schools, encumbered as they were by outdated purposes and machinery, that they were moving toward total eclipse. According to S. J. Curtis,

The older schools passed through a period of depression in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when one may truly say that the conditions of the public schools had reached their lowest.²¹¹

As a result of their failure to change with the times, a great deal of criticism was aimed at the older Public Schools. H. C. Dent, in Change in English Education, wrote:

For a quarter of a century before . . . 1828, criticism of the "Great" or "Public" Grammar schools, on both moral and intellectual grounds had been coming thick and fast from many quarters.²¹²

Criticism was concentrated on the medieval curricula to which they still adhered, the lack of teachers and the plight of the teachers who remained in them, the primitive living conditions provided for pupils, the low moral state of pupils, and the neglect of their duties as administrators of school endowments by governing boards. The Report of the Committee on Public Schools stated:

²¹¹S. J. Curtis, Education in Britain Since 1900 (London: Andrew Dakers, Ltd., 1952), p. 161.

²¹²H. C. Dent, Change in English Education (London: University of London Press, 1952), p. 63. Samuel Butler, in The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, p. 20, included a letter from Dr. James to Dr. Butler, dated "January, 1797," in which Dr. James wrote, "this school /Shrewsbury/ was once the Eton or the Westminster of Wales and of all Shropshire. . . . Now the present master does nothing. . . ." John W. Adamson, in A Short History of Education, p. 268, stated, ". . . the common opinion . . . was, they were admirable places for the study of the two ancient languages and literature, but poor schools of morals."

During the eighteenth century . . . they were hopelessly encumbered by an outworn tradition in education. Many had been founded to prepare boys in the Middle Ages for the Church and the Law; they all still kept rigidly to the curriculum needed for those professions at that time. . . . But further, they were generally quite inadequately staffed, even according to the practices of their time; the masters were ill paid, and the governors . . . generally gave little attention to the schools. . . . A rise in the general standard of living brought into sharper contrast the primitive accommodation the schools provided for the pupils. Above all, the changes in the moral outlook of the nation led men to look askance at the largely unregulated and undisciplined life of the boys.²¹³

Having sunk so low, there was but one way for them to go in order to keep from being merely shells of schools.

Revitalizing reforms were initiated by individual headmasters. Leaders of the movement were Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury and Thomas Arnold of Rugby, whose reforms at Shrewsbury and Rugby were shining examples for other schools to follow. Samuel Butler (1774-1839)²¹⁴ had been a pupil at Rugby from 1783 until 1791, when he entered Saint John's College, Cambridge, graduating in 1796. In 1798 he was

²¹³Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: The Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 17.

²¹⁴John W. Adamson, in An Outline of English Education, 1760-1902 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 32, stated that "the achievements and organization of Shrewsbury became models for Eton and Harrow." The Rev. E. C. Hawtrey, headmaster of Eton from 1834 until 1853, generously acknowledged the debt he owed Dr. Butler for advising him on reorganizing the curriculum of Eton. See Samuel Butler, The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, pp. 113-14, for the letters from the Rev. E. C. Hawtrey.

elected headmaster of Shrewsbury, where he found little or no teaching being done by masters, and where he found ideals of conduct among pupils low. During his headmastership, Dr. Butler made Shrewsbury into a top-ranking Public School by reorganizing the curriculum, improving housing conditions, and raising the moral tone of the pupils. It was the first "reformed" Public School which other schools used as a model.²¹⁵ Dr. Butler remained at Shrewsbury until 1836.

Thomas Arnold (1795-1842) was educated at Winchester (1807-1811) and Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1811-1814), becoming headmaster of Rugby in 1828, where he remained until his death in 1842.²¹⁶ When Arnold became headmaster at Rugby in 1828, he found conditions as poor as they possibly could be. In one of his first sermons to the pupils he told them,

Public Schools . . . are the very seats and nurseries of vice. It may be unavoidable, or it may not, but the fact is indisputable.²¹⁷

To combat vice and to raise the intellectual attainment of Rugby pupils, Arnold used every means at his disposal: He

²¹⁵Samuel Butler, The Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler, Vols. 10 and 11, the Shrewsbury edition of the works of Samuel Butler, edited by Henry F. Jones and A. T. Bartholomew (London: Jonathan Cape, 1924), 955 pp.

²¹⁶Sir Joshua Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1899), p. 4.

²¹⁷Fitch, op. cit., Sermon XX, pp. 77-78.

preached, taught classroom subjects, served as a housemaster, gained the confidence of the prefects and seniors, and allowed games and sports to be played and enjoyed by the pupils with his blessing.²¹⁸ Through these media, he wrought a new kind of Public School, one which affected other Public Schools and English education generally. W. O. Lester Smith in Education in Great Britain referred to Arnold as

. . . the founder of the modern public school system . . .; the man who changed the face of education in the public schools of England.²¹⁹

The reforms initiated by Arnold and Butler influenced other headmasters to follow suit, resulting in generally improved conditions and public esteem for the great Public Schools. As reported by the Committee on Public Schools:

²¹⁸See Arthur P. Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D. (two volumes in one, New York: Scribner, Armstrong, and Co., 1877), 778 pp., and Sir Joshua Fitch, Thomas and Matthew Arnold (London: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1899), 277 pp.

²¹⁹W. O. Lester Smith, Education in Great Britain, revised edition (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 70. Cyril Norwood, in The English Tradition of Education (London: John Murray, 1929), pp. 16-17, ascribed the nineteenth century reforms in Public School education almost entirely to Arnold. On the other hand, Lytton Strachey, in Eminent Victorians (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918), pp. 207-41, debunked the influence of Arnold on English education, saying on p. 241, that Arnold ". . . proved to be the founder of the worship of athletics and the worship of good form."

Nothing showed more clearly the position that the Public Schools had gained in the national esteem than the movement for founding new schools. . . .²²⁰

The desire of the new middle classes for public-school type education for their sons brought about the founding of many schools patterned on the old, established, great schools. New schools which became outstanding were listed, with foundation dates, by the Board of Education in the Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools as follows:

Cheltenham (1841), Marlborough (1843), Rossall (1844), Radley (1847), Bradfield (1850), Wellington (1852), Epsom (1855), Clifton (1862), Malvern (1862), Haileybury (1862), and Bath (1867).²²¹

The transmission of team games and sports as part of school life from the old to the newly founded schools was accomplished primarily by pupils and masters of old schools becoming masters and headmasters of the new schools. Pupils and assistant masters under Arnold at Rugby were the chief transmitters. The report of the Committee on Public Schools stated,

²²⁰Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 19.

²²¹Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), p. 24.

Pupils at Rugby under Arnold became Headmasters of Harrow, Marlborough, Lancing, Haileybury, Sherborne, Cheltenham, Felsted, Bury St. Edmunds, Leamington, Berkhamsted, Bromsgrove, Monkton Combe, Berwick, and Carlisle Cathedral School. Cotton, one of his assistant masters, became Headmaster of Marlborough. Benson, the first Headmaster of Wellington College, had been a master at Rugby under Arnold's successor.²²²

Further evidence of the spread of team games and sports by Rugbians was given by Cyril Norwood, who recorded,

. . . when his assistant masters became Heads of other schools, as occurred in many cases, they felt that games had been a valuable feature of Rugby life which might well be introduced elsewhere. Cotton went to Marlborough, for instance, to create a school out of mutineers, and he consciously developed organized games as one of the methods by which the school should be brought into order. Parents were written to, and the system was begun. . . .²²³

Thus, games and sports spread rapidly as new schools employed former Rugbians, Etonians, Harrowians, etc., who introduced their school's favorite sports to the mass of new pupils.

The primary games and sports that spread to new Public Schools were cricket, football, and athletic sports. Rowing spread to those schools which were conveniently located on rivers, and swimming spread universally, but not until after the turn of the century. Fives also spread to

²²²Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 19.

²²³Cyril Norwood, The English Tradition of Education (London: John Murrar, 1929), p. 100.

other Public Schools, but to a lesser extent than cricket, football, and athletic sports.

Popular throughout England at the time, and already the summer game at the great schools, cricket emerged as the summer term game at new schools.²²⁴ An example of the spread of cricket was seen at Uppingham; Edward Thring (1821-1887) had been a pupil at Eton, becoming headmaster of Uppingham School in 1853. Though founded in 1587, Uppingham did not prosper until Thring took over and completely reorganized it on the pattern of Rugby.²²⁵ From his first day at Uppingham until his last, Thring urged the playing of cricket, setting a good example by playing on the varsity cricket team from 1853 until 1871.²²⁶

Association type football spread to those schools patterned on Eton, Charterhouse, Westminster, Winchester, or Harrow, while the Rugby game was played at schools patterned

²²⁴Ibid., pp. 100-101. Also see Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System, p. 38; and Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, p. 23.

²²⁵H. C. Barnard, A Short History of English Education (London: University of London Press, 1947), p. 178. Also see John Rogers, The Old Public Schools of England, pp. 79-80; and A. D. C. Peterson, A Hundred Years of Education, p. 129.

²²⁶William S. Patterson, Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), pp. 7, 18, 49-50.

on Rugby. The two newly founded schools of Clifton and Marlborough played the first inter-school Rugby match.

According to Cyril Norwood,

. . . I do not remember in what year it took place, but it must have been subsequent to 1861, when Clifton was founded. . . .²²⁷

The spread of football, whether of the kicking or of the running and tackling variety, was rapid. Montague Shearman, in Athletics and Football, stated:

From enquiries we have instituted it appears that between 1850 and 1860, . . . all the schools adopted football as part of the regular athletic curriculum, and as the chief school game for the winter months.²²⁸

Concurrently with football and cricket, athletic sports meets came to be established in new schools. Their place in the physical education curricula was similar to that in the old schools; that is, a yearly athletic sports meet was held after football season ended and just before cricket practice got underway. A Haileybury²²⁹ pupil won

²²⁷Norwood, op. cit., p. 100.

²²⁸Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), p. 299.

²²⁹Haileybury was founded in 1862. See Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, p. 24.

the first Public School Challenge Cup for the quarter mile in 1890.²³⁰

Having been first introduced in Westminster and Eton, popular at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and universally accepted as a sport, rowing spread to other schools conveniently located on rivers. Among schools that formed rowing clubs and contributed to the spread of the sport were Radley, Shrewsbury, Cheltenham, and Winchester. Radley, founded in 1857,²³¹ became a great rowing school. A former pupil of Radley, Walter Woodgate, stated that Radley "sent no less than three . . . oarsmen to the universities during the first five years of its existence."²³² A. F. Leach recalled that Winchester pupils formed a boat club "in 1867," and inaugurated it with "a procession of boats

²³⁰F. A. M. Webster, Athletics of To-Day (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1929), p. 64, recorded that "T. C. Eastley, Haileybury, took the first Public Schools title . . . in 55 secs. . . . in 1890."

²³¹Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 19.

²³²Walter B. Woodgate, Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909), p. 58. A pupil at Radley from 1850 to 1858, Woodgate recorded in Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman, p. 60, that rowing did not become a "licensed pastime until 1852, and was . . . much extended under Sewell."

. . . with everybody who had ever been in a boat, on sea or lake or river, . . . pressed into the service."²³³

After 1870, fives spread rapidly from Eton and Rugby to other Public Schools. John Armitage²³⁴ recorded that "Charterhouse (c. 1870), Highgate, and Westminster (1886) built Eton-type courts," with the spread due in most cases to "old Etonians" becoming headmasters or masters at other schools. Rugby fives spread because it could be played on any type court, and through the growing fame of Rugby as a "great" school under the headmastership of Thomas Arnold. Schools adopting Rugby fives had been accustomed to playing a similar game in any odd corner of the school yard or in a vacant building of the school.²³⁵ Other than in Public Schools, fives did not spread to any great extent as a physical education activity.²³⁶

By the end of the century the spread of games and sports within the Public School system was so extensive that

²³³A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Co., 1899), p. 508.

²³⁴John Armitage, Rackets, Squash-Rackets, Tennis, Fives, and Badminton, edited by Lord Aberdare (London: Seeley Service and Co., n.d.), p. 202.

²³⁵Ibid., p. 51.

²³⁶Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 38, stated, "the game is now only played at the Public Schools and at some Day Secondary Schools."

pupils often were interested in them to the neglect of intellectual pursuits. According to the report of the Committee on Public Schools,

. . . the playing of games came to occupy an undue place in the boys' interest. It elevated to a quite disproportionate degree of importance in their lives certain qualities, in themselves of great value, and it depressed the regard which should rightly be paid to the intellect, and to the talents of the boy who is artistic, musical or skilled with his hands.²³⁷

The spread of organized games and sports throughout the Public Schools led to transmission of the same activities to university life. The final step in tracing the development of games and sports in Public Schools involved the relation of Public School to university games' and sports' development.

V. THE SPREAD OF GAMES AND SPORTS TO THE UNIVERSITIES OF OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE

During the nineteenth century, Public School boys began to transfer games and sports to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. A. D. C. Peterson noted that during the nineteenth century,

A new type of young man was beginning to come up to the universities from the reformed Public Schools,

²³⁷Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System: Report of the Committee on Public Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1944), p. 38.

and the exuberance of youth was soon worked off in rowing and football, which everyone could enjoy, rather than horses, dogs, and card parties.²³⁸

According to H. C. Barnard, in A Short History of English Education,

. . . the university sports of hunting, shooting, and racing were losing their hold on the undergraduate . . . due largely to the development of sports at the universities. . . .²³⁹

With extravagance becoming less and less fashionable at Oxford and Cambridge, interest in games and sports led the former pupils of Public Schools to continue their favorite activity in the universities. Left to their own devices by university authorities, students formed clubs patterned on games and sports clubs to which they had belonged in school.

To treat the transference of Public School games and sports to the universities, consideration was given first to the formation of cricket clubs, second to football clubs, third to athletic sports clubs, and finally, to the place of rowing, swimming, and fives in university life. A constant effort was made in the discussion of each activity to show the relation of Public School pupils to the development of games and sports in the universities.

²³⁸A. D. C. Peterson, A Hundred Years of Education (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1952), p. 185.

²³⁹(London: University of London Press, 1947), pp. 144-5.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, both Oxford and Cambridge students formed college cricket clubs. In 1820 the Cambridge University Cricket Club was formed.²⁴⁰ The year in which the Oxford University Cricket Club was formed was unknown, but it must have been about the same time as the first match between Cambridge and Oxford took place in 1827. It was arranged by the brothers Wordsworth, Christopher of Cambridge, and Charles of Oxford, and was held at Lord's cricket grounds, London.²⁴¹ According to the Bishop of Saint Andrews (Charles Wordsworth),

²⁴⁰William S. Patterson, Sixty Years of Uppingham Cricket (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), p. 2.

²⁴¹The Bishop of Saint Andrews (Charles), in Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 328, recalled the circumstances under which the match took place. As other sources gave dates other than that which the Bishop of Saint Andrews gave, it was thought proper to record the exact circumstances under which the game was arranged and played. According to the Bishop of Saint Andrews, in 1827, during Easter holidays, he (a member of the Oxford eleven) went to Cambridge, where he contacted a past captain of the Eton eleven who was a student in King's College, endeavoring to get enough students to travel to London for a match in June; but King's College students were not given holidays as early as other Cambridge college students, and for this reason he failed to interest them. He then contacted friends in other colleges and suggested that some of them go to London to play. In order to go to London during term time, it was necessary for students to get permission from college authorities, and as Oxford was still in session in June, Charles and his fellow players had to obtain permission. Writing in Cricket, p. 329, the Bishop recalled, "I had to present myself to the Dean and tell him that I wished to be allowed to go to London--not to play a game of cricket (That would not

. . . the players on the Cambridge side were mostly Etonians,²⁴² and on the Oxford side, mostly Wykehamists.²⁴²

A second match was played in 1829, the third in 1836, and in 1838 the match became an annual affair.²⁴³

Students from the old Public Schools dominated university cricket throughout the century. R. H. Lyttelton analyzed the composition of the university elevens from 1860 to 1888 as to the number of players from each Public School as follows:

Forty different Etonians have in the last twenty-seven years played in the University match: twenty-three for Cambridge, seventeen for Oxford.

Harrow is represented by thirty-six players: eighteen at Oxford, and eighteen at Cambridge, Rugby comes next with twenty-two; fourteen for Oxford and eight for Cambridge. . . .

Winchester and Marlborough have each been represented by thirteen. No fewer than eleven of the

have been listened to)--but to consult a dentist; a piece of Jesuitry which was understood, I believe, equally well on both sides; at all events my tutor, Longley--afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury--was privy to it." The Bishop continued, "thus, though not without difficulties, the match came on, but unhappily, the weather presenting a fresh difficulty, it did not fully go off. We could only play a single inning. . . ." According to the Bishop, the match was played on "June 4, 1827," with Oxford scoring "258 runs to our opponents' 92."

²⁴²Bishop of St. Andrew's, Cricket, p. 329.

²⁴³R. H. Lyttelton, Cricket (The Badminton Library, edited by the Duke of Beaufort, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), p. 331; and Norman Wymer, Sport in England (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1949), p. 165.

thirteen Marlborough men have played for Oxford, but Cambridge men will ever gratefully tender their thanks to the greatest player ever turned out by that school, and perhaps the best all-round cricketer that has yet played for either University. Oxford has had more than the due proportion of Wykehamists, for eleven out of the thirteen have played for Oxford.

Eleven Cliftonians have played for Oxford, and none for Cambridge; but seven out of eight Uppingham boys have represented Cambridge.

Tonbridge, Cheltenham, Charterhouse, and Westminster have each had five players representing them, and on the whole the proportion between Oxford and Cambridge has been about equal.²⁴⁴

Thus, definite traditions were rising whereby graduates of a particular Public School entered the university college which continued the same style of play.

Students from schools where the Association type football was played continued to play it upon entering the university; while those from Rugby, Marlborough, Clifton, Cheltenham, and other Rugby football schools played the Rugby game. It proved impossible for the players of the two types of football to work out common rules; consequently in 1863, the Association type football players organized and drafted a set of rules, splitting themselves from the players of the Rugby game. According to Montague Shearman²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴R. H. Lyttelton, Cricket, pp. 350-51.

²⁴⁵Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), p. 301.

"the Cambridge rules . . . excluded all running with the ball, and . . . hacking over, tripping and tackling which were means used by the Rugbians to stop the runners."

Later in that year a conference was held in London by the London football clubs and the Cambridge club, resulting in the formation of the Football Association, which governed the Association type of football thereafter. The Association type football clubs of London voted with the Cambridge footballers to forbid running and tackling, which resulted in the Rugby players being out-voted. They withdrew, and remained unorganized until 1871, when the Richmond, Blackheath, and some twenty other clubs convened to form the Rugby Union.²⁴⁶ Uniform rules governing Rugby football were drawn up by three old Rugbians, who patterned the rules on the game as they had played it at Rugby School.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶Shearman, op. cit., p. 300, stated, "In 1858, some old Rugbeians and old boys of the Blackheath Proprietary School started the famous Blackheath Club to play the Rugby game, and in the following year . . . the Richmond Club came into existence." Shearman, in Athletics and Football, p. 302, noted, "in 1871 . . . the Richmond and Blackheath clubs (and) . . . the principal London clubs were summoned together, and . . . the Rugby Football Union was formed."

²⁴⁷Shearman, op. cit., p. 321, recorded, "the original code of laws was the work of . . . L. J. Maton, A. Rutter, and E. C. Holmes, and it is doubtless due to this fact that those who now play the running and tackling game are substantially playing the same game which the founders of the Union played at Rugby School."

Following the organization of the Rugby Union, Oxford and Cambridge Rugby clubs accepted the union rules, and inaugurated their matches in the winter of 1873-74.

During the 1850's, students adept in athletic sports also formed clubs. Both universities drew recruits from among the freshman athletes who came up from the Public Schools. As has been pointed out, Public School boys seldom made championship records outside their own schools, primarily due to the lack of encouragement and the short period of time devoted to athletic sports in Public Schools. Many of these youths became extremely proficient in athletic sports upon entering the universities. They matured, gained weight and balance, and devoted more leisure time to the individual athletic sports.²⁴⁸ Exeter College, Oxford, held an athletic sports meet, the first of its kind in a university, in 1850. According to F. A. M. Webster,²⁴⁹ ". . . five undergraduates of Exeter College . . .," dissatisfied with the dray horses they had hired to ride in the college steeplechase, "put up stakes--winner take all--for a two mile footrace over twenty-four jumps." On a subsequent afternoon, they organized "100, 330, 440 yard races, one

²⁴⁸F. A. M. Webster, Athletics of To-Day (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1929), pp. 140, 208-9.

²⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 8-9.

mile on the flat, and 140 yards over 10 flights of hurdles." The meet was held again "in 1851, with the long jump added to the foot races run the year before. . . . No throwing of weights was included."²⁵⁰ The first mention of athletic sports at Cambridge was made in 1855, with Saint John's and Emmanuel Colleges taking the lead.²⁵¹ Cambridge, in 1857, started university athletic meets in which members of college clubs might enter; and in 1860, Oxford began university meets which were open to all undergraduates.²⁵²

As in Public Schools, there was no official control on the part of college or university authorities over athletic sports. The power to prohibit the participation in any sport of any undergraduate, and to make the rules of their clubs, depended solely upon the students themselves.²⁵³ By 1860 athletic sports had become an accepted and popular part of college life, and in 1864 the first inter-university

²⁵⁰Loc. cit.

²⁵¹Shearman, op. cit., p. 48. Webster, in Athletics of To-Day, p. 9, stated, "at Oxford the new fashion was spreading far more rapidly, and college sports were instituted at Balliol, Pembroke, Wadham and Worcester (1856), Oriel (1857), Merton (1858), and Christ Church (1859)."

²⁵²According to F. A. M. Webster, in Athletics of To-Day, p. 9, "the Oxford University sports . . . were founded mainly through the perseverance of the Rev. E. Arkwright, of Merton College."

²⁵³Shearman, op. cit., pp. 240-41.

athletic sports meet was held on the Christ Church College cricket grounds at Oxford. The events were 100 yards, 440 yards, one mile, 120 yards hurdles, 200 yards hurdles, cross-country run of about two miles, high jump, and broad jump. The results of the meets were as follows:

100 yards, B. S. Darbyshire, Oxford, 10 1/2 secs.

440 yards, B. S. Darbyshire, Oxford, 56 secs.

1 mile, C. B. Lawes, Cambridge, 4 min., 56 secs.

120 yards hurdles, A. W. T. Daniel, Cambridge,
26 3/4 secs.

Steeplechase (about 2 miles), R. C. Garnet,
Cambridge, 10 min.

High jump, F. H. Gooch, Oxford, 5 ft., 5 ins.

Long jump, F. H. Gooch, Oxford, 18 ft.²⁵⁴

The meet ended in a draw which Cambridge and Oxford earned by each winning four sports. University students dominated English amateur athletic sports from 1860 until after the end of the century, with most championship records being made by students or ex-students of the universities. They formed the Amateur Athletic Club in 1866, and that spring held a championship meet which began the long series of championship meets later taken over by the Amateur Athletic Association.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴F. A. M. Webster, in Athletics of To-Day, p. 12. According to Webster, p. 10, "after the first year, steeplechasing and the 200 yards hurdles were dropped; the shot putt added in 1865, as was throwing the cricket ball, which was dropped after the one year."

²⁵⁵Montague Shearman, Athletics and Football, fourth edition (The Badminton Library, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894), pp. 52-53.

Swimming and fives were adopted as pastimes, but students continued their interest in rowing, or took it up as a sport upon entering the university. Inter-collegiate boat races commenced "about 1815."²⁵⁶ The first inter-university boat race took place on the Thames at Henley in 1829. The Bishop of Saint Andrews (Charles Wordsworth of Oxford) recalled,

Wed., June 10th, 1829, the first Inter-University boat-race took place at Henley, and I was one of the eight. . . . We won the boat-race quite 'easily'. . . .²⁵⁷

A second race took place at London in 1836, and from 1856 it became an annual affair.²⁵⁸ Because of the narrowness

²⁵⁶H. C. Barnard, in A Short History of English Education (London: University of London Press, 1947), p. 145, wrote, ". . . inter-collegiate boat races started about 1815. . . ." Frank G. Menke, in The Encyclopedia of Sports (New York: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1955), p. 239, recorded, "early in the nineteenth century, English university students gained the idea that the principles of rowing could be converted into a sport. As a result there were inter-college regattas. . . ." Also see Sir Charles Mallet, A History of the University of Oxford (London: Methuen and Co., 1924), Vol. III, pp. 418-22; and Walter B. Woodgate, Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman, 499 pp.

²⁵⁷The Bishop of Saint Andrews, Cricket, p. 330. According to Norman Wymer, in Sport in England (London: George G. Harrap and Co., 1949), p. 174, "in 1829, when rowing had become firmly established at both universities, Charles Wordsworth, of Christ Church, Oxford, and a Cambridge friend of his named Merivale suggested that the two (universities) should compete against each other in eight-oared boats on some neutral river, preferably within easy reach of London, later that summer."

²⁵⁸Walter B. Woodgate, Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909), p. 378.

of the Isis River at Oxford and of the Cam at Cambridge, bump racing was substituted for side-by-side racing during the 1820's.²⁵⁹ By bumping the boat in front, a crew gained the right to exchange places with it in the following heat, and the winner of the final heat became head of the river for the year. Oarsmen from Public Schools served to strengthen the crews of the university colleges and kept the sport flourishing. Before rowing was discontinued at Westminster, "some of the boys carried their skill to Oxford, and five of them rowed in the Christ Church boat, which in 1828 was head of the river."²⁶⁰ Of Radley, Walter B. Woodgate stated:

It was somewhat curious that during the first decade of the existence of Radley as a school . . . no less than three university oarsmen were manufactured from its ranks.²⁶¹

A. F. Leach²⁶² recalled that "divers good oars have made their debut on the Itchen," at Winchester. Thomas Hughes,

²⁵⁹Wymer, op. cit., p. 174, stated, "it was not until the 1820s, when bumping races were substituted for straight contests . . . that the sport took on anything approaching organized form."

²⁶⁰John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School (London: Methuen and Co., 1898), p. 238.

²⁶¹Walter B. Woodgate, Reminiscences of an Old Sportsman (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1909), p. 58.

²⁶²A. F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Co., 1899), p. 508.

in Memoir of a Brother,²⁶³ remarked that George Hughes (brother) excelled in rowing at Oxford where he became a member of the university crew after he left Rugby in 1840.

As interest in team games and sports spread, the country in general became more and more cognizant of the recreational value of such activities. Within the universities, they were never accepted as compulsory physical education activities; students participated in the game, games, or sport when and if they were so inclined. Nevertheless, their recognition served to spur Public Schools to lay added emphasis on games and sports in order to compete in the favorite activity at the university.

VI. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

Until officially defined in 1944, a Public School was generally thought of as an old, privately endowed, expensive boarding school, free of government control, and closely associated with either the University of Oxford or the University of Cambridge, or both. It was in this type of Public School that the development and organization of games and sports took place, and from which they spread throughout the system in the nineteenth century.

²⁶³Second edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1873), p. 65.

At first games and sports were unrecognized by the authorities of the Public Schools; consequently, during leisure time, pupils amused themselves with various physical activities--games, sports, and illegal pastimes.

In the nineteenth century, games and sports came to occupy the leisure time of pupils to the exclusion of other pastimes, with cricket, football, athletic sports, rowing, swimming, and fives becoming organized.

The development and organization of games and sports within a Public School led that school to seek matches with another school, resulting in the inauguration of inter-school matches. At the same time, house matches, old boys' matches, school athletic meets, and rowing matches became recognized parts of leisure time activities of pupils.

After the reformation of the great Public Schools in the nineteenth century, many new schools were founded modeled on the older ones. The popular games and sports of the old schools were transferred to the new schools as part of school life.

During the nineteenth century, Public School boys took their school games and sports to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which led to the inclusion of games and sports in university life.

By the end of the century, games and sports had become recognized parts of school life throughout the

Public School system and were ready to be incorporated into the general educational curriculum.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS TO 1900

In the preceding chapter the historical development of physical education involved the upper classes of society. Public Schools, having been founded as charity schools, soon changed their character and catered to the sons of wealthy and noble persons. Public Schools fostered the spontaneous development of team games, athletic sports, and individual sports by inadvertently providing boarding facilities, adequate playgrounds, woodlands, and allowing pupils ample leisure time to engage in games and sports of their own choosing.

In Chapter III the study dealt with another type of school--the elementary school--in which children of the poor and working classes received an education. Schools of this type were located in odd rooms of houses or cottages, in churches, or in poorly constructed buildings with little or no play space. An entirely different system of physical education developed in elementary schools from that which concurrently developed in Public Schools. Under rigid teacher control, military drill and physical exercise developed into the system of physical education for children of the poorer classes.

To trace the development of physical education--military drill and physical exercise--in elementary schools to 1900, consideration was given the following points of inquiry: (1) the social and economic setting for development of schools for the poorer classes; (2) the evolution of elementary education to 1900 in order to supply a background for understanding the development of physical education; (3) physical education in elementary schools before government regulation in 1839; (4) the development of physical education from 1839 until 1870; (5) the development of physical education from 1870 until 1890; and (6) the development of physical education from 1890 until 1900.

The social and economic setting for development of schools for the poorer classes was considered first in order to describe the poor, the children of the poor, conditions under which children labored, and effects of factory employment on children. The plight of children of the poor, in and out of factories, resulted directly in the form exhibited by the system of physical education which developed in elementary schools once those schools were established.

I. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SETTING FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOLS FOR THE POORER CLASSES

Prior to the Industrial Revolution in England, philanthropic movements of the upper classes and of the

church provided aid for those persons in a given community too old, too sick, or mentally unable to work, and provided elementary education for children of the poor. The introduction of Hargreaves' spinning jenny, Arkwright's water frame, and Crompton's mule, with the addition of steam power to these machines at the end of the eighteenth century, led to the factory system. The migration to factory areas of great numbers of the working classes created social problems far too complex for charity alone to solve.

Coming largely from rural districts, new inhabitants of towns had no knowledge of how overcrowded conditions and long hours of close confinement in mills would endanger their health and morals. No local or national authority concerned itself with the health or housing of people, nor did any control exist over the mills or the workers in them. Evils born of these circumstances included bad housing and lack of sanitation, resulting in disease; and excessively long hours of labor, especially in the case of children, resulting in physical weakness, ignorance, and lack of moral training. In the light of the great social problem, of which these evils were component parts, it was desirable to examine the life of the poor for whom philanthropists and the state eventually formulated a system of education.

The Economic Status of the Laboring Classes

The poor were primarily unskilled laborers, their families living under the pressure of chronic want or constantly from hand to mouth. Whether in towns or in the country, they lived in whatever they could rent cheaply. Factory owners and speculators built poorly constructed, small, unsanitary houses as close together as possible to serve as dwellings for the workers. Examples of congestion and unsanitary conditions under which the poor of York lived as late as 1900 were given in a study made by S. B. Rountree.¹ He found a family of six living in a four-room house in the midst of smoke, "rent cheap on account of smoke"; a widow and eleven children living in two rooms, for which she paid approximately fifty cents a week rent; a rag-and-bone gatherer, his wife and one child living in one room of a house sharing one water-tap with eight other houses, and one water closet with three others; a family of nine living in four rooms in an overcrowded house which needed disinfecting and the drains rebuilt; and a widow with five children living in four rooms, on either side of which were slaughterhouses. The meager food which they were able to purchase was totally inadequate to sustain good health.

¹Seebohn B. Rountree, Poverty, A Study of Town Life, fourth edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902), pp. 33-34.

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Bread, bacon, bacon grease, and tea and coffee were staples. Potatoes, "a bit of meat," and cheese were delicacies.²

Low wages, large families, irregularity of work, incapacity of the family wage earner, and alcoholism were primary causes of extreme poverty.³ According to Rountree, "the wages paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter, and clothing . . . to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency."⁴ Even to maintain themselves in this meager state of life, Rountree noted that a "poor" family could not afford transportation, must never buy a half-penny newspaper; never attend a concert or a show; never write a letter which had to be mailed, for they could not afford stamps; never contribute to their church, nor give financial aid to a neighbor; never save money nor join a trade union; never give spending money to children; never smoke or drink; use only the parish doctor; and allow the parish to defray burial expenses. If any of these conditions were altered, the extra expenditure involved was met only by limiting the diet.⁵

²Ibid., pp. 98-105

³Ibid., pp. 199-200. Also see Lewis Melville, The Life and letters of William Cobbett, (London: John Lane, 1913), Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

⁴Ibid., p. 133.

⁵Ibid., pp. 133-134.

Few of the poor accepted all of these ironclad restrictions. In cases cited in Rountree's study, numerous references were made to one or more members of the family who did not adhere to the routine. For example:

Out of work. Married. Four rooms. Five children. Drinks. "Chucked his work over a row." Very poor; have to pawn furniture to keep children.

Odd jobs. Married. Four rooms. Three children. Man drinks. Poverty stricken. Children not properly nourished.

Drover. Married. Two rooms. Three children, school age or under. Wife works in the fields, and drinks. House filthy. Six houses share one water-tap and three houses share one closet.⁶

Under such conditions the poor were forced to put their children to work at an early age in order that they might add to the family earnings, or else lose the children to workhouses or parochial industry schools.

The Conditions of Employment for Children

Factory and textile mill owners found an abundant supply of cheap labor in children who were given up by parents unable to provide for them. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, children were drafted into mills in great numbers and apprenticed to the age of twenty-one, being almost completely at the mercy of their employers. They worked long hours, lived in overcrowded rooms, were inadequately fed, and often shamefully punished; their life

⁶Ibid., pp. 48-49.

was one of unending misery. Even in areas where hand looms were used, and children worked at home, they were kept busy "from five in the morning till twelve at night for many days without intermission . . . in cold, dark, damp cellars, without any fire or means of ventilation. . . ." ⁷ In well-regulated mills in towns, children were compelled to work at least twelve and a half hours a day, "and for three or four days in the week were not allowed to go out of the mills to get their meals" ⁸ It was no uncommon occurrence for children to go to work at seven, eight, or nine years of age, with hours of employment from five or six in the morning until nine at night. ⁹

Long hours and overworked children were not confined to mills and factories. In mining areas, children went down into the mines in great numbers at eight and nine years of age. ¹⁰ In agricultural areas, children at early ages seeded,

⁷Poor Law Commission, Report of the Commissioners, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1843), pp. B 40-41.

⁸Hansard's Journal of Parliamentary Debate (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1825), p. 645.

⁹S. E. Maltby, Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education, 1800-1870 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1918), p. 17.

¹⁰"Report of Rev. John Allen," Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1840-1 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1841), pp. 62-63. Henceforth, Minutes was used in place of Minutes of the Committee.

pulled weeds, frightened birds from the crops, and herded sheep and geese. But conditions in factories and textile mills employing children overshadowed all others. Almost as soon as "a child acquired the powers of speech, he was shut up many hours a day, secluded from the benefits of exercise and open air, and tied down to the drudgery of work."¹¹

Sanitary conditions in factories were almost unknown. In 1784 there was a serious outbreak of "infectious fever" among the children in factories in Manchester due to unsanitary conditions.¹² Pauper children apprenticed to factory owners were housed and fed in badly ventilated, dirty, dark and damp rooms, and it was common practice for four or five children to sleep in the same bed, or for one group of children coming from work to sleep in the bed just vacated by another group.¹³

But worse than unsanitary conditions were the long hours that children were required to work. Working from five in the morning until twelve midnight was not uncommon.¹⁴

¹¹Maltby, op. cit., p. 15. Also see Thomas B., Lord Macaulay, The History of England, Charles H. Firth, ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1915), I, p. 417.

¹²Ibid., pp. 14-15.

¹³Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁴Hansard, 1825, XIII, p. 645.

The first factory act passed in 1802 limited the hours of work for apprentices in cotton mills to twelve hours a day, and forbade them to work between nine p.m. and six a.m.,¹⁵ but the act applied only to apprentices in cotton mills, leaving untouched free child labor in cotton, silk, woolen, and other textile mills. Under free child labor the evils grew.

Children were employed as "tarers"--tearing cloth, "pot fillers"--keeping dye pots full, "bobbin-winders," and "card setters"--setting steel teeth through holes in leather cards to which yarn was attached. For setting "1,400 of the steel teeth children receive one half penny . . . for which they work steadily 8 or 9 hours."¹⁶ Children from five, six, or seven years of age were employed to work at such jobs, and they often worked from "thirteen to fifteen hours" a day.¹⁷

Long, unbroken labor in unsanitary surroundings, exposure to every imaginable physical hazard, and improper

¹⁵An Act for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others, employed in Cotton and other Mills, and Cotton and other Factories, 1802, 42 George III, c. 73.

¹⁶"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Minutes, 1843-44, p. 133 f.

¹⁷Hansard, 1818, XXXVIII, p. 356. Also see Macaulay, The History of England, I, p. 412.

nourishment resulted in grave physical and mental deterioration of the children. Excessive fatigue from privation of sleep, swelling of the feet from constant standing, round shoulders and curvature of the spine from bending over, together with impure air, produced serious, often permanent, incurable diseases, deformed bodies, and ignorance. Of pauper children attending a factory school near Liverpool in 1843, Her Majesty's Inspector Trengerthen stated:

No stranger can fail to be struck with the marked characteristics of physical inferiority pervading them; stunted growth, ill-formed heads, coarse features; the various evidences of hereditary disease, and of the squalid poverty in the midst of which they receive their first nurture.¹⁸

The clothes of children were described as "dirty, labour-soiled, ragged, scanty."¹⁹ In textile mills their faces, necks, and hands were "deeply stained with the blue of the dye used for cloth."²⁰ In spinning mills they habitually were covered with "flock of the yarn--their hair thickly powdered with it--tangled, especially that of the girls, as if no comb could ever penetrate it. . . ."²¹ After long

¹⁸"Report of John Gordon," Minutes, 1843-44, p. 167.

¹⁹"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Minutes, 1843-44, p. 134.

²⁰Loc. cit.

²¹Loc. cit.

hours and little nourishment, they returned home "so fatigued . . . that they let the vessel they have been holding in their hands fall on the floor."²² According to Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools Watkins, reporting on schools in northern England in 1843, the factory children were "soured by poverty," "sulky," "animal-like," "noisy," "miserable," and mired in "inconceivable profligancy and sin."²³

There was widespread ignorance among laboring children, many being totally unable to read or to write. They were usually too exhausted to receive instruction after working long hours under every handicap. In 1802 factory owners were required by law to provide reading, writing, and arithmetic for apprentices, but the act was unenforceable, and factory owners either ceased to apprentice children or ignored the law. Under the circumstances in which children labored, it was natural that on their return home in the evening they were too fatigued to receive instruction or to attend evening school. According to evidence in the report of the "Select Committee to regulate the labour of children,

²²Report of the Select Committee on the Bill for the regulation of factories, 1831-32, XV, p. 1.

²³"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Minutes, 1843-44, p. 135.

1831-32," a teacher answered questions of the committee on the capabilities of employed children as follows:

I have taught a school for the last sixteen years in the immediate vicinity of a number of spinning mills, . . . and I feel no hesitation in saying, that I consider the long hours they are obliged to labour very injurious to their health; and as to making any improvement in learning, it is nearly impossible, as they are generally so fatigued by the labour of the day, as to fall asleep if not actually employed in receiving instruction.²⁴

Quoting the same source, another teacher replied:

I have frequently observed the languid state of those children when in school; some of them, through the fatigue of the day, fall asleep when writing their copies; others when learning to read, etc.; it is therefore very difficult to communicate instruction to them.²⁵

Children who had been in mills for fifteen hours a day during the six preceding days were not in any mental or physical state to profit much from Sunday school, either.

Of 18,380 (estimated) persons between five and fourteen years of age in the mining area of East Holywell, Northumberland in 1840, 10,018 could not read nor write, 5,881 could read only, and 2,481 could both read and write; or 54.5 per cent, 32 per cent, and 13.5 per cent.²⁶ Approximately thirty-eight per cent were attending either day

²⁴Report of the Select Committee on the Bill for the regulation of factories, 1831-32, XV, p. 358.

²⁵Loc. cit.

²⁶"Report of Rev. John Allen," Minutes, 1840-41, pp. 65-66.

school or Sunday school. It was estimated in 1840 that the combined population of the large factory towns of Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, together with some ten smaller towns in Lancashire, was 685,000. Approximately one-fourth, or 171,250, should have been under instruction; but the report on education in Lancashire in 1840 stated that only 96,974 between the ages of five and fifteen were under instruction, leaving 74,267 children totally without instruction in this one area. Of the number receiving instruction, 48,966 received it only on Sundays.²⁷ Governmental efforts to prohibit the employment of children between nine and sixteen years of age, to prohibit night employment of children, and to force factories to provide decent working conditions were made in 1802, 1819, 1825, 1831, and 1833. However, the provisions of acts passed in these years failed appreciably to alter conditions. Between 1802 and 1833 none of the acts made any attempt to provide education for the children affected. In 1833 the factory act authorized governmental inspectors to procure the establishment of schools but gave them no power to raise the necessary money.²⁸ After 1833

²⁷"Report of Rev. Baptist W. Noel," Minutes, 1840-1, pp. 70-72.

²⁸An Act to regulate the labour of children and young persons in the mills and factories of the United Kingdom, 3 and 4 William IV, c. 103.

regulation of factory conditions became more stringent, resulting in improved conditions, and the government commenced aiding charity schools which provided education for children of the poor.

The system of physical education that developed in schools for children of the poor arose from the need to bring order, obedience, manners, and cleanliness to the type of child described above in order that he might receive instruction.

The evolution of elementary education to 1900 was considered by (1) a chronological review of the development of elementary education from early times to 1833, at which time the national government first gave financial aid to elementary schools, and (2) subsequent parliamentary acts, governmental regulations, commission reports to 1900 which directly affected elementary education. To correspond with topic one, elementary education to 1833, consideration was given physical education in elementary schools before government regulation commenced in 1839; and to correspond with topic two, the evolution of governmental regulation and control of elementary education to 1900, consideration was given the development of physical education from 1839 to 1870, 1870 to 1890, and 1890 to 1900.

Tracing the development of physical education in elementary schools to 1900 involved the frequent use of the following defined terms:

1. Elementary education--education in the obligatory subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic which was given to children of the poor and working classes.

2. Elementary school--a school for children of the poor and working classes, in which elementary education was the principal part of the curriculum. According to the Elementary Education Act of 1870, an elementary school was any school receiving aid from the government, and which (1) did not require a child to attend any religious instruction or worship, and (2) was open at all times "to the inspection of government inspectors."²⁹

Elementary schools were of two types--infant schools enrolling children from three to seven years of age inclusive, and schools for children from seven to thirteen or fourteen years of age. There was little relation between a child's age and his designation as an elementary pupil in English education until after 1885, when distinctly secondary schools began to make their appearance and the question arose as to

²⁹An Act to provide for public Elementary Education in England and Wales, 1870, 33 and 34 Victoria, c. 75, Sec. 7.

the line of demarcation between elementary education and secondary education.

3. School manager--an individual, group of persons, society, or elected school board, that established, organized, and formulated the policies of an elementary school. Frequently a priest or pastor was the manager of a parish school, hiring the teacher or teachers and administering the school. Often it was a person who established and maintained an elementary school for profit. A group of persons or a society (with a board of governors) that established and supported more than one school was designated as a school manager. In any case, the basic functions of school manager were organization and administration.

4. Voluntary school--a school established without any government compulsion by one or more individuals, a religious sect, or a society.

5. Scholar--a child of any age attending an elementary school. According to the Elementary Education Act, 1870, children were considered scholars in an elementary school until they passed Standard VI, in which advanced reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught.³⁰

³⁰"Code (1871) of Minutes of the Education Department," Report of Committee of Council on Education (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1871), pp. cviii-cix. Henceforth, Report was used in place of Report of Committee.

The consideration of the development of physical education in elementary schools to 1900 involved isolation of facts dealing with physical education from the mass of information dealing with the general development of English education and relating these facts to one another without moving too far afield from the total development of elementary education with which physical education was closely tied. That development was treated in two parts: first, the evolution of elementary education to 1900, and second, the development of physical education in elementary schools to 1900. Part one was considered under one heading; while part two, given more detailed study, was amplified under four headings. The discussion of part one, the evolution of governmental control of elementary education to 1900 was undertaken first.

II. THE EVOLUTION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION TO 1900

The evolution of elementary education to 1900 was considered before tracing the development of physical education in elementary schools in order to draw attention to the efforts of the Church and other charitable agencies that supplied the poor with education before a state system of elementary education came into being; to show clearly the gradual shift of control of elementary education from private and charitable agencies to governmental agencies; and

to supply a background for understanding the development of a system of physical education in elementary schools, which evolved in direct relation to governmental steps of control of elementary education.

The evolution of elementary education to 1900 was treated in (1) a chronological discussion of education for children of the poor before state interference in 1833, and (2) a chronological review of parliamentary acts, governmental regulations, and commission reports from 1833 until 1900 by which control of elementary education shifted from the charitable agencies to the government.

Elementary Education for Children of the Poor Prior to 1833

The chronological discussion of the education of children of the poor before state interference in 1833 was amplified through the following consecutive steps: First, a review was made of the efforts of the Church to supply education to the poor prior to the seventeenth century; second, consideration was given the efforts of charitable agencies not wholly religious--the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, and the Sunday school movement, which began in 1780, both of which were actively dominant in elementary education for periods in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; third, consideration was given the privately owned, individually operated Dame Schools, which

flourished in great numbers throughout the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century; fourth, consideration was given the monitorial system of education developed by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster which operated in embryonic form in the eighteenth century, becoming fully organized in the early years of the nineteenth century, and beginning to receive financial aid from the national government in 1833.

In every instance, charitable efforts to solve the problem of supplying education to children of the poor failed to keep pace with the need. Long the leader in elementary education for the poor, the Church was no longer able after the sixteenth century to supply and maintain the necessary schools without aid from other sources. During the seventeenth century, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge endeavored to meet the challenge, but it also failed to keep pace with the need for educating the masses of the lower classes. During the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, Sunday schools were thought to be the answer to the education of children of the poor. Private schools flourished throughout the eighteenth century, but the numbers attending such schools were never great, and they were sorely substandard. During the first half of the nineteenth

century, the discovery of the monitorial system was thought to be the answer to providing elementary education, but the religious quarrel between the non-sectarian British and Foreign Society and the National Society split the monitorial system into two camps, which neither singly nor combined could meet the need. However, the quarrel did associate most charity schools with one or the other society; and when the government made its initial move to aid schools for the education of children of the poor, it moved through these two societies.

Each type of charity organization dominated the philanthropic educational efforts for a time, but each in turn was overwhelmed by the enormity of the cost of supplying adequate schools for children of the poor without financial aid from the government--the sole agent able to supply enough money to meet the need.

Church Efforts to Educate Children of the Poor Prior to the Seventeenth Century

From the beginning of the Church, it was the sole agency for educating the lower classes. The authority of the Church was almost as extensive as the authority of the State, and it was regarded as the agency best fitted to

undertake the education of the people.³¹ The earliest schools were those connected with the monasteries and cathedrals, to which parish church schools were added in almost every town after the Norman Conquest in 1066. Monastery schools were directly under the government of the priesthood; and cathedral and parish schools, though educating the laity, were religious foundations.³²

With the Reformation, the relations between the Church and the State underwent changes which directly affected the education of the people. No longer was the priesthood supreme in managing schools, but shared the responsibility with the laity. The congregation was substituted for the monk, and the joint action of clergy and laity for the exclusive control of the priest.³³ To take the place of the former monastery and church schools, grammar schools were established during the fifteenth and sixteenth

³¹John W. Adamson, A Short History of Education (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), pp. 4-9, 11-12. Also see S. J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, second ed. (London: University Tutorial Press, 1950), pp. 5-10.

³²Charles Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales from 1800 to the Present Day, third ed. (London: University Tutorial Press, 1938), p. 5. Also see Foster Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), pp. 14-16.

³³Kirkman Grey, History of Philanthropy (London: P. S. King and Sons, 1905), pp. 47-49.

centuries to supply the need of education for the people. They were well endowed and consequently cheap, but they were soon out of reach of the poor.³⁴ Gradually it was recognized that the need for educating the poor could be met by the old custom of apprenticeship. This system served to satisfy an economic as well as an educational need.³⁵

During the sixteenth century, the clergy regained control of education. From time to time statutes were passed requiring the clergy to maintain a school in each parish for the poor and to read the Bible in English.³⁶ Such regulations strengthened the control of the Church over education.

Finally in 1604, the Church gained full control of the education of the masses. According to the Canon of 1604, no school could be established without the sanction of the bishop. In part, the Canon read as follows:

³⁴A. F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, 598 to 1909 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), p. 470. Also see Leach, A History of Winchester College (London: Duckworth and Co., 1899), pp. 92-103.

³⁵Henry Craik, The State in Its Relation to Education (London: Macmillan and Co., 1884), p. 6. Also see Macaulay, The History of England, I, p. 412.

³⁶Grey, op. cit., pp. 47-49. Also see Leach, The Schools of Medieval England (London: Methuen and Co., 1915), pp. 281-87.

No man shall teach either in public schools or private house, but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ordinary of the place

Beneficed clergymen are to be preferred by the Ordinary, if they are capable and desire the office³⁷

And finally, " . . . all schoolmasters shall thoroughly instruct their children in the catechism"³⁸ The duties which the statute of 1604 gave to the clergy led to the subsequent establishment of numerous parish schools in which the children of the poor might be given an elementary education.

But the popular dissemination of education was infinitesimal compared with the work to be done. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, voluntary charitable organizations augmented the inadequate apprentice system and the meager efforts of the clergy. Growing out of an ever-increasing interest in the conditions of the work in cities and towns, there appeared in the latter years of the seventeenth century the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and at the end of the eighteenth century, Sunday schools joined in the efforts to supplement the work

³⁷Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, p. 99. Also see Adamson, op.cit., pp. 188-89; Watson, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

³⁸Curtis, loc. cit.

of the Society. The efforts of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and of Sunday schools to advance elementary education were undertaken as the second step in tracing the education of children of the poor.

The Rise of Charitable, Voluntary Educational Societies to Aid in the Education of Children of the Poor

In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was formed to instruct children of the poor in the catechism of the Church of England and to combat vice and degradation among the lower classes. In the words of an organizer of the society, the purposes of the society were

. . . to teach them to Read well in the Bible, and withall, to Write, and Cast Accounts for ordinary Buifness, but chiefly to correct their vicious Inclinations, and to give them an early fense of God, and the true Principles of the Christian Religion.³⁹

The schools thus established in succeeding years were supported by subscription and enrolled poor children between six and twelve years of age. In 1704, 54 schools existed in London, with 2,131 children enrolled.⁴⁰ In 1734 there were 132 schools in London and 1,329 in the country, providing

³⁹Charity Sermons (thirty prints in two vols.) (London: 1704?-1718), p. 1.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 38-39.

for 5,123 and 19,506 children respectively.⁴¹ The largest¹⁶⁴ enrollment figures appeared in 1752, at which time the London schools were recorded as educating 5,604 children and the country schools, 23,421 children.⁴² After that date, interest in the movement lessened, and the number of children reported as enrolled in the schools declined.⁴³

In 1780 Robert Raikes set in motion a second and entirely different educational system. He opened a dame Sunday school in which he taught self-control, reading, and Christian manners to idle, uncouth, wild boys whom he found living in the poorer districts of Gloucester.⁴⁴ At first Sunday schools were undenominational, but the popularity of Sunday schools resulted in denominational supremacy. In 1787, it was estimated that a quarter of a million children were attending Sunday schools;⁴⁵ and by 1801, the London Society for the Establishment and Support

⁴¹Grey, op. cit., p. 107.

⁴²Loc. cit.

⁴³Maltby, Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education, pp. 1-5. Also see Grey, op. cit. p. 116.

⁴⁴Birchenough, History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, pp. 8, 15-16.

⁴⁵Grey, op. cit., pp. 118-120.

of Sunday schools alone had 1,516 schools connected with it, and 156,490 children enrolled.⁴⁶ The sincerity of the people directly involved in prosecuting the work of the movement was never deprecated, but the educational value of Sunday schools was often referred to as "slight,"⁴⁷ considered evidently from the viewpoint of the small accomplishment of each child studying only a few hours a week, rather than from the great numbers reportedly reached.

Next, consideration of dame schools was undertaken as the third type of voluntary school to which the poor sent their children before the state system of elementary education was established. Dame schools were private schools, conducted by individuals for their own profit, but seldom with large enrollments, which sprang up throughout the country.

The Work of the Privately Operated Dame Schools

Dame schools were by no means exclusively conducted by women. Many dame schools were operated by old men, "who, after trying other trades, . . . settled into a

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 121.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 122-23.

teacher's, as the . . . only possible way of making a living. . . ."⁴⁸

Whether operated by a man or a woman, dame schools seldom, if ever, intellectually stimulated the children who attended. Such schools were usually held in some odd room of the cottage or house and had little semblance of organization.⁴⁹ Usually they were conducted by a person too old for any other type of work. In some dame schools, infants from two to six years of age attended while their mothers were at work. Other schools to which parents sent children until they were old enough to earn money for the family were conducted exclusively for boys or for girls. Some dame schools were conducted in the evening and attended by youths and adults of the neighborhood.⁵⁰

Dame schools flourished in great numbers during the eighteenth century, and many lasted beyond the introduction of a state system of elementary education in 1870.

⁴⁸"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Report, 1871-72, p. 80.

⁴⁹William Shenstone, The School-Mistress, a Poem (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), 15 pp.

⁵⁰Melville, The Life and Letters of William Cobbett, I, pp. 29-30. Cobbett related that his father "drove the plough for two-pence a day, and these earnings were appropriated to the expense of an evening school. What a village school-master could be expected to teach, he had learnt. . . ."

Thereafter, the number of such schools diminished because they seldom qualified for state aid since they were not "efficiently conducted schools."⁵¹

While dame schools, Sunday schools, and Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge schools were yet flourishing, there appeared an entirely new system for educating children of the poor. This system of education developed by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell was referred to as the monitorial system, and was the final type of voluntary school discussed in the consideration of elementary education prior to the establishment of a national system.

The Monitorial System of Education

Andrew Bell⁵² and Joseph Lancaster⁵³ independently devised the monitorial system, by which teachers instructed

⁵¹"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Report, 1871-72, p. 80; "Report of Rev. H. Smith," Report, 1872-73, p. 134; "Report of C. Alderson," Report, 1873-74, pp. 24, 61.

⁵²Andrew Bell (1753-1832) was a clergyman of the Church of England, and for some years prior to 1797 had been in charge of an orphanage in Madras. To prevent waste of time, he trained a number of monitors, who in turn instructed the other pupils. The plan succeeded and Bell increased the number of monitors, relieving the teachers of all duties except those of a supervisory nature. On his return to England in 1797, he introduced his system into a number of charity schools in London. See James Leitch, Practical Educationists (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1876), pp. 121-148. Also see Craik, op. cit., p. 8; and W. O. Lester Smith, Education in Great Britain (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 101.

⁵³Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) was a Quaker with little formal education. He began his teaching career in a

a few of the older and brighter children, who in turn undertook to teach groups of their fellow pupils. By this procedure great numbers of children could be inexpensively instructed at the same time. The idea of educating cheaply great numbers of the poor stimulated interest in the movement among both high and low classes of people. Many schools established and maintained large enrollments by voluntary subscription in London and in other heavily populated districts.

The fact that Lancaster's plan of education was non-sectarian was at first overlooked, but when the Royal Lancasterian Association was formed in 1810 to administer the growing number of Lancastrian monitorial schools, in which no special provision was made to teach the Bible, criticism of the system on religious grounds immediately followed.⁵⁴ On the other hand, Bell advocated religious instruction as an essential and necessary part of his plan. In 1811, in order to combat the growth of Lancastrian schools and to foster the growth of the principle of

school for the poor of London in 1798. As the enrollment increased, he employed monitors to help in the work. His system won wide approval, and even royal patronage. George III subscribed one hundred pounds annually. *Ibid.*, pp. 150-162. Also see Lester Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁵⁴Lester Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

religious teaching, the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales was founded on Bell's system of education.⁵⁵ In 1814, the Royal Lancasterian Association was replaced by the British and Foreign School Society, and Joseph Lancaster was relieved of the duties of head of the system.⁵⁶

The importance of these two societies to the development of popular elementary education lay in the religious quarrel between them. The British and Foreign School Society attracted to its standard dissenters and persons advocating secular education, while the National Society represented the Church of England and lay persons who believed that elementary education should be directed by the Church. During the early years of the nineteenth century, most charitable and religious educational bodies tended to associate themselves with either the non-sectarian British and Foreign Society or with the Church of England's National Society.

When the State offered financial aid for the education of children of the poor in 1833, it found these two societies

⁵⁵Birchenough, op. cit., p. 101.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 44-45.

well organized and receptive to the idea of aid without control. Consequently, the state felt obliged to use these two channels to distribute grants of money.

Endeavoring to supply financial aid without control of schools was the prime objective of the government in 1833, at which time it made its first contribution; but once interference was begun, assumption of control of elementary education by the government came in due time. To show the gradual assumption of control of elementary education by the government, a review of the parliamentary acts, governmental regulations, and commission reports dealing with education from 1833 until 1900 was undertaken.

The Development of Governmental Control of Elementary Education from 1833 until 1900

By 1833 it was obvious to the Church, to dissenters, and to politicians that philanthropy alone could not support elementary education for children of the poor; consequently, the government gave twenty thousand pounds (approximately fifty-six thousand dollars) to the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society to aid in construction of schools.⁵⁷ The grant was made for the next six years.

⁵⁷Treasury Minutes of 29 August, 1833, in Board of Education Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-1882 by Matthew Arnold, new ed. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), Appendix A, pp. 269-70.

In 1839, with the total number of schools receiving aid, irrespective of denomination, only 6,335,⁵⁸ the government took another step. Queen Victoria appointed a Committee of Privy Council on Education "for the consideration of all matters affecting the education of the people," and to determine "in what manner the grants of money made from time to time" by the Parliament should be distributed.⁵⁹ The annual grant to the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society was raised to thirty thousand pounds, and the Committee immediately appointed two inspectors whose duties were to inspect aided schools and report findings to the Committee.⁶⁰ Thus, state interference began, and existing educational systems were thereafter affected by governmental decisions.

Control of elementary education by the government progressed by virtue of its control of grants, with objections to governmental control diminishing as denominations

⁵⁸Digest of Evidence, Royal Commission, 1886-1888 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), c. 5329, p. 7.

⁵⁹The Committee of Privy Council on Education was appointed by the Queen on April 10, 1839. It was to consist of the Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, the Secretary of the Home Department, and the Chancellor of Her Majesty's Exchequer. See Board of Education, Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-1882 by Matthew Arnold, Appendix B, p. 271.

⁶⁰"Code of Regulations," Minutes, 1839-40, p. 2.

accepted larger and larger grants. From 1839 to 1856 the Committee passed rules on construction of school houses, school management, attendance, and teacher supply and training. In order to qualify for the grant, schools had to meet minimum standards in each field. Owing to the expansion of the work of the Committee, a Department of Education was created in 1856;⁶¹ and in 1857 Parliament provided for the appointment of a minister, as vice president of the Department.⁶²

In 1858 the Newcastle Commission was formed to investigate "the state of popular education in England."⁶³ In 1859 the number of scholars on the registers of inspected schools was 957,000 and the average attendance was 712,000. The population of the country was 19,900,000 and there were 5,141 schools "capable of accommodating 1,094,000 children." The number of scholars was about 2,500,000, or one in eight of the population.⁶⁴ In 1861 the Newcastle Commission issued a report in which one of the recommendations made by

⁶¹"Orders in Council," Minutes, 1855-56, pp. 1-2.

⁶²"Appointment of Vice President of Education Department," Minutes, 1856-57, p. 44.

⁶³Full title: Royal Commission to inquire 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 people.

⁶⁴Digest of Evidence, Cross Commission, p. 8.

the Commission was to change the system of paying grants. It suggested the introduction of "payment by results"; that is, examining children in the basic subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and paying grants according to the average number of passes in each school.⁶⁵ This recommendation of the Commission was incorporated into regulations in 1862.⁶⁶

Governmental supremacy over elementary education was completely established in 1870. In that year the Elementary Education Act was passed, decreeing that locally elected boards of education should be set up to manage elementary schools wherever existing schools of voluntary societies were inadequate.⁶⁷ The establishment and maintenance of school board schools begun in 1870 was the beginning of a state system of education in England.

After the passage of the Act of 1870, compulsory school attendance became the most pressing problem.⁶⁸ Children of the poor were in and out of school constantly with

⁶⁵Report, 1861-62, p. 1x.

⁶⁶"Revised Code (1872)," Report, 1861-62, pp. xvi-xliv.

⁶⁷An Act to provide for public Elementary Education in England and Wales, 1870, 33 and 34 Victoria, c. 75.

⁶⁸Report, 1869-70, p. 298; Report, 1872-73, pp. 19, 76, 146; Report, 1874-75, pp. 62, 143; Report, 1876-77, pp. 456, 488, 540, 553.

little or no continuity. Many went to work at the early age of six, seven, or eight. The school life of many was only six months, one year, or two years at the most.⁶⁹ Efforts to alleviate poor school attendance included the Factory Act of 1874, which made child labor in factories permissible only if the workers attended school part time.⁷⁰ The Education Act of 1876 stated that it was the duty of every parent to see that his child received sufficient elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and provided penalties for defaulters. The act had little effect because of the unenforceability of the penalty clause.⁷¹ In 1880 attendance at school became obligatory for children between the ages of 10 and 13.⁷²

In 1886 the "Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales" was

⁶⁹Adam H. Robson, The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England, 1833-1876 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1931), pp. 185-88.

⁷⁰An Act to make better provision for improving the health of women, young persons, and children employed in manufactures, and the education of such children, and otherwise to amend the Factory Act, 1874, 37 and 38 Victoria, c. 44.

⁷¹An Act to make further provision for Elementary Education, 1876, 39 and 40 Victoria, c. 79, Part I, Section 4.

⁷²Elementary Education (Attendance) Act, 1880, 43 and 44 Victoria, c. 23.

set up.⁷³ It reported in 1888, bringing to the attention of the public the grave problems facing elementary education for children of the working classes which had not been solved. Problems needing attention included school accommodation and equipment, teacher salaries and training, school attendance of children, religious instruction, elementary school curriculum, "payment by results," grants from the government, and the relationship of elementary to secondary schools, which were appearing for the first time.⁷⁴

During the next few years, steps were made to carry out its recommendations. Among legislation enacted was the Free Schooling Elementary Education Act of 1891, which gave parents the right to demand free education for their children in any district in which there was inadequate free elementary school accommodation.⁷⁵ In 1893 the School Attendance Act was passed, providing that the minimum age for school exemption be raised from 10 years to 11.⁷⁶ In

⁷³Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the workings of the Elementary Education Acts, England and Wales.

⁷⁴Final Report of Royal Commission, c. 5485.

⁷⁵Elementary Education (Free Schooling) Act, 1891, 54 and 55 Victoria, c. 56.

⁷⁶Elementary Education (School Attendance) Act, 1893, 56 and 57 Victoria, c. 51.

the same year the Elementary Education for Blind and Deaf Children Act was passed, which provided that the blind and deaf must be sent to special schools if provision could not be made for them in ordinary schools.⁷⁷ In 1894 Parliament passed the Local Government Act, which set up county and county borough councils on a popularly elected basis all over the country.⁷⁸ In 1897 "payment by results" was abolished,⁷⁹ and in 1899 the Board of Education Act was passed, setting up one central governmental body to coordinate the work heretofore done by several governmental agencies.⁸⁰ Thus, with seldom a pause from 1839 to 1900, the national government concerned itself with elementary education for children of the poor. In every instance its moves had been made reluctantly, and only after voluntary bodies had failed to keep pace with the problem.

Government control of education progressed in proportion to the increasing needs of voluntary schools already set up. Voluntary bodies found themselves unable to supply and maintain schools adequately without financial

⁷⁷Elementary Education (Blind and Deaf Children) Act, 1893, 56 and 57 Victoria, c. 42.

⁷⁸Local Government Act, 1894: Report, 1894-95, p. 9.

⁷⁹"The Day School Code," Report, 1896-97, pp. 393-94.

⁸⁰Board of Education Act, 1899, 62 and 63 Victoria, c. 33.

aid from the government. Aid was accompanied by control and regulation.

Summary of the Evolution of Elementary Education to 1900

From its beginning the established church of England had concerned itself with education of the poor. It was not until the Reformation that the existing framework for educating the poor was destroyed. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries education of the poor was evinced in two movements: the parochial charity school movement which began with the founding of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698, and the Sunday School Movement which spread rapidly after 1780. During the same period private schools, operated by individuals for a profit, supplied some children with an elementary education.

The discovery and subsequent development of the monitorial system of education at the turn of the nineteenth century consolidated charity and religious schools into two main organizations: the non-sectarian British and Foreign School Society, representing dissenters; and the National Society, representing the Church of England. During the nineteenth century the financial position of voluntary schools became more and more precarious, and in 1833 the national government gave the two societies 20,000 pounds to aid in constructing and maintaining school buildings.

Thereafter the grant was made annually, and government interference in education was begun.

In 1839 the national government created the Committee of Council on Education to administer the grants given to the voluntary societies. The Committee immediately appointed inspectors to visit aided schools and to report on conditions as they found them in voluntary schools. The reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors proved that more than financial aid was necessary in order to improve the education offered to children of the poor. In subsequent years the government stipulated that schools must meet certain minimum requirements in order for them to receive grants of money. These requirements included construction of school buildings, school management, attendance, and teacher training.

In 1862 a new system of paying grants to voluntary schools was introduced. It involved the children of each school being examined in the basic subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic by an inspector with grants paid to each school according to the average number of passes. This system was called payment by results.

In 1870 the Elementary Education Act decreed that local school boards should set up and manage schools wherever existing voluntary schools were inadequate. This was the beginning of a state system of education.

In succeeding years, educational acts and government regulations dealt with school attendance, teacher supply, school curriculum, grants, and local educational authorities. In 1897 payment by results was abolished, and in 1899 a new central government educational department was created to coordinate the work heretofore conducted by a number of agencies. Further consolidation was to come in 1902.

The development of physical education in elementary schools depended almost wholly on the successive steps taken after 1839 by the government to improve the educational facilities for the education of children of the poor. Before 1839 voluntary schools for educating children of the poor did not consider physical education as part of the curriculum; in other words, there was no system of physical education in elementary schools. Nevertheless, in some schools, teachers left to their own devices exercised or gave recreational relaxation to pupils by employing certain physical education activities.

Physical education activities most often found in dame schools and charitable common day schools were military drill, calisthenics, and free play. The following topic took into consideration these activities in voluntary schools prior to 1839.

III. PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS PRIOR TO 1839

The games and sports which were developing in the Public Schools had no place in the activities of day schools established by charitable institutions for the education of children of the poor. Undoubtedly, children of all classes of society played games and engaged in the popular sports, but children of the poor did so only when not attending school. In the first place, charity schools were set up to give children of the poor a smattering of the three "r"'s in order that they might read the Bible and lead righteous lives in the station to which they were born. As S. E. Maltby stated,

The poor and the ignorant were considered to be a natural counterpart of the rich and the cultured, but the poor ought not to be degraded and ignorant of the saving truths of Christianity, nor ought they to be discontented with their lot and rebellious against their lawful betters.⁸¹

Physical education activities had no place in this purpose. Secondly, there was seldom, if ever, space enough for children to practice physical exercises or to play games. In dame schools, usually conducted in the living room or kitchen of the proprietor of the school, there was no area

⁸¹Maltby, Manchester and the Movement for National Education, p. 8. Also see Ernest Green, Education for a New Society, revised ed. (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1947), p. 4.

large enough in which to play games or to engage in calisthenics, even if the teacher had been cognizant that such activity was desirable. In Sunday schools the children were brought to the church and given instruction in the catechism for an hour or two in the morning before church services, or in the afternoon. Sunday schools constituted the chief means of education for a considerable part of the industrial workers, who were compelled to put their children to work at an early age.⁸² Children did not come to the church to amuse themselves with play or exercise. In common day schools, established and maintained by the Church of England, dissenter groups, or factory owners, children were expected to sit still and memorize passages from the Bible, learn simple unrelated facts about geography of the Holy Land, do simple arithmetic, or learn to read by reading the Bible. No other activities were thought to be necessary by school managers and teachers. It was, in fact, a picture of "ragged bodies matched by ragged minds, of frail forms sustained by slender resources, of unshod feet little prepared for roughness of life's highway."⁸³

⁸²Robson, The Education of Children Engaged in Industry in England, 1833-1876, p. 13.

⁸³G. A. N. Lowndes, The Silent Social Revolution (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 38.

It was an exception if any charity school included play or physical exercise in the activities of the school. But if they did include such activities, the activities were either simple military drill--marching--which took place in the school yard or in the street, simple calisthenics practiced in the school room or in the yard, or free play.

Located in built-up districts in towns and cities, schools with little or no yard space broke the long periods in which children sat still or stood in one place with arm swinging, leg stretching, and trunk bending exercises engaged in by the children in the aisles between the benches in the school room. If the school had a suitable yard, the exercises were practiced there. Military drill was practiced only when a teacher had been suitably trained or when the school secured the services of a volunteer who knew how to conduct drill.

Free play was more common than either calisthenics or military drill. In towns and cities children were used to playing in the streets, alleys, or on the sidewalks; therefore schools in crowded areas of towns that condoned physical exercise allowed children to leave the school room and play wherever and whatever they wished. In the country and villages there was no other form of physical education. Children were dismissed to play on the village green, in the

road, or in a nearby pasture. Play was seldom, if ever, supervised. Even when children were allowed time in which to play, they usually lacked equipment.

Such were examples of efforts by charity schools to give children of the poor physical education before the interference of the governmental agency in 1839. After the interference of the government, conditions did not perceptibly change for many years, but the seed had been planted and germination begun, through the efforts of governmental agencies.

Subsequent development of physical education in charity schools depended almost wholly on the successive steps taken after 1839 by the government to improve the educational facilities for the education of children of the poor. The educational problems of school management, school accommodation, teacher shortage and training, and attendance at school were basic problems which needed immediate attention. In every instance, partial solution or alleviation of these problems focused a measure of attention on physical education. For example, an effort to supply parishes with school houses, equipping the rooms with benches and a heating and ventilation system, was given priority, after which an effort to supply school houses with play areas and yards

appended to the houses received notice. Keeping in mind that each forward step in the development of physical education in elementary schools after 1839 depended upon the lead of the educational agency of the national government, data concerning the development of physical education in elementary schools from 1839 to 1870 were organized into the following chronologically arranged topics: (1) the initial move by the Committee of Council on Education to investigate physical education lasting from 1840 until 1845, (2) the development of purposes of physical education in elementary schools from 1839 to 1870 which arose from the need to solve the basic school problems of discipline, attendance, and cleanliness and health of the children, and (3) the initial efforts by the Committee of Council on Education in 1847 and in 1855 to require school managers to provide playgrounds or school yards in connection with the school houses.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FROM 1839 UNTIL 1870

The consideration of the chronological development of physical education in elementary schools from 1839 until 1870 rested upon one basic fact: In elementary schools, conducted and managed by charitable institutions, little if any effort was made to include physical education activities in the curriculum of the schools. However, the period under

investigation was not totally devoid of unconscious efforts to supply elementary schools with a system of physical education: (1) The creation of the Committee of Council on Education in 1839 to administer grants paid to the charitable agencies in order that they might build and maintain schools for the children of poor resulted in a governmental investigation of playgrounds and physical education in those schools; (2) To solve the perpetual school problems of discipline, the cleanliness and health of the children, and school attendance, it became customary for schools to use physical education activities; (3) Beginning in 1847, the government initiated steps to correct the already long overdue provision of playground and exercise space in elementary schools. Each of these chronological moves toward creating a system of physical education in elementary schools was discussed in turn.

The Initial Governmental Investigation of Physical Education and Playground Space in Elementary Schools, 1840-1845

The initial governmental investigation of physical education was made between 1839 and 1845, during which time the Committee of Council on Education made an effort to ascertain whether or not voluntary schools were providing children with playgrounds and with any sort of physical education activities. To give ample consideration to the

topic it was discussed in three parts: The first part dealt with the instructions of the Committee of Council on Education to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools and the questionnaire from which information was to be gleaned; the second part included an account of the types and amount of physical education activities found by Her Majesty's Inspectors in their visits to elementary schools; and the third noted the type and amount of playground space found in elementary schools by Her Majesty's Inspectors.

Instructions of the Committee of Council on Education to Her Majesty's Inspectors and the questionnaire dealing with physical education. As there had been no previous governmental investigation, little or nothing was known about physical education in elementary schools in 1839 when the Committee of Council on Education was established as a government agency. To ascertain the type and amount of physical education and amount of play space offered in state-aided schools, the Committee began an investigation in 1840. Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools were given the following general instructions pertaining to the amount and extent of playgrounds, which were to guide them in their investigation:

The inspector will ascertain whether any ground, and to what extent, is to be appropriated to the recreation of the children, how it will be enclosed, and whether it is intended to furnish it with the means of exercise and recreation, and whenever his

advise is sought, he will encourage the adoption of such arrangements.⁸⁴

Thus, schools were left free to provide or not to provide a playground in connection with the school house, and the inspector was not to recommend or advise school managers to do so unless his advice was sought.

Under "Mechanical Arrangements," Her Majesty's Inspectors were instructed to note and answer the following specific questions concerning playgrounds:

34. Is an exercise-ground provided? and if so, at what distance from the school?

35. Of what extent is it?

36. Is the play ground furnished with gymnastic apparatus, flying course or circular swing, parallel bars, and gymnastic-frame?

37. What is the nature and height of the fence with which the play ground is enclosed?⁸⁵

Whether or not schools for children of seven years of age and older provided a system of physical education was included under the heading "Means of Instruction." An answer was to be obtained for Question 54: "Are the children systematically trained in gymnastic exercises?"⁸⁶

Physical education activities in infant schools (children under seven years of age) were asked for by the Committee

⁸⁴"Instructions to Inspectors of Schools," Minutes, 1840-1, p. 3.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁶Loc. cit.

under "Special Questions on Infant Schools":

Recreation and Physical Exercises

3. What amusements have the children?
4. What games are encouraged?
5. Have they any and what gymnastic apparatus?
6. Are the children trained in walking, marching, and physical exercise, methodically?
7. With what results?
8. How often do the intervals of recreation occur daily, and what time is spent in recreation at each interval?⁸⁷

Her Majesty's Inspectors were not given instructions to insist or even to suggest that a program of physical education be adopted, nor that playgrounds be provided; they were only to look and report on conditions as they found them unless their advice was sought.

The types and amount of physical education found by Her Majesty's Inspectors in their initial visits to elementary schools. Her Majesty's Inspectors fell far short of answering the questions relating to physical education when they inspected sites and school buildings immediately after 1839. They found general conditions so appalling that a glance sufficed to tell them no physical education was provided.

From the report of Her Majesty's Inspector Allen on 150 schools inspected in "the mining districts of Durham

⁸⁷"Special Questions on Infant Schools," Minutes, 1840-1, p. 11.

and Northumberland,"⁸⁸ the following examples of physical education were noted:

In 7 out of . . . 15 infant-schools visited, the mistresses' . . . chief business was to teach their scholars to repeat a few rhymes, and to go through certain manual and bodily exercises.⁸⁹

None was "supplied with any gymnastic apparatus." Dame schools were of two kinds, "those kept by persons fond of children . . ., and those kept by widows and others compelled by necessity to seek employment." Living rooms were commonly used as school rooms, and no physical exercise was given. Of the common schools, Allen reported, "the masters appeared in most cases to be very ill educated . . ., of education, there is none." No superintendence was exercised over the children during the hours of relaxation, and they had no drills nor manual exercises, no playgrounds nor provision for recreation. Little attention was paid to the cleanliness of the children or the rooms. Allen found parochial schools to be cleaner and better operated than common day schools with "small yards attached to some, but

⁸⁸The 150 schools included four Sunday schools, fifteen infant schools, thirty-seven dame schools, forty-six common day schools, fifteen girls' schools, fourteen boys' schools, two mixed schools, three Lancastrian schools for boys, two Lancastrian schools for girls, the school in the Durham jail, eleven schools for children of "a superior class." See "Report of Rev. John Allen," Minutes, 1840-1, pp. 52-53.

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 52-68.

these were in no instances furnished with circular swings or means of recreation, nor was any superintendence habitually exercised over the children during the period of relaxation." At the girls' and Lancastrian schools, Allen found conditions similar to those at the other schools, and where playgrounds were provided, they were only small pieces of ground.⁹⁰

Efforts to interpret conditions in the fast-growing cities of Birmingham, Manchester, and Liverpool were made by a volunteer inspector, the Rev. Baptist W. Noel. He visited 195 schools;⁹¹ "146 of these schools were day-schools of various kinds; and 49 were Sunday-schools." Besides unqualified teachers, inadequate facilities, lack of equipment, and little or no learning taking place, he found "order and cleanliness are little regarded . . . and the effluvia, arising from the mess of the scholars mingled with the close air exhausted of its oxygen, makes healthy respiration almost impossible."⁹² The children, "often

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 52-58.

⁹¹"Report of Rev. Baptist W. Noel," Minutes, 1840-1, pp. 69-78.

⁹²Ibid., p. 71. Noel described one particularly bad dame school as follows: "I found 31 children, from 2 to 7 years of age. The room was a cellar, about 10 feet sq. and about 7 ft. high. The only window was less than 18 inches square, and not made to open. There was a fire burning, and

before the age of 10, almost always before 12, are removed from school to labour when they have been two years, or a year, or only six months at school." He estimated that only "one thirty-fourth (of 108,000 . . . only 20,000) are being reached. . . ." ⁹³

To get a report from the southwestern mining area of England, the Committee sent Her Majesty's Inspector Tremenheere to the county of Cornwall. His visitation took him into seven parishes, containing about 52,000 people. There were 37 common day schools, of which Mr. Tremenheere inspected 32, "the rest being remote, and too small to require a special visit." ⁹⁴ Of a total of 1,878 children on the school rolls, the average attendance was 1,614, 1,086 being boys and 528 girls. The number of children between five and fifteen not attending the common day schools was estimated to be 6,803. ⁹⁵ Tremenheere found school rooms

the door was shut. If she opened the door the children would rush out to light and liberty, while the cold blast rushing in would torment her aged bones with rheumatism. Still further to restrain their vagrant propensities, . . . she had crammed the children as closely as possible into a dark corner at the foot of her bed. . . . Six children had books. . . . The only remaining instruments of instruction . . . were a glassfull of sugar-plumbs . . . and a cane by its side."

⁹³Ibid., p. 78.

⁹⁴"Report of Segmore Tremenheere," Minutes, 1840-1, p. 85.

⁹⁵Loc. cit.

light and clean, though close and poorly ventilated; "learning was practically nil." In a few schools he noted that singing was taught and gardens worked by the boys for an hour and a half after dinner. Tremenheere recommended that gymnastics be introduced into the schools in order to replace the boys' "taste for athletic exercises," of which wrestling was the "favorite amusement." No formal exercises were given in any schools, but singing was enjoyed by everybody.⁹⁶

In September, 1840, Her Majesty's Inspector Tremenheere inspected the schools kept by the Navy and Merchant Marine at Greenwich, London, for children of members of these military services.⁹⁷ He found adequate garden and play space provided for the 800 boys and 200 girls, who "remain at the establishment from three to five years." Tremenheere reported that most leisure time of the children was unsupervised, but that a portion of every day "was given to physical exercises by the lower school boys." According to Tremenheere, they ". . . are under the direction of the boatswain, and are well calculated to form a useful introductory training for some of the duties of a sailor."⁹⁸

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 86-99.

⁹⁷"Report on Greenwich Hospital Schools," Minutes, 1840-1, pp. 110-20.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 112.

No physical exercises were provided for the girls and their leisure time was completely unsupervised. In the upper school most of the school time of the boys was spent in arithmetic and kindred subjects. Outside the classrooms they were without supervision. Tremenheere recommended military drill in order to improve discipline, "that the playgrounds should be put in order by being covered with a mixture of chalk and gravel and well rolled, and twice a week 100 boys at a time get exercise on the masts, gun drill, and sword exercises,"⁹⁹

No efforts were made by schools in agricultural districts to have physical education activities or to supervise play. Her Majesty's Inspector Allen visited 222 schools, thirty-two of which were double schools (boys in one room, girls in another), thirty-seven dame schools, twenty-six infant schools, thirty-four dame schools in cottages, all in the predominantly agricultural counties of Bedford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon.¹⁰⁰ He found no playgrounds or physical education. Later on, Allen visited 281 schools in the eleven southern counties of England where he found one school, containing seventy-seven infants, where

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 119-20.

¹⁰⁰"Report of Rev. John Allen," Minutes, 1843-4, p. 1.

they "march, and go through their exercises with much regularity."¹⁰¹

In addition to the almost total lack of physical education in schools, playground space had usually been overlooked when the schools were built.

The types and amount of playground and exercise areas found by Her Majesty's Inspectors in their initial visits to elementary schools. Her Majesty's Inspectors reported that most schools had failed to provide playgrounds, and where they did exist they were usually inadequate, being small or improperly drained and cleared. Of 284 schools making application for grants in 1840, 181 listed no playground provided, one listed "a lane," while a few schools listed playgrounds extending in size from 30 by 8 feet for 260 children, to 100 square yards for approximately 170 children. The majority of applications listed "residue of site," with sites varying from 41 by 20 feet to one-half acre.¹⁰²

Her Majesty's Inspector Cook reported on 133 schools in the eastern seven counties of England in 1843, where he found twenty-nine with any sort of yard or play area--five

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 7. There were 116 schools in which boys and girls were taught apart; forty-six under one master, assisted by a sewing mistress; seventy-two mixed schools; thirty-five infant schools; three Sunday schools; eight dame schools in cottages.

¹⁰²Minutes, 1840-1, Appendix II, pp. 40-50.

had "play grounds," thirteen "small yards," and eleven "yards" or "a piece of ground."¹⁰³

Investigation pointed out that schools in towns and cities were almost certain to lack an exercise or play area. Of sixty-seven British and Foreign Schools Society schools in industrial towns in northern England, Her Majesty's Inspector Fletcher reported in 1843 as follows:

. . . in towns, where land is very valuable for building, it is not surprising to find that the area of the whole premises is often limited as much as possible in extent. . . . The space devoted to play yards, approaches, and offices /toilets/ is therefore but limited.¹⁰⁴

Of the sixty-seven schools visited, six had some type of exercise or play area.¹⁰⁵

Her Majesty's Inspector Watkins, after inspecting the Church of England schools in northern England in 1845, stated:

¹⁰³"Report of Rev. F. C. Cook," Minutes, 1843-4, pp. 54-61.

¹⁰⁴"Report of Joseph Fletcher," Minutes, 1843-4, pp. 201, 208.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 208. Fletcher, pp. 201-18, recorded that of the thirty-one schools in towns "two have good yards fitted with gymnastic apparatus, including at /one/ a complete gymnastic frame." At a school located near the sea, the "wide sandy shore" was used as the playground. Of fourteen infant schools, all of which "are as narrowly accommodated with space for play grounds as the British Schools generally are," only two had swings in their yards. In twelve of thirteen village schools, "every bit of space was given over to the garden of the master, the children using . . . the neighboring lanes and common. . . ."

. . . there is a deficiency of exercise-grounds for our schools, and where these exist, and are properly enclosed, little use is made of them for the purposes of physical and moral training.

There is nothing new my Lords in these remarks. They have been frequently made, and repeated again and again, by every one who has ever really looked into the circumstances of our national education. But their want of novelty is no slight token of their truth. That they are true, I am deeply convinced.¹⁰⁶

Many problems facing elementary education took precedence over providing schools with playgrounds and exercise space and with a system of physical education.

In 1839 when the government formed the Committee of Council on Education and inaugurated the inspectorate, problems crying for solution included the appalling lack of school houses, shortage of teachers, and lack of funds, as well as the pressing school problems of ignorance, irregular attendance, overcrowded conditions, lack of personal cleanliness, and discipline of the children. These problems in great measure determined the type and objectives of physical education as adopted by elementary schools. Gradually, physical education activities (in this case, military drill and calisthenics) came to be accepted as a means of lessening the problems of discipline, attendance, and cleanliness and health of children, resulting in giving purpose to physical education in elementary schools. This trend in the

¹⁰⁶"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Minutes, 1845, p. 333.

development of physical education between 1839 and 1870 was considered next.

The Introduction of Military Drill and Calisthenics as Means of Solving Basic School Problems

Methods of improving order and discipline in school, many children being almost uncivilized and with no knowledge of conventional manners and habits; of improving the personal cleanliness and health of the children to provide the physical foundation for effective mental activity; and of inducing children to attend school, regularly if possible, were immediate problems needing solutions.

The use of military drill and calisthenics to solve or to lessen these particular problems gradually came to be accepted. Evidence was accumulated that schools in which children were drilled or made to go through calisthenics, were inspected for cleanliness and sent home to wash, and were taught obedience and respect for each other and adults, were usually well-ordered and clean schools. Through the reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors, these schools were held up as examples for other schools to emulate. Much of the spread of military drill and calisthenics was due to the favorable results of their use in a particular school to solve one of the above mentioned problems.

As early as 1843 Her Majesty's Inspector Bellairs voiced the future aim of physical education. In his report

on 138 schools in western England, he stated:

[I] would only here express a hope that the subject may be more carefully considered by those managers of schools, especially in towns, who consider the health of the children, moral discipline, and periodical recreation, as important features in a sound education.¹⁰⁷

However, the immediacy of the disciplinary and health problems delayed for many years the recognition of the recreational activities of games and sports.

One of the most pressing problems facing schools was discipline.¹⁰⁸ Military drill and calisthenics gradually gained ground on such old and tried methods as corporal punishment and awards. As reported by Her Majesty's Inspector Watkins in 1845, "It is interesting to mark the improvement of tone where the master is a teacher in the exercises. . . ."¹⁰⁹ Her Majesty's Inspector Kennedy commented in 1849 on the necessity for drill as a disciplinary measure as follows:

¹⁰⁷"Report of Rev. H. W. Bellairs," Minutes, 1843-4, pp. 104-5.

¹⁰⁸According to Her Majesty's Inspector Brookfield, "modesty, personal neatness, quietness of demeanour, obedience, regularity, and diligence," were the characteristics of a child's discipline. See "Report of Rev. W. H. Brookfield," Minutes, 1848-49-50, Vol. II, p. 73.

¹⁰⁹"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Minutes, 1845, p. 282. Inspector Fletcher classified "efficiently organized . . . actively progressing, popular schools . . ." as those where "discipline is paramount." See "Report of Joseph Fletcher," Minutes, 1847-48, p. 281.

Greater pains should be taken in making all the boys go through certain bodily exercises and drill, in causing them to stand or sit in proper positions, and requiring an orderly disposition of their caps and satchels, which are sometimes carelessly tossed into a heap on the floor. It is overlooked, that these matters, besides being physically beneficial, have a great moral effect in producing habits of obedience, order, and attention. Children should be inured to habits of cleanliness in dress and person.¹¹⁰

Quietness and order were prime requisites for teaching in overcrowded, poorly ventilated, and ill-equipped school rooms. Through the use of military drill and calisthenics, quietness, order, and obedience became evident. In 1859 Her Majesty's Inspector Watkins reported on schools in Yorkshire, saying,

Much also has been done by the right use of the play ground and school-garden. These agents are not only valuable in themselves as conducive to health, and profitable for their own direct objects, giving quickness to the eye, steadiness to the foot, and dexterity to the hand, either for labour or for play; but they are valuable as lengthening and deepening the action of the cultivated and disciplined mind of the man or woman upon the boys and girls under their charge. . . .¹¹¹

"Habits of obedience, order, and attention," being recognized as important effects of military drill and calisthenics, were the outstanding objectives for which such

¹¹⁰"Report of Rev. Joseph Kennedy," Minutes, 1848-49-50, p. 176.

¹¹¹"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Report, 1859-60, p. 36.

activities were advocated.¹¹²

Attendance was also a chronic problem in elementary schools. Little knowledge could be acquired by children whose attendance was irregular or of short duration. In spite of many and varied efforts, schools were not especially successful in enticing children into the school house. In industrial districts in northern England in 1843, Her Majesty's Inspector Watkins reported children "leaving school at a very early age," or "in and out of school constantly." In agricultural areas attendance was no better. According to Watkins,

. . . haytime, dibbling wheat, setting potatoes, dropping beans, drawing turnips, pulling kecks /charlock/, driving donkeys, attending "flies" /birds/ . . . keep children out of school, or . . . cause them to leave at an early age.¹¹³

Watkins estimated "the average duration of each child's schooling not to exceed two years."¹¹⁴ By 1855 military drill and calisthenics had come to be regarded as means to raise attendance. Her Majesty's Inspector Norris reported that a few schools in western England had adopted "various

¹¹²According to Inspector Oakeley, "school drill is extremely valuable . . . in promoting habits of order, method, and obedience. . . ." See "Report of H. E. Oakeley," Report, 1869-70, p. 335.

¹¹³"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Minutes, 1843-4, p. 120.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 119.

schemes of recreation, tending to render the school more attractive and popular, and so to increase and prolong the attendance of the children."¹¹⁵ In the same year Matthew Arnold recommended to all schools that physical education be used as a means to improve attendance. Arnold stated, "No where are good school-buildings, and, above all, a good play ground, such a potent means of attraction to scholars as in London. . . ."¹¹⁶

Cleanliness and health of school children was the third problem with which physical education came to be associated. From the beginning, inspectors found school rooms and school children filthy. Usually teachers were unable to cope with the problem. In 1843, when the Rev. Frederick Watkins reported on 162 schools in northern England with 12,676 children present at inspection, he found school rooms in the manufacturing districts extremely dirty:

Northumbrian schools are . . . deficient of discipline and abundant in dirt. At one school, there were literally furrows of dust on the floor, in which the naked feet of the children seemed delighted to burrow.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵"Report of Rev. J. P. Norris," Minutes, 1855-56, p. 389.

¹¹⁶"Report of Matthew Arnold," Minutes, 1855-56, p. 475.

¹¹⁷"Report of Rev. F. Watkins," Minutes, 1843-4, p. 119.

Watkins consulted a physician as to "what steps he would advise to procure proper health and full vigour of body in the lower classes," and passed on to the Committee in his report the reply of the physician as follows:

. . . since the sanatory condition of the very lowest classes must be greatly dependent upon education and moral condition, any means which could be devised to force upon them some education would, in my opinion, be the greatest step in the improvement of the sanatory condition.¹¹⁸

The time when education would be compulsory was far in the future, but efforts were begun to correct the unhealthy and unclean conditions.¹¹⁹ In 1847 Joseph Fletcher recommended to all schools a practice which he found in a London school:

. . . a custom which forms the very portal of all this discipline is that of assembling all the boys in the playground, morning and afternoon, in regimental order, according to their classes, for inspection as to cleanliness, and then marching them to their several stations in the school-room.¹²⁰

The use of daily inspection became widespread, though most schools had inadequate facilities that children might use to wash, as did the children if they were sent home to wash.

¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 129.

¹¹⁹The common method of cleaning slates involved spitting on them and wiping it off with sleeve or pettycoat. A pen was cleaned by inserting it in the mouth, then drying it on one's hair. Inspector Brookfield, Minutes, 1848-49-50, p. 73, stated, "these young butlers and kitchenmaids . . . to be . . . may think no harm some day to have recourse to so prompt and natural an expedient with a plate."

¹²⁰"Report of Joseph Fletcher," Minutes, 1847-48, p. 287.

To improve the health of the children, recess periods were advocated by inspectors in order that children might relax and relieve the fatigue brought about from long sessions of sitting still. Her Majesty's Inspector Scoltock, reporting on 18,450 children in 161 Church of England schools in the northwestern counties of England in 1861, said:

In no few instances the children come to school at 9 a.m., leave at 12, and they are in school again at 2 p.m., and remain until 5 o'clock. I believe the strength of the children is exhausted by application so continuous . . .; and if one hour at least were cut off from the time actually spent in the school-room, the results would be more satisfactory, for 'all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy.'¹²¹

Her Majesty's Inspector Rev. H. Sandford commented in 1864 as follows:

Neither their health nor their physique is improved by their being kept in school all the morning, or, still worse, all the afternoon, without exercise in the open air; by their being made to sit or stand . . . with their arms across their breasts, so that they become round shouldered and contracted in the chest; by their being crowded together so that they have not room to move their limbs freely; by their being allowed to stoop forward too much with their elbows out when writing.¹²²

To alleviate these practices, Inspector Sandford recommended that a regular system of military drill be made general for all schools under the administration of the government.

¹²¹"Report of W. Scoltock," Report, 1861-62, pp. 158-59.

¹²²"Report of Rev. H. Sandford," Report, 1864-65, p. 232.

Provision of recess periods was not acceptable in most schools. The amount of school work required of the children together with irregular attendance kept children and their teachers far behind in their assignments.

However, resultant improvement of discipline, attendance and punctuality, and the cleanliness of children in schools fortunate enough to have someone who could march the children in the yard, or give them exercises as they stood beside the benches in the school room, or with time enough to insist that children come to school clean, failed to make military drill and calisthenics popular. Of 317 schools inspected in 1848 by Her Majesty's Inspector Brookfield in southeastern England, only twenty-six had some sort of drill.¹²³ Brookfield described the drill that he found as defective, limited, and deficient; "good" appeared four times. In 1852 of 451 schools inspected in the county of York, 128 had playgrounds or yards, one infant school of 189 children had drill.¹²⁴ The report of 1852 from Her Majesty's Inspectors Tinling and Meredith on schools in southwest England stated that of thirty-five schools with playgrounds or yards, ranging from "small to

¹²³"Report of Rev. W. H. Brookfield," Minutes, 1848-49-50, pp. 81-131.

¹²⁴"Report of Rev. F. Watkins and Rev. G. R. Moncreiff," Minutes, 1852-3, p. 224.

fair," one school of 154 boys attempted drill.¹²⁵ A few schools had yards containing swings or apparatus.¹²⁶ As there was no pressure to provide physical education of any description, schools usually did not, or could not, spend the time of teachers or of children in such extra-curricular activities, in spite of the improvements which might occur from the practice.

The attempt by the Committee of Council on Education to draw to the attention of school managers the lack of playgrounds and exercise areas, which up to this time had not usually been provided, and without which a system of physical education was not likely to develop, was also given consideration in the chronological development of physical education in elementary schools from 1839 until 1870.

¹²⁵"Report of Rev. E. Douglas Tinling and Rev. R. F. Meredith," Minutes, 1852-3, p. 252.

¹²⁶In 1852, of 145 schools in central and eastern England, forty-four contained playgrounds or yards, two of which provided swings and one provided "some apparatus." See "Report of Rev. M. Mitchell," Minutes, 1852-3, pp. 312-30. One of eight schools with playgrounds, commons, yards, or seashore in southeast England offered drill in 1852. See "Report of Rev. W. H. Brookfield," Minutes, 1852-3, pp. 369-429. Three of seventy-eight schools with playgrounds (of a total of 222 schools) inspected in western England in 1852 had drill, and one playground was furnished with "a swing and bars." See "Report of Rev. J. P. Norris," Minutes, 1852-3, pp. 455-525.

The Initial Move by the Government to Correct the Inadequacies of Playground and Exercise Yards in Elementary Schools Prior to 1870

Finally in 1847 the government made a tentative move toward the correction of the inadequacies of playground space, one of the many problems facing voluntary elementary schools. In 1847 the Committee issued directives to school managers concerning building plans and procedures, in which it laid down minimum building and space accommodations, but left the provision of a playground or yard permissive. In a footnote, the Committee stated, "It is very desirable that there should be at least one play-ground for the scholars."¹²⁷

Ever mindful of the difficulties facing school managers, the Committee made a further effort to draw attention to exercise and play areas in 1855. The Committee suggested in a circular to Her Majesty's Inspectors to urge school managers to clean up premises, to allow children recreation periods, and to provide holidays. The circular read as follows:

¹²⁷"School Building Forms No. 7, Instructions to the Architect or Builder employed by the Promoters of the School," Minutes, 1847-8, p. lxxii.

Circular to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools
7 Aug., 1855

Sir: The attention of the Lord President has been called to the extreme importance of providing that schools are held in wholesome rooms, that the hours of continued attendance are not excessive in proportion to the age of the children, and that the premises afford the means of healthy recreation. . . .

The conditions insisted upon by the Committee . . . are maintained with extreme difficulty, and that some of them (for instance, sufficient play grounds in the densely peopled quarters of towns) have frequently to be waived, as impossible to be complied with. . . . Existing rooms are often such as to be completely unsuitable for occupation by schools. . . .

It might, however, tend to create a more active public opinion upon the subject, if Her Majesty's Inspectors were to make a point of inquiring into the sanitary condition of every school which they inspect, so far as to direct the attention of the managers to anything strikingly prejudicial to health in the state or in the rules of the school.

Floors which admit of no body of air beneath them; a few small windows low down in the walls . . . are points to which you might call attention.

Infants, in particular, require to be relieved by frequent alternations of exercise in the air and of lessons in school. You should constantly press upon the attention of the managers the importance of providing for something of the kind by the best expedients of which the circumstances admit.

If the common elementary schools in towns, where sanitary evils are the most felt, began their daily work at as early an hour as that observed in schools for the wealthier classes, at least one half-holiday per week, besides Saturday, might, without loss of lessons, be taken for a walk by the master with all the boys, and by the mistress with all the girls, into the country.

These walks (for the boys and girls respectively) might be taken on different days, or in different directions, or together, as the managers might think best. The more scope they can be made to afford for unrestrained exercise the better. . . .¹²⁸

¹²⁸"Circular to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, Aug. 1855," Minutes, 1855-56, p. 34.

Thus, the Committee of Council on Education noted the deplorable sanitary conditions of schools, the inadequate accommodations, and the lack of playgrounds. To provide children with relief from the long sessions of confinement in unwholesome rooms, the Committee asked the Inspectors to press school managers to adopt recess periods, provide play space, and take the children on walks into the countryside. Conditions in cities were stated to be worse than conditions in villages and in the country. The Committee acknowledged that minimum standards for city schools were often impossible to enforce; however, it suggested that Inspectors constantly call to the attention of school managers the importance of providing "something."

In some areas immediate efforts were made by school managers to comply with the suggestions of the Committee. Her Majesty's Inspector Mitchell reported in 1856 that various schools in eastern England had painted walls, improved ventilation, enlarged windows, and constructed skylights. Rev. Mitchell stated that where improvements were made, teachers as well as pupils showed less fatigue and ill health. Mitchell also noted that brightly painted walls tended to give teachers headaches and depressed feelings. He suggested that soft colors be used in painting the walls and ceilings of rooms. Of the 362 schools inspected by

Mitchell and his assistant, Rev. W. Campbell, none was noted as having followed the suggestions of the Committee concerning playgrounds and recess periods. Mitchell was of the opinion that the government should allow school managers to initiate improvements of school premises. On the other hand, Matthew Arnold, an inspector of schools in London, pressed for government direction and supervision. He insisted that conditions would improve only to the extent of government aid and regulation. In 1861 Matthew Arnold reported that London schools which came under his inspection had cleaned up their premises, but

. . . still many are far from clean. I venture to predict that the greater the liberty of action given to managers in fixing the standard of needful school cleanliness, the dirtier will our public schools become.¹²⁹

Thus, efforts to improve school premises in conformity with suggestions made by the Committee of Council on Education were concentrated on classroom accommodations, sanitation, lighting, and ventilation.

It was too late to provide children with large exercise or play space in cities and towns where property and land were valuable and the cost of purchase too high for school managers.

¹²⁹"Report of Matthew Arnold," Report, 1861-2, p. 133. Also see "Report of Rev. M. Mitchell," Minutes, 1856-57, pp. 339-60.

Summary of Physical Education in Elementary Schools from 1839 until 1870

The period from 1839 to 1870 was one of governmental investigation of physical education and playgrounds in elementary schools, of partial acceptance of military drill and calisthenics to solve or alleviate the basic school problems of discipline, attendance, and cleanliness and health of school children, and of initial moves by the government to call attention to voluntary school managers of the lack of play and exercise space. If any school provided children with play or exercise space, it was commended by Her Majesty's Inspectors; and if drill or calisthenics were given to the children during or after school hours, the school received the praises of the inspector, who usually drew attention in his report to the improvement in the order, attendance, and cleanliness of the children.

However, the provision of play or exercise space and the use of drill or calisthenics, for any purpose, were left to the discretion of school managers and teachers. No additional grant was paid to a school that included physical education activities in its curriculum, and no additional grant was given a school to purchase ground for a play area or exercise yard.

The passage of the Education Act of 1870, which permitted school boards to be set up to manage elementary schools wherever voluntary schools were considered inadequate for the needs of the people, set in motion succeeding governmental regulations and rules concerning elementary schools that directly led to the establishment of a system of physical education. The development of physical education in elementary schools from 1870 until 1890 was the next field of inquiry to be considered.

During the period after the passage of the Education Act in 1870 to 1890, military drill was established as the system of physical education for boys in elementary schools, Swedish therapeutic exercise was introduced into girls' schools as a system of physical education, and finally, the recommendations of the Cross Commission, set up in 1866 to inquire into elementary education, led to a fusion of military drill and physical exercise into one system of physical education. Each of these developments of physical education was considered in turn in the development of physical education in elementary schools from 1870 until 1890.

V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS FROM 1870 UNTIL 1890

In the development of physical education in elementary schools from 1870 until 1890, consideration was given the following phases: (1) the recognition of drill as a physical education activity in elementary schools in the Code of Regulations of 1871, which immediately followed the enactment of the education bill, (2) the revision of the Code of Regulations in 1872, in which participation in drill was limited to boys, (3) the spread of military drill in elementary schools following its recognition as a physical education activity in 1871, (4) the development of physical education for girls from 1870 until 1890, including the introduction of Swedish exercises into London schools for girls in 1878, and (5) the evidence and recommendations of "The Royal Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Working of the Elementary Education Acts (England and Wales),"¹³⁰ 1886-1888, that led to the broadening of the concept of physical education in elementary schools in 1890.

¹³⁰Hereafter referred to as the Report of the Cross Commission.

The Recognition of Military Drill as a Physical Education Activity in Elementary Schools in the Code of Regulations of 1871

The Education Act of 1870 did not mention physical education; however, it did define a "school house" as including "the teachers' dwelling house, and the playground (if any) and the offices /toilets/ and all premises belonging to or required for a school."¹³¹

Immediately after the bill became law, a new Code of Regulations was issued by the Education Department¹³² in order to carry out the provisions of the Act. Recognition of military drill as a physical education activity in elementary schools was made by the Education Department in its regulations and instructions. Each regulation and instruction to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools dealing with physical education was reviewed in the following chronological order: (1) "Conditions for calculating attendance for financial grants from the government," (2) "Instructions on the Administration of the New Code (1871)," which

¹³¹Elementary Education Act, 1870, Article 3.

¹³²The term Education Department referred to "the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education." See Elementary Education Act, 1870, Article 3.

contained instructions on drill and recreation, (3) "Circular on Drill," addressed to Her Majesty's Inspectors in "Instruction number 16," and (4) "Memorandum to Her Majesty's Inspectors on drill" and the arrangements made with the War Office to supply schools with drill instructors.

"Conditions for calculating attendance for financial grants from the government." To qualify for a grant in attendance a school had to meet "not less than 400 times, in the morning and afternoon, in the course of a year. . . ." At the end of the year the school might claim "the sum of 6s. [six shillings--84 cents] per scholar, according to the average number in attendance throughout the year."¹³³ The average number of children in attendance for any period was to be found by "adding together the attendance of all the scholars for the same period . . ." and ". . . dividing the sum by the number of times the school . . . met within the same period; the quotient [being] the average number in attendance."¹³⁴ Daily attendance was to be counted "for

¹³³"Code of Regulations, 1871," Section I, Article 19, Report, 1871-2, p. lxxxi.

¹³⁴"Code of Regulations, 1871," Section I, Article 27, Report, 1871-2, p. lxxxiii.

any scholar who has been under instruction in secular subjects not less than two hours."¹³⁵ A school was allowed to include the children's attendance at drill in calculating its attendance grant; consequently, the recognition of military drill as the method of physical education in elementary schools dated from the Code of Regulations of 1871, of which Article 24 specifically mentioned drill.

Article 24 read as follows:

24. Attendance at drill under a competent instructor, for not more than two hours a week, and 20 weeks in the year, may be counted as school attendance.¹³⁶

Thus, drill became the recognized means of physical education in elementary schools, and participation in drill might count as attendance toward the school grant.

"Instructions on the Administration of the New Code (1871)." To explain and define parts of the new code to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, who were given the job of supervising the operation of schools under the code by managers and teachers, "Instructions on the Administration of the New Code (1871)" were issued. In Article 24 of the

¹³⁵"Code of Regulations, 1871," Section I, Article 23, Report, 1871-2, pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii.

¹³⁶"Code of Regulations, 1871," Section I, Article 24, Report, 1870-71, p. cix.

Code, "Drill" was to apply to day scholars only, and was to be a part of the regular school curriculum. The instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors read as follows:

This Article is meant to apply--

- (1.) To day scholars only.
- (2.) To drill forming part of the ordinary routine of school work, and therefore falling within the ordinary school hours. A school meeting (Art. 23) may be held on Saturday morning for "drill" or "music" or both. But my Lords are advised that not more than one hour at a time should be devoted to drill in the case of children.¹³⁷

Therefore, physical education--military drill--was officially given a place in the elementary school system.

At the same time, the differentiation between physical education and recreation was made. In the same instructions, under the heading "Recreation," any interval allowed for recreation in the time prescribed for secular instruction by Article 23 of the New Code (not less than "two hours in day schools," and "one hour and a half" in evening schools) must not exceed:

- (1.) For infants under seven.--Half an hour in the course of a school meeting of two and a half hours and upwards; or a quarter of an hour in a shorter meeting.
- (2.) For children above seven.--A quarter of an hour in the course of a meeting of three hours, or from five to ten minutes in a shorter meeting.¹³⁸

¹³⁷"Instructions on the Administration of the New Code (1871)," Report, 1870-71, p. cxxxi11.

¹³⁸Loc. cit.

In other words, schools were permitted to have recess periods--"recreational intervals"--for children in order to break the long periods of study, but limitations were placed on their length and they were not to be substituted for physical education periods.

"Circular on Drill" addressed to Her Majesty's Inspectors in "Instruction number 16." No doubt to clear up queries from Her Majesty's Inspectors and to clarify its position to all concerned, the Education Department addressed "Circular on Drill" to Her Majesty's Inspectors in "Instruction number 16." According to the circular, Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools were to remember that drill was voluntary on the part of school managers, and that the inclusion of it in the Code of 1871 for elementary schools had been merely a suggestion to school managers. The circular read as follows:

Education Department,
5th June, 1871.

Sir,

In the event of your being consulted by the managers of schools . . . as to instruction in drill, under Article 23 of the New Code, the following memorandum and letter from the War Office may be useful. You will understand . . . that managers who wish to have their boys drilled, as part of the ordinary school course, must be left entirely free to make the best arrangements for

the purpose which the circumstances of each school may allow. . . .

I am, etc.

F. R. Sandford.

To Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools.¹³⁹

Thus it was left entirely to the managers of schools to include physical education--military drill--in the curriculum.

"Memorandum to Her Majesty's Inspectors." Further clarification of drill was made in a memorandum to Her Majesty's Inspectors, dated June 5, 1871, in which drill was defined and given purposes mentioning only boys as participants and noting a supply of instructors. "Drill" was defined in the memorandum as military drill.

The amount of drill suggested for schools is that comprised in Part I, and some of Part II, in the Field Exercise Book, 1870, under the heads of squad, or recruit, and company drill.¹⁴⁰

Part One of the Field Exercise Book included the manual of arms, simple calisthenics, and elementary marching formations. The second part included advanced marching techniques with the rifle.

The purpose of military drill in elementary schools was disciplinary. According to the memorandum,

¹³⁹"Instructions of the Administration of the New Code (1871)," Report, 1870-71, p. cxxxvi.

¹⁴⁰Loc. cit.

The elementary drill . . . would be sufficient to teach the boys habits of sharp obedience, smartness, order, and cleanliness.¹⁴¹

Thereafter, children were to acquire "habits of sharp obedience, smartness, order, and cleanliness" through the practice of military drill.

In addition to defining drill and giving it a purpose, the Education Department suggested to school managers that they use the ready supply of volunteer¹⁴² instructors at hand. Volunteer companies had been formed throughout the country, consequently

In the vicinity of a great number of schools throughout England, there are now detachments of Volunteers drilled once or twice a week, . . . by Government instructors. . . . By going to the villages a few hours earlier, they would be able to drill the boys in the afternoon, and be ready for the Volunteers in the evening. . . .¹⁴³

In areas where the demand might be greater than the supply, ". . . the permanent staff of the militia might also give assistance, as during the greater part of the year they have not much to do."¹⁴⁴ A pay scale for instructors was also suggested by the Education Department:

¹⁴¹Loc. cit.

¹⁴²In American terminology, a volunteer would refer to a national guardsman.

¹⁴³"Instructions of the Administration of the New Code (1871)," Report, 1870-71, p. cxxxvi.

¹⁴⁴Loc. cit.

The payments to instructors would probably be sixpence for each day of actual drill, in towns and villages at which they had to drill Volunteers, and one penny a mile marching money where Volunteer and school drill could be combined.¹⁴⁵

In order that schools might not meet with any difficulty in employing volunteers to instruct boys in military drill, the Education Department made arrangements with the War Office to supply schools with instructors. The department appended to the memorandum the correspondence from the War Office in which permission was granted to use non-commissioned officers as instructors. The letter from the War Office read as follows:

War Office,
19th May 1871.

Sir,

With reference to the memorandum left at this department on the 15th ultimo, I am directed by Mr. Secretary Cardwell to acquaint you, for the information of the Lord President, that there will be no objection on his part to the employment, with the approval of their commanding officers, of serjeants of the permanent staff of Militia and Volunteers, in the vicinity of schools, in drilling the boys of such schools on the terms proposed.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) Northbrook

Sir F. R. Sandford, Secretary
Committee of Council on Education.¹⁴⁶

Thus, the supply of drill instructors included sergeants

¹⁴⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁴⁶Loc. cit.

of volunteer and militia companies, or school masters who previously had passed a sergeant's examination in drill.

The Code of Regulations of 1871 recognized a system of physical education, which schools might or might not adopt, and which consisted of military drill. Its purpose was disciplinary, and its inclusion in the curriculum of a school might count as attendance toward the school grant. The Education Department allowed school managers to hire sergeants of volunteer or militia companies to act as instructors. Only boys were mentioned as participants in the program.

According to the Code of 1871, participation in drill was not limited to boys, but only boys were specifically mentioned in the instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors. The obvious contradiction created a question in the minds of many whether or not girls were included in the program. The government's resolution of this question came about in a revision of the code in 1872, which was considered next in the development of military drill in elementary schools from 1870 until 1890.

The Revision of the Code of Regulations, 1872

In 1872 the Code of Regulations was revised by the Education Department and the question of whether girls as

well as boys were to participate in military drill was settled. Article 24 of the Code of 1871 was modified to read from:

Attendance at drill, under a competent instructor, for not more than two hours a week, and 20 weeks in the year, may be counted as school attendance.¹⁴⁷

to read as follows:

Attendance of boys at drill, under a competent instructor, for not more than two hours a week, and 20 weeks in the year, may, in a day school, be counted as school attendance.¹⁴⁸

Thus girls were excluded from participating in physical education that counted as school attendance. With only boys participating in drill, girls were left to sew--a basic subject for which a grant was also paid. It was to be many years before girls participated in physical education on an equal footing with boys.

The third point of inquiry into the study of the development of physical education in elementary schools from 1870 to 1890 involved tracing the spread of military drill in elementary schools following its recognition as a physical education activity in 1871.

¹⁴⁷"Code of Regulations, 1871," Article 24, Report, 1870-71, p. cix.

¹⁴⁸"Revision of Code (1871), 1872," Report, 1871-72, p. ci.

The Spread of Military Drill in Elementary Schools Following Its Recognition as a Physical Education Activity in 1871

The officially recognized system of physical education--military drill-- spread slowly in elementary schools. The educational, disciplinary, and cleanliness and health advantages it afforded pupils were constantly brought to the attention of school managers and teachers by inspectors, but it was not compulsory; and lack of space, lack of funds, and scarcity of instructors kept it from being universally adopted.

The spread of military drill in elementary schools following its recognition in 1871 was considered by noting (1) evidence of military drill in elementary schools and comments of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools on the purposes of drill from 1870 to 1874, (2) evidence of military drill in elementary schools and comments on the spread and purposes of drill by Her Majesty's Inspectors from 1874 until 1890, and (3) evidence of calisthenics (sometimes confused with military drill by teachers) in elementary schools from 1874 until 1890.

The spread of military drill in elementary schools from 1870 until 1874. During the first four years after military drill had been recognized as the system of physical

education, Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools constantly brought to the attention of school managers and teachers the importance of including drill in their school work. Frequently, reports of the inspectors mentioned the educational, disciplinary, and health advantages to be derived from the use of drill. In spite of the encouragement given drill by inspectors, few schools attempted it. In 1871 from the southern counties of Dorset and Somerset, Her Majesty's Inspector Tregarthen, reporting on 194 schools (in which were enrolled 9,285 boys and 8,688 girls), stated that two schools had adopted drill since the new code came into force. His report also included the following statement concerning the advantages that children would derive from the practice:

I wish I were able to report that "drill received great attention in every school in my district; for smartness, activity, and prompt obedience, obtained in the performance of simultaneous bodily exercise, could not but exert the most beneficial effects on the children and the discipline of the schools. . . ." Drill, as the most effective means for the proper maintenance of good discipline, is not sufficiently practiced. Next year I shall hope to be able to report great progress in this direction.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹"Report of Rev. W. F. Tregarthen," Report, 1870-71, p. 223.

Tregarthen was convinced that military drill would not only benefit the health of the children but also improve their "smartness, activity, and prompt obedience."

In 1871 Her Majesty's Inspector Morell, reporting on schools in the City and Greenwich districts of London, stated, ". . . military drill . . . will necessarily be . . . slow in coming into general use" in the crowded areas of London.¹⁵⁰ Referring to schools in general, Morell said,

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 when requisite, and would lay the foundation for rendering an aptitude for military service almost universal amongst the English people. On all accounts the drill movement (now only just begun) appears to me worthy of encouragement and expansion.¹⁵¹

Thus, Her Majesty's Inspector Morell suggested that military drill in schools would serve as a means of preparing the people for military service in time of war. Reporting on the schools in northwestern England, Inspector Kennedy also praised the introduction of military drill, saying, "the attention to the value of drill which the new code has aroused is already showing good effects, and I hope that the

¹⁵⁰"Report of J. D. Morell," Report, 1871-72, p. 63.

¹⁵¹Loc. cit.

practice of drill . . . will be developed more and more in elementary schools."¹⁵²

Further encouragement of drill was made by Her Majesty's Inspector Fussell, who reported on schools in the London district of Finsburg in 1872 where drill was "gradually being introduced. . . ." Fussell hoped "that schools will not be allowed to 'play at it,' " as "its advantage as an element in education is great. . . ."¹⁵³ During the same year, Inspector Brodie reported on 145 schools in the densely populated industrial county of Lancaster. He advocated the use of drill to correct poor posture of children after long hours of sitting.

Drill has been generally introduced into boys' schools, and into some mixed schools also. . . . In a few schools drill serjeants have been engaged, but in most the schoolmaster, who has often been or perhaps still is a volunteer, is the drill master. It is doing a great deal of good to flatten the round backs of the boys, and to smarten them up after leaning over their writing desks.¹⁵⁴

According to Brodie, the use of sergeants to instruct children in drill had not been adopted to any great extent, probably due to the expense. Speaking of 165 schools (with

¹⁵²"Report of Rev. W. J. Kennedy," Report, 1871-72, p. 57.

¹⁵³"Report of Rev. J. G. C. Fussell," Report, 1872-73, p. 88.

¹⁵⁴"Report of E. H. Brodie," Report, 1872-73, p. 52.

9,082 children enrolled) in northwestern England, Her Majesty's Inspector Parey stated, "military drill has only been taught in a few schools as yet by a properly qualified officer, but attention has been drawn to the subject."¹⁵⁵ In Middlesex County, just west of Metropolitan London, Inspector Renouf found military drill "nearly universal . . . in boys' schools," where it was "very thoroughly taught, and in most schools by professional men."¹⁵⁶

However, by 1873 the adoption of military drill in elementary schools had not shown much progress. Reports of inspectors included information similar to that given in the preceding two years. Reporting on schools in Lancashire in 1873, Her Majesty's Inspector Coward stated, "the amount [of drill] taught now is very slight, consisting chiefly of . . . a little military drill by the master." Of 190 schools visited by Coward, he found "about six" in which "a drill serjeant is regularly employed to teach it. . . ."¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵"Report of Rev. C. H. Parey," Report, 1872-73, p. 112.

¹⁵⁶"Report of P. LePage Renouf," Report, 1872-73, p. 122.

¹⁵⁷"Report of W. Scott Coward," Report, 1873-74, p. 93.

The lack of enthusiasm for military drill in state-aided schools in Lancashire prompted Coward to recommend that schools in large towns share a drill sergeant, who would conduct drill "in some open place" where all children might congregate. The advantages of such a scheme were given by Coward to be "health and discipline" for boys, and economy for the schools.¹⁵⁸

Five hundred schools in the western county of Wiltshire were inspected in 1873 in which "drill is almost universally omitted, partly from the difficulty of obtaining a qualified instructor. . . ." ¹⁵⁹ In the southeastern counties of Kent and Sussex and the western county of Gloucester "very little of drill" was found by inspection.¹⁶⁰ Reporting on schools in the London district of Lambeth in 1783, Her Majesty's Inspector Sharpe stated, "a few schools attempt military drill, but want of space is an insuperable barrier in most London schools."¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁹"Report of Rev. S. J. G. Fraser," Report, 1873-74, p. 104.

¹⁶⁰"Report of Rev. G. R. Moncreiff," Report, 1873-74, p. 125.

¹⁶¹"Report of Rev. T. W. Sharpe," Report, 1873-74, p. 193.

From 1870 until 1874 the adoption of physical education in elementary schools progressed slowly, primarily because of lack of space, especially in schools located in built-up districts in towns; lack of funds to pay instructors; and the scarcity of instructors near enough for the school to use. The encouragement given it by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools had little effect.

The spread of military drill in elementary schools from 1874 until 1890. Between 1874 and 1890 the adoption of military drill in state-aided schools was characterized by the same slow progress. However, in schools where it was practiced, inspectors reported that it was successful in improving posture, health, order, and especially discipline. In elementary schools in Cheshire and Lancashire, "non-commissioned officers of the militia or volunteers have in many cases been added to the school staff," resulting in ". . . a manifest improvement in the discipline."¹⁶² Under proper guidance, military drill was sometimes practiced quite elaborately. Reporting on schools in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire in 1874, Her Majesty's Inspector Pickard described the drill he found in a village school,

¹⁶²"Report of Rev. J. Lomax," Report, 1874-75, p. 108.

. . . where the boys have been some years past regularly drilled by an enthusiastic captain of volunteers, . . . it has come to be a matter of ambition to be admitted into the corps, for which those only who have attained the mature age of seven years are eligible; and on the day of inspection they not only march well, go through the extension motions, form fours, etc., but are able to skirmish in a very creditable manner.¹⁶³

No doubt the interest shown in military drill by the enthusiastic captain was reason enough for the boys to participate so readily. In their skirmishes, the boys probably used dummy rifles, for the weight of an ordinary rifle would have overloaded a seven-year-old boy. Reports from other inspectors were not so detailed. Inspector Capel, reporting on 216 schools in Warwickshire said, "Military drill has been attempted in several of my schools, and in some cases very successfully."¹⁶⁴ From the north of England "drill is not so much cultivated as I think it might be."¹⁶⁵ In the southwestern county of Devon, Her Majesty's Inspector Howard reported on 243 schools with "13,634 children present on the day of inspection," in which

¹⁶³"Report of Rev. H. Adair Pickard," Report, 1874-75, p. 125.

¹⁶⁴"Report of Rev. H. M. Capel," Report, 1875-76, p. 284.

¹⁶⁵"Report of W. E. Currey," Report, 1875-76, p. 297.

military drill was taught in "a few of the larger boys' schools. . . ."166

The primary purpose of drill was still discipline. In 1875 Inspector Legard stated,

Military drill . . . has good effects in habituating boys to be obedient, as a physical exercise, especially for those whose life will hereafter be spent in the workshop or factory it is most useful, but as an aid to discipline it is invaluable.167

But even as a disciplinary measure, military drill could not stop whispering and copying by school children. An interesting comment was made by Inspector Pennethorne as follows:

I consider drill of great service to schools. Both at Berwick and Tynemouth the children are taught drill by a sergeant in the regular army, and the effect is very marked in conducting general movements in or dismissal from the school. It improves the posture of the children and it produces a certain kind of order, but it has no effect in checking the whispers for assistance, copying, and the like.168

In every instance, however, military drill improved the discipline of school children. Having never learned to sit still, to obey commands, or to practice personal cleanliness,

166"Report of Rev. W. W. Howard," Report, 1875-76, p. 311.

167"Report of A. G. Legard," Report, 1875-76, p. 346.

168"Report of D. P. Pennethorne," Report, 1875-76, p. 381.

children learned these simple requisites in schools where military drill was taught.

During the same period the demand for a compulsory system of physical education began to grow. Evidences of the desire for a compulsory system appeared first in the reports of inspectors to the Education Department in which they frequently inserted recommendations to that effect. For example, in the 1875 report of Inspector Danby on 270 schools in the southern counties of Suffolk and Essex, he stated,

It would be well, if instruction in military drill were much more general than it is now. I should be very glad to see it introduced into every boys' school, as it greatly promotes habits of smartness and discipline.¹⁶⁹

In 1876 Her Majesty's Inspector Sandford went so far as to suggest that schools be paid a grant for teaching military drill. His statement read as follows:

To have the youth of the country trained in the practice of drill is a matter of such national importance that I certainly think a small grant might be given to encourage it in State-aided schools.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹"Report of T. W. Danby," Report, 1875-76, p. 307.

¹⁷⁰"Report of Rev. H. R. Sandford," Report, 1876-77, p. 555.

From such small beginnings, the desire for compulsory physical education began to grow. Before the end of the century, steps had been taken toward making physical education a compulsory part of the curriculum of elementary schools.

From 1880 until the end of the century, specific evidence of the number of schools practicing military drill was available. From 1880 to 1890 inspectors and the Education Department tabulated figures, thus providing a more reliable source of data. In 1880 there were 3,895,824 children enrolled in 17,614 day schools receiving aid from the government. Military drill was "systematically taught, with more or less satisfactory results, to the boys attending 1,203" of these schools.¹⁷¹ The following year the number of aided day schools had risen to 18,062, but military drill was found in only 1,172 schools.¹⁷² In 1885 the number of schools aided by the government rose to 19,063, only 1,284 of which had drill.¹⁷³ In 1888 there were 19,328 schools on the grant list, with 1,376 schools including military drill to boys "with more or less

¹⁷¹Report, 1880-81, p. xii.

¹⁷²Report, 1881-82, p. xiv.

¹⁷³Report, 1885-86, p. lx.

satisfactory results."¹⁷⁴ Finally in 1890, the number of day schools had risen to 19,498, with 4,825,650 children enrolled. Drill was given to boys in 1,414 schools, the largest number ever to provide drill.¹⁷⁵ For the ten-year period from 1880 until 1890, the increase in number of elementary schools affording military drill was only 211, while the number of schools increased by 1,884. Therefore, the spread of military drill in elementary state-aided schools from 1870 until 1890 was extremely slow, with only a very small portion of schools attempting it.

Meanwhile, some schools had been giving children calisthenics, which were sometimes practiced in conjunction with drill and sometimes alone; but in any case, only drill was officially recognized and received the grant.

Calisthenics in elementary schools from 1874 until 1890. The importance of calisthenics to the development of military drill was due to the fact that it was used in some schools as physical education in place of drill, or with drill, and that schools were becoming cognizant that drill alone was not a system of physical education.

¹⁷⁴Report, 1888-89, p. 19.

¹⁷⁵Report, 1890-91, p. 19.

It was often difficult for teachers to determine where calisthenics stopped and drill commenced, because the Field Manual contained the calisthenics given to soldiers as well as marching techniques. In 1874 Her Majesty's Inspector Gream reported on 285 schools in Essex County as follows:

Military drill was not taught generally as could be desired, but where it was taught too much attention was bestowed upon the showy movements and formation in company drill, and not nearly enough care . . . bestowed upon the extension motions and other devices known in the army as 'setting up drill,' which are so essential to the perfect physical development of the body.¹⁷⁶

The idea that "extension motions"--calisthenics--were more important than marching was relatively new, as was Gream's remark implying that physical development of the body was more important than discipline. Of 271 schools visited in Worcestershire in 1874, twenty-seven had some sort of calisthenics, which was a very high percentage. Inspector Pember stated, "a great deal of attention had been paid to the 'extension motions' . . ., of great value in extending the chest and strengthening the body generally."¹⁷⁷

In spite of the permissive nature of the Code of 1871, Inspector Perez reported in 1876 that he required

¹⁷⁶"Report of Rev. N. Gream," Report, 1874-75, pp. 94-95.

¹⁷⁷"Report of J. Pember," Report, 1874-75, p. 105.

"ordinary school drill, consisting of . . . arm exercises and simple extension movements, to be practiced in all schools, girls' as well as boys'." ¹⁷⁸ In 1880 Matthew Arnold made a plea for physical exercises and recreation in which he said,

Bodily exercise, also, and recreation, deserve far more care in our schools than they receive. We take too little thought for the bodies of our school children, we are too intent on forcing more and still more into their minds. . . . ¹⁷⁹

In order to recognize the advantages of "bodily exercise" and "recreation," which Arnold advocated in 1880, the Education Department would have to change its concept of physical education to include more than military drill in the system offered to elementary schools.

To recapitulate, military drill did not spread appreciably between 1870 and 1890. In schools in which it was incorporated into the curriculum there were decided improvements in order, obedience, and manners of children. Her Majesty's Inspectors constantly endeavored to expedite its spread, but to little avail. During the same period, some schools provided children with exercises of a

¹⁷⁸"Report of Rev. C. H. Perez," Report, 1876-77, p. 535.

¹⁷⁹Board of Education, Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-1882 by Matthew Arnold, new ed. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), pp. 215-16.

calisthenic nature called extension motion, free exercises, or bodily exercises.

There was a growing desire on the part of a few to include more than military drill in the officially recognized system of physical education. Since 1872, at which time the participation of only boys in drill was to count toward the attendance grant, there had been a movement underway to provide girls with physical education other than drill. Usually, simple calisthenics served as physical education for girls until the introduction of Swedish exercises in elementary schools in London in 1878 broadened the concept of physical education in general.

A consideration of the development of physical education for girls from 1870 until 1890, including the introduction of Swedish exercises into London schools for girls in 1878, was the fourth step undertaken in the development of physical education in elementary schools from 1870 until 1890.

The Development of Physical Education for Girls from 1870 until 1890, Including the Introduction of Swedish Exercises into London Schools for Girls in 1878

At the time military drill was spreading in schools, physical exercises of a calisthenic nature were being used in other and the same schools, but the lack of official

recognition kept them from spreading until 1872, when it was definitely stated by the Education Department that only boys were to be given drill. At first the exclusion of girls from drill left most schools for girls without any system of physical education, but the adoption of Swedish exercises in London schools in 1878 provided girls' schools with a system of physical education comparable to that provided boys.

In the development of physical education for girls from 1870 until 1890, consideration was given (1) the inclusion of girls in drill before the revision of the Code of Regulations in 1872 during which time teachers and inspectors alike assumed that military drill applied to school children in general; (2) the Revised Code of Regulations of 1872, in which it was definitely stated that only boys' participation in drill would count toward the attendance grant, and to the Revised Code of Regulations of 1875, in which girls were offered cooking classes to take the place of physical education; and (3) the introduction of Swedish exercises into London elementary schools for girls in 1878, from which it spread to other schools, eventually becoming a recognized part of the system of physical education in 1890. The inclusion of girls in military drill before 1872 was discussed first.

The inclusion of girls in military drill before 1872.

Under the Code of Regulations of 1871 it was not entirely clear whether "drill" was to be given to girls as well as to boys. Boys had been specifically mentioned in the memorandum to Her Majesty's Inspectors, but there was no official statement which said that girls might not participate. Consequently, some schools included girls in the classes taking drill. Her Majesty's Inspector Brodie, reporting on schools in Lancashire in 1872, said, "drill has been . . . introduced . . . into some mixed schools . . ., the girls even partaking (and why should they not?) in its advantages."¹⁸⁰ Matthew Arnold also made a plea for military drill or calisthenics to be made a part of the training of girls in 1872. Arnold stated:

I think it would be well to allow a certain time taken for drill or calisthenics, whenever these are regularly and properly taught, to count as part of the school time for girls' schools as well as for boys' schools.¹⁸¹

In the metropolitan district of Finsbury, Her Majesty's Inspector Fussell remarked that where drill was provided, "the girls, as well as the boys, are instructed, usually at different hours"; he went on to say that he hoped to see drill "receive official recognition in girls' schools,"

¹⁸⁰"Report of E. H. Brodie," Report, 1872-73, p. 52.

¹⁸¹Reports on Elementary Schools, 1852-1882, by Matthew Arnold, p. 152.

for "few things are calculated to be of greater advantage to their health and spirits, or to the promotion of their bodily and (indirectly) of their mental activity."¹⁸² Her Majesty's Inspector Perez stated, "I should like to see extension motions practiced in girls' as well as in boys' schools, and the female pupil-teachers, who as I mentioned in my last report do not get sufficient exercise, should take part in this drill."¹⁸³

Therefore, the recognition of military drill as the physical education activity in elementary schools created an interest by inspectors in the inclusion of girls in the activity. No statement was made by any inspector in which military drill, or a modified form, was considered inappropriate for girls. However, the Revised Code of Regulations of 1872 settled the question of whether or not girls were to participate in the drill.

The Revised Codes of Regulations of 1872 and of 1875. The Revised Code of Regulations of 1872 definitely stated that only boys were to attend at drill.¹⁸⁴ No rule was

¹⁸²"Report of Rev. J. G. C. Fussell," Report, 1872-73, p. 89.

¹⁸³"Report of Rev. C. H. Perez," Report, 1872-73, p. 112.

¹⁸⁴"Revision of Code (1871), 1872," Report, 1871-72, p. ci.

made that girls could not be taught drill, but their attendance at drill would not count toward the grant paid for school attendance, and the collection of the grant was the important reason for schools to include drill in the curriculum.

Nevertheless, the advocates of girls' physical education continued to demand attention. Evidence that the London School Board wanted some sort of physical exercises for girls was pointed out in Her Majesty's Inspector Sharpe's report in 1873 on the schools in Lambeth, London. His report included a letter by his assistant, which read as follows:

I think, with the London School Board, that drill is as desirable for girls as for boys, though it should be taught to them at a different hour. Drill is cheap calisthenics, and girls, who are less in the open air than boys, need it even more than they. I should be glad if my Lords would require that drill should be taught by a qualified instructor in all large schools of either sex.¹⁸⁵

Inspector Sharpe concurred with his assistant and the London School Board that drill should be offered for girls, but the Education Department preferred to substitute cooking for physical education for girls.

¹⁸⁵"Report of Rev. R. Temple," Report, 1873-74, p. 221.

In 1875 Her Majesty's Inspectors, and others who were advocating drill for girls, got an official answer to their problem. In the Revised Code of Regulations for 1875, schools that set up cooking classes which met with minimum standards listed by the Education Department were qualified to count it as attendance toward the grant. Article 24 of the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was amended to read as follows:

Attendance of boys at military drill, under a competent instructor, or of girls at lessons in practical cookery, approved by the inspector, for not more than two hours a week, and 40 hours in the year, may, in a day school, be counted as school attendance.¹⁸⁶

Because of the expense involved in setting it up, cooking did not prove to be very popular. As late as 1880 cooking was taught in 276 schools out of a total of 17,614.¹⁸⁷

Nevertheless, some schools allowed girls to take some kind of physical exercise, even though the schools did not receive a grant for teaching it. In 1876 Her Majesty's Inspector Perez required that all schools in his district in northwestern England teach "ordinary school drill . . . girls' as well as boys', the girls omitting the stooping

¹⁸⁶"Code of Regulations, 1875," Report, 1874-75, p. clxx.

¹⁸⁷Report, 1880-81, p. xii.

exercises."¹⁸⁸ In 1878 the London School Board took matters into its own hands and hired a teacher of physical exercises whose duties were to instruct women teachers in the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises. The introduction of the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises into London schools for girls was discussed as the final topic in the development of physical education for girls from 1870 until 1890.

The introduction of Swedish exercises into London elementary schools. In 1878 the London School Board hired Miss Concordia Lofving, a graduate of the Central Institute of Stockholm, Sweden (where a system of therapeutic exercises was taught on the system developed earlier by Peter Ling), to conduct courses for women teachers in the Swedish exercises. Most girls in elementary schools were taught by women; consequently, Miss Lofving's courses for teachers gave girls a system of physical education which corresponded to the military drill taught boys. In the first year of her superintendency, she received 600 applications for her course.¹⁸⁹ Miss Lofving continued to conduct her courses for the London School Board until 1881, at which time she

¹⁸⁸"Report of Rev. C. H. Perez," Report, 1876-77, p. 535.

¹⁸⁹Education Department, Special Enquiries and Reports (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1898), II, p. 186.

resigned and Madame Bergman Osterberg was given the position. Madame Osterberg, also a graduate of the Ling School in Sweden, was an enthusiastic advocate of therapeutic exercises. She continued the work of Miss Lofving until 1885, at which time she founded the Dartmouth Physical Training College for Women where she taught the Swedish system of exercises.

After 1885 girls in London, and to a smaller degree girls in other sections of the country, were given physical education by teachers trained in Swedish exercises at the college of Madame Osterberg or by teachers previously instructed in London. Physical education for girls in elementary schools continued without any financial assistance from the Education Department. It took little notice of the efforts of the London School Board to provide girls with physical education until the Cross Commission (1886-1888) heard evidence from Madame Osterberg (who wished to introduce her system of Swedish exercises into all elementary schools) and other educators who previously had been influenced by Madame Osterberg.

In 1888 the Cross Commission issued its final report, recommending that the physical exercises advocated by Madame Osterberg and employed in the London schools for

girls be made part of the system of physical education in elementary schools. In 1890 physical exercises as well as military drill were recognized, and girls were allowed to participate in physical education for the attendance grant.

The evidence put before the Cross Commission and its subsequent recommendations were not only important to the development of physical education for girls, but to the development of physical education in general. The broadening concept of physical education after 1890 was due in large measure to the recommendations of the Commission. Consequently, the evidence and recommendations concerning physical education were given consideration as the final step in the development of physical education in elementary schools from 1870 until 1890.

Evidence and Recommendations of the Cross Commission (1886-1888) Concerning Physical Education

In 1886 the Cross Commission was appointed by the Education Department "to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Act (1870), England and Wales."¹⁹⁰ For two years it gathered data concerning every aspect of elementary education. In 1886 there were 19,173 day schools

¹⁹⁰Report of the Cross Commission, Index to Evidence (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), c. 5329.

on the annual grant list, 1,335 of which taught military drill to boys.¹⁹¹ In addition to the recorded number of schools offering military drill for which they received a grant, some girls' schools in the London area were teaching Swedish exercises, and a few schools were giving children physical exercises of a calisthenic nature for which they did not receive a grant.

The importance of the Cross Commission to the development of physical education in elementary schools lay in the impetus which its findings and recommendations gave to the adoption of physical exercise as a physical education activity in 1890. In order to show this importance, consideration was given the evidence brought before the commission concerning physical education and the recommendations of the commission which resulted in the recognition of physical exercise as well as military drill as counting for attendance by the Education Department.

Much of the data gathered by the commission was through the appearance of voluntary witnesses. Among persons interested in physical education appearing before the commission were Mr. A. Alexander, director of the Liverpool

¹⁹¹Report, 1886-87, p. xix.

Gymnasium;¹⁹² Madame Bergman Osterberg, "superintendent of physical education under the London School Board" and operator of the Dartmouth College of Physical Training;¹⁹³ the Rev. Dr. H. W. Crosskey, "chairman of the Birmingham School Management Committee since 1880";¹⁹⁴ Mr. Wesley Lee, "clerk to the Leeds School Board since 1870";¹⁹⁵ Lord Lingen, "Secretary of the Education Department from 1847 to the end of 1869";¹⁹⁶ Mr. H. E. B. Harrison, "Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, Liverpool District for the past 11 years";¹⁹⁷ and Mr. Wyndham Holgate, "Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools under the Local Government Board for the Metropolitan District of London since 1874."¹⁹⁸

Written memorials and suggestions were received by the Commission from the "Committee for Securing Open Spaces for Recreation in Manchester"¹⁹⁹ and from the "Metropolitan Public Garden, Boulevard and Playground Association."²⁰⁰

¹⁹²Report of the Cross Commission, Digest of Evidence, c. 5329, p. 169.

¹⁹³Ibid., p. 281. ¹⁹⁴Ibid., p. 176.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., p. 213. ¹⁹⁶Ibid., p. 301.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p. 226. ¹⁹⁸Ibid., p. 269.

¹⁹⁹Report of the Cross Commission, Final Report, c. 5485, Appendix XLVI, p. 434.

²⁰⁰Ibid., Appendix LVI, p. 437.

Evidence also included correspondence from the War Office in answer to specific questions concerning physical education which included the desirability of elementary school children being taught military drill.²⁰¹

Consideration of the information gathered together by the Commission involved noting three main points:

(1) a desire on the part of witnesses and groups submitting memorials to make physical education compulsory in elementary schools, (2) the advantages of physical exercises over military drill as pointed out by witnesses or through correspondence, and (3) evidence of physical education other than military drill already going on. The consideration of evidence of physical exercises already in practice was considered first.

Evidence of physical education other than military drill being practiced in elementary schools. Schools in densely populated London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds were endeavoring to establish a system of physical education which included more than military drill. According to Mr. A. Alexander, "Birmingham has the best system of gymnastics of any school board; they have a fair system in Manchester

²⁰¹Ibid., Appendix CLIII, pp. 473-75.

and Leeds. . . ."202 According to the Rev. Dr. Crosskey, "the Birmingham Board pays a special master to give physical exercises in all schools, and to train the teachers."203 However, the practice was by no means universal within any district, due to the shortage of qualified instructors, lack of exercise and play space, and expense of buying apparatus and equipment as well as land for playgrounds. In Liverpool "scarcely one-third of the playgrounds . . . are as large as 50 square feet."204

In Leeds "Swedish drill is taught to girls and infants, the teachers having been instructed in it first."205 According to Mr. Wesley Lee, "the teacher who instructs in the drill was trained under the London School Board,"206 thereby implying that teachers in Leeds were under the direct influence of Madame Osterberg. Madame Osterberg stated in her appearance before the Commission that the Swedish system of "free exercises (without

²⁰²Report of the Cross Commission, Digest of Evidence, c. 5329, p. 169.

²⁰³Ibid., 30,935, p. 176.

²⁰⁴Ibid., 29,479, 29,483.

²⁰⁵Ibid., 37,733-37,734, 38,068, p. 216.

²⁰⁶Ibid., 38,066-38,067.

apparatus) is practiced in London board schools."²⁰⁷

In summation, physical education--usually a system of exercises or calisthenics--was practiced in elementary schools in the large towns with the evident approval of school boards and without any financial aid from the government. Witnesses did not hesitate to point out the advantages of this system over military drill.

The advantages of physical exercises over military drill as pointed out by witnesses or through correspondence. Madame Osterberg went before the Commission to point out the deficiencies of military drill and to state her theories as to the best way to make up for the deficiencies. According to Madame Osterberg, "the present drill does not develop children physically, it simply sharpens their attention."²⁰⁸ She also stated that "deficient and even injurious systems of drill are often adopted. . . ." ²⁰⁹ To correct this state of affairs in physical education, she recommended "Ling's Swedish system," involving progressive, freestanding exercises, the purpose of which was to exercise all parts of

²⁰⁷Ibid., 52,153, 52,184, p. 281.

²⁰⁸Ibid., 52,154, 52,155.

²⁰⁹Ibid., 52,155.

the body steadily without over-development of any specific set of muscles.²¹⁰ Madame Osterberg believed that "the literary work in schools would be done more easily and with more pleasure if mixed up with healthy exercises."²¹¹

Madame Osterberg's theory was borne out by witnesses from Birmingham. Wherever physical exercises were taught in the Birmingham schools, "twenty minutes a day were given to these exercises,"²¹² and "the advantages are apparent . . .," with "pupils . . . mentally and physically improved."²¹³

In answer to questions sent to the War Office, the Director General of the Army Medical Department stated:

It is very questionable whether any physical exercises of the character adopted and practiced by soldiers would beneficially influence young children for whom the spontaneous exercises natural to them in the playground, and either in the country or in a pure atmosphere, are probably the only kinds of physical exercise likely to be attended with real advantage in their cases.²¹⁴

Thus, military drill--such as practiced by soldiers--was considered unsuitable for elementary school children by the

²¹⁰Ibid., 52,158, 52,209.

²¹¹Ibid., 52,201-52,220.

²¹²Ibid., 30,939-30,941, p. 176.

²¹³Ibid., 30,945.

²¹⁴Report of the Cross Commission, Final Report, c. 5485, Appendix CLIII, No. 11, p. 474.

medical director of the army. However, he did not rule out a modified form of drill. He also stated,

But, as country or seaside air and the natural play games of childhood cannot be obtained in urban centres, some slight benefit might decrue from a very light and progressively increasing system of physical training, of which gymnastic exercises, running, jumping, military drills, and swimming formed the main features.²¹⁵

After viewing the obstacles to be overcome in providing children with playgrounds and "pure atmosphere," Director General Crawford came to the conclusion that a system of physical education could be derived by combining gymnastic exercises, military drill, and athletic sports.

The Commission received a similar reply from the Army Inspector of Gymnasia stating that physical exercises used in the training of recruits would not "be practicable and suitable for children in elementary schools between the ages of eight and fourteen."²¹⁶ He gave two reasons for his stand: "In the first place, they are not of a recreative character . . ." and "secondly, they are framed for the instruction of men in squads not exceeding 15 in number . . . and of course in schools the classes would necessarily be much larger." Instead of military drill, the Inspector suggested a system of exercises being given

²¹⁵Ibid.

²¹⁶Ibid.

children of officers stationed at the Aldershot army camp.

It included,

. . . a series of extension motions (not the military ones with rifles), musical dumb bell and wand drill, with the lightest possible wooden dumb bells and wands, and marching and running, hopping, jumping, &c.²¹⁷

Most of these activities required space, a fact which the Inspector acknowledged. To provide physical exercise in a small area he suggested that "free gymnastics" (standing in one place and waving wands or dumbbells) be substituted for the more complicated system.²¹⁸

The types of physical education activities thought to be most desirable for elementary school children included freestanding exercises based on the Swedish system, free-standing gymnastic exercises using modified apparatus, and some marching, jumping, and running where space was available. Advantages of a system of physical exercises over military drill were thought to include a more balanced physical development and a stimulation of the mental faculties of children.

The third point considered in the discussion of the evidence of the Cross Commission involved a treatment of evidence supporting a system of compulsory physical education.

²¹⁷Ibid.

²¹⁸Ibid.

The desire to make physical education compulsory in elementary schools. No group was more insistent that the government should undertake the responsibility of furthering physical education in elementary schools than was the "Manchester Committee for Securing Open Space for Recreation." The committee sent a memorial to the Commission stating, "the desirableness of enforcing the giving in all public elementary schools of good physical training."²¹⁹ It suggested training in "gymnastics and wholesome games," which schools were to provide after receiving "grants of money" to purchase "playgrounds and gymnastic apparatus." In a second memorial to the Commission, the committee asked for "a complete inquiry" into "physical training." Among resolutions included in the memorial were the following:

That the giving of good physical training in schools has a good effect not only on physical vigour and health but also on mental vigour, and should be made a part of the curriculum of all elementary schools.

That some kind of physical training can be introduced into all elementary schools without interfering with the ordinary routine of school work.²²⁰

This time the committee did not concern itself with a specific system of physical education, but solely with making "some kind" compulsory.

²¹⁹Ibid., Appendix XXI, p. 425.

²²⁰Ibid., Appendix XLVI, p. 435.

In addition to explaining the work she had already done, Madame Osterberg asked that physical education be made a part of school life and that "nearly an hour every day be given to physical exercises."²²¹ Lord Lingen cautiously stated that "some part of the school time might be given to manual training and physical exercises,"²²² and Her Majesty's Inspector Harrison said that physical education "is necessary in large towns."²²³

The concensus of opinion was unanimous for a compulsory system of physical education. The types of activities which would make up the system were not agreed upon, but something other than military drill was universally recommended. In some districts, especially in the large urban areas, progress had been made toward providing elementary schools with physical education other than military drill. It was now up to the Commission to make recommendations to the Education Department.

²²¹Report of the Cross Commission, Digest of Evidence, p. 281, 52,171-52,173.

²²²Ibid., p. 301, 56,510, 56,511.

²²³Ibid., p. 266, 49,435.

Recommendations of the Cross Commission concerning physical education in elementary schools. After considering the information received from the War Office, evidence given by witnesses, and memorials, the Commission recommended that the system practiced by "the War Office," "the Birmingham School Board," and "the London School Board" should be more widely adopted.²²⁴ In other words, the Commission recommended that physical education be extended in elementary schools throughout all districts of England, and that physical exercise be made as much a part of the system of physical education as was military drill.

Summary of the Development of Physical Education in Elementary Schools from 1870 until 1890

The period from 1870 to 1890 was one of government leadership in the field of physical education. After the Education Act became law in 1870, the governmental Code of Regulations recognized military drill as the accepted system of physical education, and attendance at drill counted toward an attendance grant of six shillings (approximately 84¢). In 1871 the government defined drill as military drill, ruled that the purpose of drill was disciplinary, and stated that only boys were to participate. Physical education was

²²⁴Report of the Cross Commission, Final Report,
p. 145.

not made compulsory by the government. In 1872 the Code²⁵⁷ of Regulations was amended to read that only boys were to participate in military drill, which in turn counted toward the grant for attendance. Thus, girls were excluded from participating in physical education that earned the grant.

The spread of military drill following its recognition as the system of physical education, the purpose of which was to improve discipline, was slow in spite of the efforts of Her Majesty's Inspectors to point out its advantages to school managers and teachers. Lack of funds, space, and instructors combined to keep it from becoming popular. In 1871, out of 194 schools inspected in two southern counties only two schools were attempting drill. By 1875, physical education had not spread appreciably. In 1880, 1,203 schools out of 17,614 schools receiving aid from the government taught military drill to boys. During the same period, some schools--girls' as well as boys'--taught calisthenics for which they did not receive the grant.

The exclusion of girls from the participation in drill created a vacuum in girls' schools which was solved within the schools themselves rather than by an outside force. Some schools for girls taught calisthenics, a few allowed girls to take drill, but it was only after the

introduction of the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises in London School Board schools in 1878 that a system of physical education comparable to that of military drill was found. The spread of physical exercise--Swedish therapeutic exercises--came about primarily through the efforts of Madame Osterberg, superintendent of girls' physical education for the London School Board, and teachers previously trained in her system.

In 1886 the Cross Commission was set up to inquire into all phases of elementary education. Madame Osterberg and other persons interested in physical exercise--as opposed to military drill--appeared before the Commission and made pleas for the compulsory adoption of a system of physical education, and for the inclusion of physical exercise in the system. In 1888 the Commission reported and recommended that physical exercise be made a part of an extended system of physical education. In 1890 the government gave effect to the recommendations made by the Commission.

The official inclusion of physical exercise as well as military drill in the recognized system of physical education, together with other developments of physical education in elementary schools, was undertaken as the final topic in the chronological study of physical education in elementary schools from 1870 until 1900.

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VI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM
1890 UNTIL 1900

From 1890 until 1900, the development of physical education in elementary schools was characterized by rapid forward progress under government leadership. During this period the Education Department recognized physical exercises as well as military drill as an integral part of physical education, made it eligible for an annual grant, and made playgrounds compulsory in all elementary schools. Throughout the period from 1890 until 1900, there was also a growing realization within schools that physical education meant more than training in discipline.

The development of physical education from 1890 until 1900 was treated by (1) a discussion of physical education from 1890 until 1896, which included a review of the results of the recommendations of the Cross Commission, the governmental regulation which recognized physical education as a subject of instruction in 1893, and a review of the regulation which made physical education eligible for a grant in 1895; and (2) a discussion of physical education from 1896 until 1900, which included a review of the Revised Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors in 1897, restating the purpose of physical education to be discipline; evidence that teachers and inspectors were beginning to realize that

physical education meant more than disciplinary training; the governmental regulation making provision of playgrounds in schools compulsory; the extension of physical education to evening schools; and provisions of playgrounds in schools for blind and deaf children. The discussion also included evidence of the spread of physical education in elementary schools.

The Development of Physical Education in Elementary Schools from 1890 until 1896

As was previously noted, military drill was the recognized system of physical education when the Cross Commission made its final report in 1888. The Commission recommended that physical exercises--as opposed to military drill--be made a part of the system of physical education. In 1890 the Education Department gave effect to the recommendation of the Commission, resulting in the immediate increase in the number of schools teaching physical exercises as compared with those teaching military drill. In 1893 physical education was made a subject of instruction, and in 1895 it became eligible for a grant. Each of these aspects of the development of physical education from 1890 until 1896 was considered in turn.

The results of the recommendations of the Cross Commission. In order to give meaning to the recommendations of the Cross Commission, the Education Department would have to broaden its concept of physical education and include more than military drill in the system. It did so in 1890 when it "recognized physical exercises" as well as "military drill" in giving grants for attendance.²²⁵

Physical exercises had at last been put on an official par with military drill. It immediately proved to be more popular. In 1891 there were 19,535 schools on the list for inspection, with 1,365 schools offering military drill and 1,441 offering physical exercises.²²⁶ Of the schools having physical exercises, 289 were London schools. In the following year physical exercises further extended its lead over military drill. Of 19,515 schools inspected in 1892, 1,703 gave physical exercises and 1,352 gave military drill.²²⁷

The recognition of physical education as a subject of instruction in 1893. In 1893 the Education Department, in its annual report to the Queen and the Council on

²²⁵"Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools," Report, 1889-90, p. 118.

²²⁶Report, 1891-92, p. 15.

²²⁷Report, 1892-93, p. 20.

Education included military drill and physical exercise under the heading "Extra Subjects of Instruction," thereby recognizing physical education as a part of the curriculum of elementary schools.²²⁸ In 1893 there were 19,862 day schools on the list for inspection, with 5,153, 542 children enrolled. According to the Report for 1893-94, military drill was given in 1,346 day schools and physical exercise in 1,938 schools.²²⁹ In London alone, 356 schools provided physical exercises.²³⁰

Physical education made eligible for grant in 1895. Among grants paid to schools in 1895 two were paid for "Discipline and Organization." A minimum rate of one shilling per child was paid schools in which discipline and organization were found to be ordinary by Her Majesty's Inspectors; but a higher grant of one shilling, six pence per child was paid schools for "distinction in Swedish or other drill or suitable physical exercises. . . ." The statement read in full as follows:

²²⁸Report, 1893-94, p. 23.

²²⁹Loc. cit.

²³⁰Report, 1893-94, p. 45.

After 31st August 1895 the higher grant for discipline and organization will not be paid to any school in which provision is not made for distinction in Swedish or other drill or suitable physical exercises.²³¹

Thus, schools desiring to collect approximately twenty-five cents per child instead of fourteen cents per child were required to include physical education in their curriculum. However, working children and those attending school half time were exempted from taking physical education. The regulation read as follows:

. . . but children employed in labour and attending school half time, and children for whom such instruction is unsuitable, may be exempted.²³²

The official purpose of physical education was disciplinary, but by giving the higher grant only to schools that included it in their curricula, the Education Department held out an inducement to schools to provide physical education for pupils. In 1895 military drill was found in 1,572 schools, while physical exercise was found in 3,185 schools.²³³

²³¹The regulation first appeared in Report, 1893-94, p. 23.

²³²This amendment to the regulation appeared in Report, 1894-95, p. 28.

²³³Report, 1896-97, p. 49.

The Development of Physical Education in Elementary Schools
from 1896 until 1900

During the period from 1896 until 1900, physical education gradually attained a stable place in the curriculum of elementary schools. It came to be regarded by teachers and Her Majesty's Inspectors as more than a means of disciplining children, even though the official purpose of physical education remained disciplinary. Long overdue for government consideration, the provision of playgrounds and exercise areas in schools became a primary project of the government, resulting in efforts to correct the lack of space in elementary schools. Another development during this period was the recognition of physical education in evening schools, which youth who had not spent much time in elementary schools might attend in order to qualify for better jobs. Interest was shown in correcting the poor facilities afforded physically handicapped children, as evidenced by the governmental regulation making it compulsory for schools for the blind and deaf to provide playgrounds.

Before the consideration of each of the above mentioned topics, consideration was given the tabulated figures concerning physical education compiled by the Education Department in 1896.

Physical education in elementary schools as reported by the Education Department in 1896. As was noted previously, military drill was offered in 1,572 schools and physical exercise in 3,185 schools in 1895. One year later 1,903 schools included drill and 5,333 included physical exercises.²³⁴ For the first time the Education Department tabulated statistics gathered by Her Majesty's Inspectors in 1896. The following summation showed the number of schools, by denominations, which gave instruction in physical exercise and military drill:

	Exercise	Drill
National Society or Church of England . . .	2,761	800
Wesleyan Schools	128	38
Roman Catholic Schools	281	98
British, and other Schools	315	118
School Board Schools	<u>1,848</u>	<u>849</u>
<u>Total</u>	5,333	1,903 ²³⁵

There were 19,897 schools on the grant list, 7,236 of which provided either military drill or physical exercises.

In the 7,236 schools that taught physical education, there were 19,281 departments (either boys, girls, or infants, in separate rooms, taught by a different teacher) that earned the higher grant of one shilling, six pence;

²³⁴Ibid., p. xxx.

²³⁵Ibid., Appendix III, p. 5.

3,657 departments that earned the lower grant of one shilling; and five departments were not paid.²³⁶ Total amount paid out for the higher grant was 203,217 pounds, 19 shillings, 6 pence (approximately \$569,000), and for the lower grant 18,041 pounds, 18 shillings (approximately \$50,000).²³⁷

In summation, the grant authorized by the government in 1895 to be paid schools providing children with physical education had spurred schools to include it in their curricula. In 1897, to make sure that schools and Her Majesty's Inspectors understood the purpose of physical education and the reason why the grant was paid, the Education Department issued a revised code of instructions.

The Revised Code of Instructions issued to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in 1897. In 1897 the Education Department brought to the attention of Her Majesty's Inspectors the reasons why previous changes had been made in codes of regulations. The purpose of physical education was stated to be discipline. According to the revised instructions,

²³⁶Ibid., Appendix III, p. 11.

²³⁷Ibid., Appendix III, p. 8.

The objects of the alterations have been:--
 . . . (v.) To emphasize, by means of a special and graduated grant for Discipline and Organization (Art. 101 b), the importance of conduct and moral training as essential factors of the success and usefulness of a public elementary school.²³⁸

Thus, the schools paid the higher grant for including physical education in their curricula were receiving it for improving "conduct and moral training" of the children in attendance.

In spite of the official emphasis on discipline, teachers and Her Majesty's Inspectors began to realize that physical education meant more than "conduct and moral training," and physical education, whether military drill or physical exercise, took on a less rigorous aspect.

Realization that physical education was more than disciplinary training. During this period, pianos began to find their way into schools, especially infant schools (children from three to seven years of age attended infant schools) where drill was sometimes enlivened with music and singing. Her Majesty's Inspector Perez stated in 1896,

Some years ago there was a great outcry against pianoes in schools, but let the objector witness the good effect of a piano on the children and the excellent use to which it can be put in obtaining good discipline . . . musical drill and kindergarten games into which a piano so largely enters are two

²³⁸Ibid., p. 481.

of the prettiest sights to be seen in an infant school.²³⁹

It was interesting to note that Inspector Perez mentioned the good effect of the piano on discipline. Her Majesty's Inspector Turnbull commented on the use of pianos in his report as follows:

Few things are more pleasing than the sight of the little ones marching, singing, and drilling to the sounds of the piano; their own obvious enjoyment of proceedings being very marked.²⁴⁰

In many schools inspectors found improvements in classroom accommodation and other additions which made "school life more healthy and comfortable." Infants packed together on benches "without room for marching, exercises, or a change of position, is almost a thing of the past."²⁴¹

In 1897 "Circular 374, Varied and Suitable Occupations" was issued by the Education Department in which attention was drawn to the posture of children engaged in sewing and drawing. Paragraph five stated:

. . . where much stooping is necessary, the work should be occasionally interrupted and a short extension drill given. Unhealthy and cramped postures should be avoided.²⁴²

²³⁹"Report of Rev. C. H. Perez," Report, 1896-97, p. 95.

²⁴⁰"Report of W. P. Turnbull," Report, 1896-97, p. 146.

²⁴¹"Report of Rev. C. H. Perez," Report, 1896-97, p. 114.

²⁴²"Revised Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors, 1897," Report, 1896-97, p. 569.

As a guide to teachers, various infant occupations were also listed. These occupations included games with and without music for children between the ages of three and five, and five and seven.²⁴³

Teachers also began to include some lessons "of a light and creative character"²⁴⁴ in their daily work, and the health of school children came in for attention in some districts. A few school boards hired "medical superintendents" to inspect children for contagious diseases and physical deformities. In 1896 Bradford School Board had its own medical superintendent, a Dr. Kerr. According to Her Majesty's Inspector Turnbull,

Dr. Kerr . . . has given much attention to the vision of school children. . . . Dr. Kerr, by means of breathing exercises, has detected numerous mouth breathers, and hopes that breathing drill will be extensively tried. . . .²⁴⁵

Interest in the health of school children was just becoming evident at this time.

Having recognized physical education as a part of the curriculum, the government was forced to see that schools provided an adequate area in which drill or physical

²⁴³Report, 1896-97, Appendix VII, p. 550.

²⁴⁴"Report of Rev. F. Synge," Report, 1896-97, p. 121.

²⁴⁵"Report of W. P. Turnbull," Report, 1896-97, p. 144.

exercises might be practiced. Consequently, in 1897 playgrounds were made compulsory in all elementary schools.

The governmental regulation which made playgrounds compulsory in all elementary schools. According to the Code of Regulations of 1897, an adequate space for play was required at every school receiving a grant. Under "Building Rules, Section 15, Sites and Playgrounds," the Code stated:

Every school should have an open air playground proportioned to the size and needs of the school. The minimum size of site is, in the absence of exceptional circumstances, a quarter of an acre for every 250 children. If the school is of more than one story this area may be proportionally reduced. The minimum open space is 30 square feet per child.²⁴⁶

A school located in a two-story building might easily get by with no more than the ordinary paved school yard. The regulation continued,

(a.) In the case of a mixed school, playgrounds must be separate for the boys and girls.

(b.) All playgrounds should be properly levelled, drained, inclosed, and fitted with some simple appliances. A portion should be covered, having one side against a wall.

(c.) An infant school should have its playground on the same level as the school, and open to the sunshine.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶"The Day School Code (1897)," Report, 1896-97, p. 465.

²⁴⁷Loc. cit.

Boys and girls in infant schools were seldom separated, but in schools for children older than seven years of age they were almost without exception segregated. The government had acted tardily in making playgrounds compulsory, for most schools in urban areas were already established, few having large playgrounds or yards, or being financially able to purchase expensive sites which might be cleared of buildings to provide playgrounds. Nevertheless, future school children could count on some sort of playground.

The extension of physical education to evening schools.

In 1897 the Education Department recognized physical education as a part of the curriculum of evening schools and provided a grant to schools that included military drill or physical exercises in their curricula. The "Evening Continuation School Code, 1897" was formulated to administer schools for boys and girls older than fourteen years of age who wished to continue their education while working full time. Article Three of the Code recognized physical education as a subject for instruction for which a "fixed grant" of one shilling was paid. The "fixed grant" was calculated by adding all the hours during which each registered scholar received instruction in subjects sanctioned under Articles Two and Three of the Code during the school year for which every complete twelve hours received a grant of one

shilling.²⁴⁸ Subjects included in Article Two of the Code were "reading, writing, arithmetic, English language, geography, history, French, German, Welsh, Latin, mathematics, science, and commercial subjects."²⁴⁹ Article Three of the Code read, in part, as follows:

Instruction in the following subjects is recognized for the purpose of the Fixed Grant . . .

Suitable Physical Exercises.

Military drill (for boys and men).

Housewifery (for girls and women).²⁵⁰

Military drill was reserved for the participation of boys and men in order to correspond with regulations concerning military drill in elementary schools, but physical exercises might be offered to women as well as to men.

One more important step was taken by the government toward developing a universal system of physical education for elementary schools. This step involved compelling special schools for physically handicapped children to provide playgrounds.

The provision of school playgrounds for physically handicapped children. The Blind and Deaf Children Education Act had been passed in 1893, providing grants to voluntary

²⁴⁸"The Evening Continuation School Code (1897)," Report, 1896-97, p. 582.

²⁴⁹Ibid., p. 581.

²⁵⁰Ibid., p. 580.

bodies and local school boards that established schools for blind and deaf children. In 1897 the Education Department issued building regulations for this type of school. The part of the regulations concerning playgrounds read as follows:

Where no field or other larger space has been secured, the superficial area of the site should be not less than 30 square feet per child. The recreation grounds for girls and boys should be separate. There should be a covered gymnasium, or a large shed open on one side, provided with ample top light, which, under supervision, may be used by boys and girls together.²⁵¹

The provision of play and exercise space in schools for physically handicapped children brought one more group of elementary schools closer to a universal system of physical education.

Summary of the Development of Physical Education from 1890 until 1900

The period from 1890 until 1900 was one of consistent governmental moves to improve physical education in elementary schools. In 1890 the Education Department recognized physical exercise as well as military drill as a part of the system of physical education. In 1893 physical education was made a subject of instruction, thus officially

²⁵¹"Building Rules, Schools for Blind or Deaf Children," Report, 1896-97, p. 660.

becoming part of the curriculum of elementary schools. In 1895 physical education was made eligible for a grant. Admittedly, the grant was paid for discipline and organization of the school; nevertheless, a school might earn a grant of one shilling, six pence per child in which "distinction in Swedish or other drill or suitable exercises" was found by the inspector.²⁵² In 1897 the disciplinary purposes of physical education were stated again; but by this time teachers and Her Majesty's Inspectors were realizing that physical education meant more than disciplinary training. Infant schools bought pianos and included musical games and marching in their physical education. Even the Education Department recognized that infants from three to seven years of age were too young for much drill and suggested that infant schools use games and music to augment their school work. For the first time mention was made of school doctors.

The recognition of physical education as a subject of instruction and the payment of a grant by the government did not provide schools with space enough to carry out the wishes of the government to any great extent. In order to correct this situation, the government made playgrounds compulsory in 1897. Playgrounds might be small, but at

²⁵²Report, 1893-94, p. 23.

least children could be sure of an outside area in which to move about and take exercise. At the same time, the Education Department included physical education in the curriculum of evening schools and, almost as an afterthought, ruled that schools for handicapped children must provide their pupils with playgrounds.

During this period of time, government leadership in physical education had been acknowledged; and as other phases of elementary education progressed, so did physical education.

VII. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III

The system of physical education which developed in elementary schools was born out of necessity. Elementary schools were schools for children of the poor, charitable in nature, and until 1870, either privately owned, church established, or founded by societies willing to finance elementary education for children of the laboring classes. After 1870 local school boards were also permitted to establish schools for the poor, and government regulation of schools in general progressed as more and more financial aid was given to voluntary schools and board schools throughout the land.

Elementary schools afforded scant education, being notoriously over-crowded, badly housed, inadequately financed and supported, and poorly staffed. Within a given school the problems of discipline, attendance, and cleanliness and health of the ragged, unruly, dirty, and ignorant children faced every teacher. The development of a system of physical education under such conditions was impossible unless it served in some measure to solve or alleviate one or more of these problems. Military drill was accepted as the system of physical education in 1871 to assist in bringing order out of chaos.

The spread of military drill was slow, primarily because schools lacked space--especially playground and exercise yards, instructors, and above all, funds to implement the program. Nevertheless, the Education Department, recognizing the advantages of military drill, supported it above all other activities and paid schools an additional grant for attendance if they included it in their curricula. Only boys were to participate in military drill; girls were to be taught sewing or cooking, for which comparable grants were paid, or to engage in physical education without the school receiving any grant. Few girls' schools other than the school board schools in London, Leeds, Birmingham, and Liverpool established a system of physical education.

Schools in these cities led in introducing and spreading the Swedish therapeutic exercises, first taught in London girls' schools in 1878.

During the latter part of the century, teachers and Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools began to realize that physical education should be more than disciplinary training; consequently, schools--especially infant schools--included games and musical activities in physical education. At the same time, the Education Department focused its attention on physical education in general, and through regulations and changes in its code made physical exercise a part of physical education in 1890, and in 1897 required that all elementary schools provide children with playgrounds.

Unlike the spontaneous development of games and sports which had arisen and become recognized during the same period in Public Schools, the development of military drill and physical exercise was directly related to government action to improve elementary education for children of the poor.

Following 1900, the two systems--games and sports of Public Schools, and drill and therapeutic exercise of elementary schools--merged into a national system of physical education. The consideration of the merger was undertaken in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1900 TO 1920

By the beginning of the twentieth century the organized games of cricket, Association football, and Rugby football; the athletic sports; and the minor games and sports of swimming, fives, and rowing had become traditional in Public Schools. In government-aided elementary schools military drill and physical exercises were given pupils as physical education. The former activities required space, equipment, and organization; while the latter required only space. The purposes of games and sports in Public Schools evolved from the desire of pupils to occupy their leisure time. The primary purpose of military drill and physical exercises was discipline.

Undoubtedly, elementary school children played games, engaged in athletic sports, and swam, but prior to the twentieth century they did not engage in these activities during school hours nor as physical education activities. Before 1900 some pupils of Public Schools participated in gymnastics, but they did so individually and without compulsion.

From 1900 until 1920 the physical education activities of Public Schools began to find a place in the physical

education program of state schools, and military drill and physical exercises made an abortive attempt to become part of Public School physical education.

During the period, the development of physical education in English schools was affected by two wars, the South African War, 1899-1902, and World War I, 1914-1918. The South African War prolonged the use of military drill in elementary schools, and concurrently led to its replacement by Swedish therapeutic exercises. World War I created a desire for expanding physical education in state schools to include games, sports, and other activities; contributed to the spread of the Swedish system of exercises to Public Schools; and in both types of schools military drill took on a new meaning.

The development of physical education from 1900 until 1920 was given consideration in the following chronologically arranged topics: (1) the development of physical education from 1900 until 1905, (2) the development of physical education from 1905 until the outbreak of war in 1914, and (3) the development of physical education from 1914 until 1920, at which time the country had been at peace for two years. In the first time sequence, military drill continued as physical education in elementary schools, and educational reorganization and governmental investigations affected the development of a uniform system of physical education. In

the period from 1905 until 1914, military drill was replaced by the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises, and physical education in state schools came under the administration of school medical services. Games and other activities spread through state schools and military drill took the form of cadet and volunteer training in Public Schools and state secondary schools. In the third period, the Swedish exercises became the basis of a uniform system of physical education in state schools, with games, swimming, dancing, and camping becoming important supplementary activities. The activities in Public Schools were not appreciably altered.

During the period from 1900 until 1920, the state educational system was greatly expanded by reform legislation. Each educational act affecting physical education was considered in chronological order within a topical discussion of the development of physical education.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION PRIOR TO 1905

In 1899 Great Britain entered upon the struggle with the Boers of South Africa which lasted until 1902.¹ The

¹R. C. K. Ensor, England, 1870-1914 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), pp. 248-56; G. P. Gooch, History of Modern Europe, 1873-1919 (London: Cassell and Co., 1923), pp. 308-10, 332.

effects of the South African War on physical education in England were three-fold: The immediate effect was to prolong military drill as the system of physical education in elementary schools; it contributed to the later relationship between physical education and school medical services; and the war drew attention to the lack of physical fitness among the ordinary soldier, denoting a need for studying the problem and formulating some means by which it might be solved. It was found that no less than forty per cent of all of the recruits who volunteered for service each year of the war were rejected on the grounds of bad teeth alone.²

The consideration of the development of physical education from 1900 until 1905 involved relating each of the above mentioned effects to the development of physical education. Chronological topics under which this relationship was emphasized were (1) the continuation of military drill and physical exercises until 1905 as the system of physical education, (2) educational reorganization and governmental investigations affecting physical education, and (3) the acceptance of a new system of physical education. The effects on physical education were not always terminated within the period under consideration, resulting in the

²R. Gamlin, Education and Health (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1948), p. 218.

topic being given further consideration in a later time sequence.

The Continuation of Military Drill and Physical Exercises Until 1905

In 1899 the national educational agency was reorganized into the Board of Education. This brought under one head the numerous governmental bodies that heretofore had administered grants to schools. The programs of physical education in use in elementary schools at that time were military drill, physical exercises--calisthenics, and Swedish therapeutic exercises which were accepted as "physical exercise." As was previously noted, the South African War commenced in that year and continued until 1902. With military drill and calisthenics already serving as the official system of physical education, it was natural that these activities were encouraged by the Board of Education.

The consideration of the continuation of military drill and physical exercise into the twentieth century involved discussing in turn (1) the Code of Regulations for Day Schools, 1901, (2) the Model Course of Physical Training, 1902, and (3) criticism of the model course.

The Code of Regulations for Day Schools, 1901. In 1901 the Board of Education issued a new code of regulations

for elementary schools³ in which "physical exercises" were included as a course of instruction in infant schools and "physical training" as a course of instruction in elementary schools for older scholars.⁴ "Physical exercises" were informal calisthenics, combined with marching and simple games. Military drill and physical exercises made up the system of physical training. It was suggested that these activities be supplemented with "systematic instruction in swimming, cricket, etc.," which, however, were not to replace exercises or drill in a school's system of physical education. They were included only to add variety to the activities.⁵

Having a more lasting effect in schools than the activities of drill or exercises was the amount of time the code allotted to physical education in the daily schedule of schools. According to the code, the course in physical training was to be continuous throughout the school year "for not less than one hour in each week for each class, and for no more than one half-hour for each class on any given

³Board of Education, Code of Regulations for Day Schools, 1901 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901), 82 pp.

⁴Ibid., Article 15, p. 4.

⁵Ibid., Schedule III, p. 41.

day."⁶ It was recommended that the regular teaching staff of a school give the instruction whenever they were qualified. If no teacher was so qualified, an outsider should be employed to give the exercises and drill.⁷

Thus the new Board of Education expressed approval of military drill and physical exercises. Under the code, elementary schools were to teach physical education for at least one hour a week, preferably in two thirty-minute periods. Swimming and games might supplement the exercises and drill, but they were not to replace them. Whenever possible, classroom teachers were to conduct the activities. In the following year, further impetus was given military drill.

Having made it compulsory, the next step of the Board was to inaugurate a uniform system of drill and exercises in elementary schools.

The Model Course of Physical Training, 1902. In 1902, after consultation with the War Office, the Board of Education issued "Model Course of Physical Training for use in the Upper Departments of Public Elementary Schools."⁸

⁶Loc. cit.

⁷Loc. cit.

⁸Board of Education, Model Course of Physical Training for use in the Upper Departments of Public Elementary Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1902), 78 pp.

Infant departments of elementary schools were left to devise their own system of exercises and activities.

The model course of physical training bore a close resemblance to the Army Training Manual, and the object of the course was stated to be "the development of . . . muscles and activity, the quickening of . . . intelligence, and the formation of the habit of prompt obedience" of elementary school children.⁹ Thus, the objectives of physical education retained their flavor of discipline, which had been advocated as early as 1840.

The syllabus was divided into two parts, of which part one consisted of "the elementary notions of drill," and part two of physical exercises. Teachers were instructed to use both parts simultaneously in order that pupils might show equal progress in both drill and physical exercises.

Before pupils could advance to more complicated maneuvers, they were required to learn to form in squads, stand at attention "like soldiers," stand at ease, "dress," halt, right turn, left turn, "step out," "quick march," etc. Instead of rifles, very light wands, staves, or bar bells were to be used, solely for gripping purposes. However, in the exercises, wands, etc., were to be handled as though they were rifles, with "present arms," "at the order,"

⁹Ibid., p. A 1.

"stand at ease," and "lunge" examples of commands of exercises incorporating the hand apparatus.¹⁰ Part two consisted of arm, leg, and trunk stretching and bending exercises done with and without the wands and by command. Although admittedly valuable in themselves, games were not to take the place of organized physical exercises nor of drill, even in country schools.¹¹

The course was characterized by rigid teacher-control, for all movements were to be made by verbal command, with pupils standing "perfectly still when waiting for the next word of command," and "the position laid down for each exercise should be rigidly and precisely adhered to." It was recommended that the regular staff conduct physical training, and that the school employ a qualified instructor, "who, if possible, had been trained in the army gymnastic course," to instruct the teachers. According to the syllabus,

. . . even those who from age or infirmity are physically incapable of performing the exercises themselves, can by attending drill classes and by careful study of the Model Course obtain a knowledge of what ought to be done and of the points needing attention.¹²

¹⁰Ibid., Part I, pp. 5-26.

¹¹Ibid., Part II, pp. 27-72, 75.

¹²Ibid., p. 73.

Drill was to be conducted out-of-doors if at all possible, and whenever "loungers" became too curious, a fence should be built to secure privacy.

Under the heading "Further Physical Training," the Board of Education advised schools that exhausted the drill in the model course to use "Infantry Training, 1902." According to the syllabus, "skirmishing" should prove especially attractive to boys.¹³ In girls' schools and boys' schools unwilling to attempt drill, it was recommended that they concentrate on freestanding exercises, "gymnastic dancing," skipping, Swedish exercises, dry-land swimming drill, and exercises with dumbbells, bar bells, etc.

Thus, the first attempt to supply schools with a syllabus of physical education followed the previously encouraged rigid military drill and exercises.

Though not without their champions, military drill and physical exercise were showered with criticism. Evidences of this criticism and defense were also considered in the topic.

Criticism and defense of military drill. The use of the model course by schools throughout the land brought a great deal of criticism down upon the heads of the Board of Education. The "National League of Physical Education and

¹³Ibid., p. 78.

Improvement" presented at the "Congres International de Gymnastique" at Brussels in 1910 a report dealing with physical education in England in which the league deplored the period of military drill in English schools.¹⁴ Looking back from 1912, one writer remarked:

Just imagine the state of mind produced in the precise elementary teacher in endeavoring to define the butt-end of the bar-bell to his class, or in the infant mistress struggling to teach, say, 60 or 70 infants to form fours, change direction, and left-wheel!¹⁵

No doubt many teachers, especially women, who had no previous notion of military drill were completely frustrated in their efforts to conduct drill.

But advocates of drill were just as vociferous. One writer stated that "because things are left to the individual, most boys grow up without a sense of duty to their country"; consequently, "drill must form part of the system for every boys' school--and girls' school too!"¹⁶

In 1902 the South African War was concluded, and the partnership between the Board of Education and the War Office

¹⁴The National League for Physical Education and Improvement, The Present Position of Physical Education in England (London: The League, 1910), 5 pp.

¹⁵E. Adair Impey, "Military Training Considered a Part of General Education," Journal of Scientific Physical Training, V (1912-13), 80-82.

¹⁶T. C. Horsfall, The Influence on National Life of Military Training in Schools (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1906), 12 pp.

came to an end. Its termination brought about the decline of military drill as the accepted system of physical education. Concurrently, the need for a different system of physical education became apparent. The war had drawn attention to the lack of physical fitness among the British soldiers; and this, acting in concert with the need for extending medical services to school children, hastened the acceptance of the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises.

Educational Reorganization and Governmental Investigations Affecting Physical Education

During the three years following the end of the war, control of education passed from local school boards and many private bodies to local governmental authorities. This reorganization of the local administration of education provided a more homogeneous system of schools, in which the Swedish system of therapeutic physical exercises spread.

The period was one not only of educational reorganization, but also of governmental investigation of the physical condition of school children. As a result, physical education was placed under the administration of school medical services. Thus, the acceptance of therapeutic exercises as the system of physical education in English schools resulted in great measure from administrative reorganization and governmental investigation.

The consideration of educational reorganization and governmental investigation affecting physical education involved discussing (1) the Education Act of 1902; (2) the investigation of physical training in Scotland, 1903, and of physical deterioration in England, 1904; and (3) the investigation of the Model Course of Physical Training, 1904.

The Education Act, 1902. By the Education Act, 1902¹⁷ the local school boards were abolished, and the sixty-two county councils, sixty-nine county borough councils, and one hundred and nine borough and sixty-three urban district councils were made the local education authorities.¹⁸ This placed elementary and secondary education under the administration of 333 local education authorities in England and Wales instead of the 3,351 independent authorities heretofore administering education.¹⁹ As a result of amalgamation, the number of statutory authorities which actually came into being was 328.²⁰

¹⁷Education Act, 1902, 2 Edward VII, c. 42.

¹⁸Ibid., Part I.

¹⁹Board of Education, Report of the Board of Education, 1902-3 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), p. 15. A Report of the Board of Education was hereafter referred to as Report of the Board of Education.

²⁰Report of the Board of Education, 1937, p. 11.

Thus, the local administration of education was placed under control of local government bodies.

Under the act, duties of the local education authorities included control of secular instruction in all publicly maintained schools in their districts, and "to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary and to promote the general coordination of all forms of education. . . ." ²¹ Thus, it empowered local authorities to develop a system of secondary schools, and it recognized the control of local education authorities over technical secondary schools. Local authorities were also given the duty of maintaining voluntary schools, other than the physical premises, and of control of secular instruction in voluntary elementary schools. ²²

Local authorities thus acquired control over two classes of elementary schools; namely, "provided" or council schools, corresponding to the old board schools, and "non-provided" or voluntary schools. An elementary school was a school held during the daytime and enrolling children under sixteen years of age. ²³

²¹Education Act, 1902, Part II.

²²Ibid., Article III.

²³Ibid., Part IV, Section 21.

The effect of the act of 1902 was to bring all grades of education into much closer relationship than was possible at any previous time. Its effect on the development of physical education in schools was to provide a sound basis upon which a uniform system of physical education might spread.

As was previously noted, the Boer War brought the lack of physical fitness of many of its soldiers to the attention of the English. According to the chief medical officer,

. . . there existed in certain classes of the English people a somewhat high degree of physical unfitness which called for amelioration, and as far as possible, for prevention.²⁴

It was felt that the physical fitness of adults was directly the outcome of the physical condition of the children of the nation. Consequently, investigations were initiated to ascertain the physical condition of children and to find a system of physical education which would help meet the needs of children. Three such investigations were found to bear directly on the development of physical education. The first two, physical training in Scotland and physical

²⁴Board of Education, Annual Report for 1908 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), p. 5. Hereafter the reports of the chief medical officer were referred to as Report for (year) of the Chief Medical Officer.

deterioration in England, were reviewed briefly, after which a more detailed study was made of the investigation of the "Model Course of Physical Training, 1902."

The investigation of physical training in Scotland, 1903, and of physical deterioration in England, 1904. In 1903 the "Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland" issued a report that subsequently had a direct effect on physical education in England. Physical defects, malnutrition, and disability were found in a high percentage of children in Scotland. The commission recommended that local school boards employ medical officers, that they should provide facilities for proper feeding of undernourished children, and that physical education be universally adopted.²⁵

In 1904 there followed the "Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration" in England. The committee found a widespread degree "of physical unfitness, if not of deterioration." It also found many schools poorly ventilated, sadly lacking in proper lighting facilities, and with inadequate accommodations. The committee stressed the importance of "methodical physical training" to alleviate the physical condition of children in elementary schools. Further, it recommended "a systematized medical inspection of school children" and

²⁵Ibid., p. 7.

that adequate provision be made for feeding school children who were found to be undernourished.²⁶ Thus, recommendations were made that subsequently combined physical education with school medical services and placed it under the direction of the medical department of the Board of Education.

During the same period the Model Course of Physical Training was being criticized because of its military bias and its want of therapeutic values. Also, many instructors had been trained in the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises; and some school boards, notably that of London, had already accepted the Swedish system. They did not want to teach a system which they considered inferior to their own. Accordingly, an investigation of the model course was undertaken in 1904.

Investigation of the Model Course of Physical Training, 1904. An interdepartmental committee was appointed to examine the model course to judge how far it should be modified or supplemented, and to consider what principles should be followed, "in order to render a model course, or

²⁶Ibid., p. 8.

courses, adaptable for the different ages and sexes of the children in public elementary schools."²⁷

The committee found the model course to be unsuitable for use in schools, primarily because the course as a whole did not

. . . seem to be constructed on well defined general principles educed from a consideration of the functions of physical exercise as a necessary element in a well ordered course of general education for children."²⁸

In other words, military drill was not in keeping with the aims of elementary education.

The report further concluded that many teachers could not reasonably be expected to qualify to teach military drill or physical exercises, and that no pressure should be brought to bear upon them to qualify by attending courses of instruction. No recommendations were made, however, to alleviate the obvious deficiency of qualified teachers.²⁹

The report recommended that schools provide suitable rooms or gymnasiums in which physical exercises might be practiced. Weather and want of an open space were cited as practical reasons why schools should render suitable a hall

²⁷Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), p. 3.

²⁸Ibid., p. 5.

²⁹Ibid., p. 7.

or empty classroom, or beg or borrow a place in which to conduct physical exercises from some interested outside group, such as a cricket, football, or hockey club.³⁰

Thereafter military drill was no longer acceptable as physical education in schools. According to the report of the committee, it did not meet the needs of all ages of children, and it excluded girls. The physical condition of children demanded that therapeutic exercises be substituted for drill. Realizing this, the committee investigating the model course formulated a new syllabus broadly based on the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises. The dominance of the Swedish system of exercises in English schools dated from this period.

The Acceptance of the Swedish System of Therapeutic Exercises

It was formerly noted that some girls' schools, notably in London, Leeds, and Birmingham, taught the Swedish system of exercises as early as 1878. Having been excluded from participating in military drill, girls' schools adopted the new foreign system. Without official encouragement, the spread of the Swedish system in other schools was slow. It was not until after the conclusion of the South African War, at which time need for improving the physical condition of

³⁰Ibid., p. 9.

children in general became acute, that the therapeutic value of the Swedish system was fully recognized.

The consideration of the acceptance of the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises was discussed in the following topics: (1) a review of the syllabus of physical exercises adopted in 1904, and (2) an explanation of the system of Swedish exercises.

The Syllabus of Physical Exercises, 1904. The Syllabus of Physical Exercises, 1904,³¹ opened a new era of physical education in English schools. It heralded the beginning of the dominance of the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises and of a broadening concept of physical education in general. According to the syllabus, the purposes of physical exercise were:

. . . to maintain, and, if possible, improve the health and physique of the children. This may be described as its physical effect. But the exercises . . . have an effect scarcely less important in developing in the scholars qualities of alertness, decision, concentration and perfect control of mind and body. This may be styled the educational effect.³²

For the first time, discipline was not mentioned as a purpose of physical education.

³¹Board of Education, Syllabus of Physical Exercises for use in Public Elementary Schools, 1904 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1904), 106 pp.

³²Ibid., p. 10.

The exercises were divided into (1) those "that primarily exert a beneficial effect upon the respiration and circulation, and thus make for improved nutrition," which included running, skipping, leaping, breathing deeply, exercises affecting the upper limbs, and exercises invoking lifting or pulling against resistance; (2) those "which have for its principle effect the correction of certain bodily defects," such as heel-raising, and head and trunk bending; and (3) those "which have their effect principally on the nervous system, and the control exercised by the nerve centres over the muscles," including such exercises as balancing, dancing, skating, and the use of stilts. The exercises were progressively more difficult, but the syllabus was careful to point out that all the exercises could be practiced by children of comparatively weak physique. Exception was made to children suffering from malnutrition. For children under seven years of age, the teacher was instructed to decide whether or not formal exercises were to be given.³³

To supplement the exercises, simple dance steps and swimming drill were recommended. The exercises were not to be accompanied by music, except for marching or dancing and in infant departments. Ordinary clothes were thought to be

³³Ibid., pp. 11-14.

suitable, but special clothes were suggested if provision could be made for changing. If practicable, shoes should be supplied by the school.³⁴

Even though the syllabus of 1904 inaugurated the acceptance of the Swedish therapeutic exercises, it was a compromise with military drill. To cut down on confusion and rowdiness, all exercises were to be done by commands and from military drill formations. "Class-halt," "as you were," "stand at ease," "eyes-right," "eyes-left," "one pace forward--march," "right turn, dismiss" were probably very necessary commands in order to control a large group of inattentive children. But to insist that fingers "must be straight and touching one another" and that "heels closed, and toes turned out so as to form an angle of about 90 degrees" contributed to physical development was stretching the point.

The syllabus of 1904 gave schools a systematic and complete system of physical education for the first time. The acceptance of the foreign system of physical exercises necessitated a brief investigation of the Swedish system of exercises in which the distinguishing features of the system were noted.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 15-17.

The system of Swedish exercises. The Swedish system of physical exercise was founded by Peter Ling (1776-1839), who believed that a regular system of exercise could prevent disease and physical deformities. With this idea in mind, he formulated a set of progressive bodily exercises, in which there was no display of agility nor of acrobatics, but of a gradual and continuous development of every part of the body. The chief aim was a healthy body:

. . . A perfectly formed, working body, with every part and organ harmoniously developed, each performing to normal function, and the whole acting in response to the will. . . .³⁵

The exercises developed by Ling included freestanding movements without hand apparatus; apparatus work involving the use of wall bars, benches, ladders, vaulting boxes, beams, and ropes; ballet and dramatics; and recreational games.³⁶

In 1813 Ling founded the Royal Gymnastic Central Institute, where he taught his system and from which graduates conveyed it to other parts of the world.

³⁵Gymnasticus, Physical Training in the Navy (London: Westminster Press, 1906), p. 14.

³⁶J. G. Thulin, The Aims and Methods of Swedish-Ling Gymnastics, translated by C. C. Clausen and F. N. Punchard (Stockholm: Lanstidningens tryckeri, 1936), pp. 2-14.

The systematizing of Ling's exercises was undertaken by his son, Hjalmar Ling (1820-1886) in 1866, at which time he formulated tables based on the exercises formerly developed by his father.³⁷

The distinguishing features of the Swedish system were (1) a regular and steady progression of exercises, (2) the use of a table of exercises for each lesson, and (3) the use of the word of command for each movement or part of a movement.³⁸

The Swedish system evinced many advantages to the English: first, its therapeutic value had an appeal; second, its freestanding exercises required no expensive hand apparatus; third, the freestanding exercises could be performed by large numbers of children in a relatively small area; and finally, many schools already were using exercises based on the Swedish system.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 12-14.

³⁸Theodora Johnson, The Swedish System of Physical Education: Its Medical and General Aspects (Bristol, England: Johnson Wright and Co., 1906), 79 pp. Also see H. L. Roth, The Introduction of Scientific Physical Culture into England, County Borough of Halifax, Bankfield Museum Notes, No. 9 (Halifax: F. King and Sons, 1910), 3 pp.; Anders Wide, Home Gymnastics on Ling's System (London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1907), Preface, pp. 1-17; and A. E. Tanners, Physical Culture for Men, Women, and Children (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., 1894), pp. 2-20.

Summary of the Development of Physical Education Prior to 1905

From 1900 until 1905 the government took steps to encourage a system of physical education in elementary schools. At first it was nothing more than a continuation of military drill. The South African War concentrated attention on the physical fitness of the nation, and demands were made on the government to change the system from military drill to therapeutic exercises.

The first steps taken to make this change were investigations of physical fitness and of the syllabus of 1902, which schools were using at the time. The studies revealed that a large portion of the population was physically deficient, and that much could be done to alleviate the physical condition of the population through education, particularly by extending medical services in schools and by formulating a therapeutic system of physical education.

In 1904 a new syllabus of physical exercises was issued by the Board of Education based on the recommended therapeutic exercises as founded in Sweden by Peter Ling during the previous century, and which had been given in some schools in England before 1900. The need for such a system of physical education was acute. The period from 1905 until the outbreak of World War I was one of adjustment

to the new system, which came to be administered as a part of the medical department of the Board of Education.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1905 UNTIL 1914

Tracing the development of physical education in schools from 1905 until 1914 involved discussing the following major aspects: (1) the relationship between physical education and other school medical services, (2) the rapid spread of the Swedish system of exercises, and (3) the revival of military drill in schools prior to World War I.

The relationship between physical education and other school medical services originated in the previously mentioned government investigations concerning physical fitness. The results of these investigations led to parliamentary acts imposing upon, or empowering, local education authorities to provide school children with meals, medical examination, and physical education. The consideration of the expanded use of the Swedish system of exercises traced the spread and criticism of the system in elementary and secondary schools, Public Schools, and teacher training colleges, and the adoption of a new syllabus in 1909. The demand for military drill was revived just prior to the

outbreak of World War I. Consideration was given its development in elementary, secondary, and Public Schools.

The Relationship between Physical Education and Other School Medical Services

In 1905 there were 6,063,961 children on the registers of elementary schools, including 583,268 children between the ages of three and five, 4,420,654 children between five and twelve years of age, and 1,060,039 between the ages of twelve and fifteen.³⁹ It was recognized that many children were attending elementary schools who were in more or less need of medical supervision and care such as they had not previously received. Children in such physical condition were handicapped in receiving the education provided by the government. Consequently, it came to be recognized that a close connection existed between the physical condition of children and the whole process of their education.

The presence of skin diseases, tuberculosis, vermin, adenoids, enlarged tonsils and glands, defective hearing and vision, heart disease, and malnutrition in school children

³⁹"Memorandum on the Board of Education Estimates, 1925-6," in Charles Birchenough's History of Elementary Education in England and Wales, third edition (London: University Tutorial Press, 1938), Appendix, p. 546.

was a condition which imperiled their whole future. Of the total number of children in elementary schools in England and Wales, about ten per cent suffered from serious defective vision, from three to five per cent suffered from defective hearing, one to three per cent had disease of the inner ear, eight per cent had adenoids or enlarged tonsils of sufficient degree to obstruct the nose or throat and to require surgical treatment, twenty to forty per cent suffered from extensive and injurious decay of the teeth, about one per cent suffered from ringworm, one per cent were affected with recognizable tuberculosis, and one-half to two per cent were afflicted with heart disease.⁴⁰

From 700 to 900 of any 1,000 children residing in a poor district of a city or town would have been dirty in varying degrees, ranging from 100 who were described as "very dirty," 600 as "dirty," 270 as "somewhat dirty," to 30 describable as "clean." Of any 1,000 girls in a country area, as many as 600 would have been found with nits or pediculi present in the hair, while in a town school the number would have been about 500. The boys, having shorter hair, were less affected.⁴¹

The need to alleviate some or all of the conditions was pointed out in the reports of the commission on physical

⁴⁰Report for 1909 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 27.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 29.

training in Scotland in 1903, and of the committee on physical deterioration in England in 1904. To give meaning to the recommendations of these committees, two acts were passed by Parliament. In 1906 the Education (Provision of Meals) Act empowered local education authorities to provide school children with meals, and the Education Act of 1907 imposed on local education authorities the duty of medical inspection of school children. To administer this medical phase of education on a nation-wide level, the medical department of the Board of Education was formed in 1907.

The importance of these acts to the development of physical education lay in the fact that physical education, together with provision of meals and medical inspection, was considered a means of improving the physical condition of children attending elementary schools. A discussion of each of the above mentioned education acts was undertaken in turn.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906. The Provision of Meals Act of 1906⁴² empowered local education authorities to provide meals for children in public elementary schools who were unable because of lack of food "to take advantage of the education provided for them."⁴³

⁴²Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, 6 Edward VII, c. 57.

⁴³Ibid., Section 3.

If parents were unable to pay for the meals, the authority might, with permission of the Board of Education, levy a small tax for the purpose. (In 1914 the Board of Education supplied part of the cost and the authorities were allowed to tax without permission of the Board.)⁴⁴

The Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907.

The Education Act, 1907,⁴⁵ imposed on all authorities the duty

. . . to provide for the medical inspection of children immediately before or at the time of or as soon as possible after their admission to a public elementary school. . . .⁴⁶

The act empowered local education authorities to make such arrangements "as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of the children educated in public elementary schools."⁴⁷ This was the beginning of a state system of medical inspection of school children in England.

In addition to providing for the medical inspection of elementary school children, the government wished to

⁴⁴Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1914, 4 and 5 George V, c. 20.

⁴⁵Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, 7 Edward VII, c. 43.

⁴⁶Ibid., Section 13 (1) (b).

⁴⁷Loc. cit.

insure that all children were physically able to profit from an education. To carry out this objective, the act empowered local education authorities to establish "vacation schools, vacation classes, play centres, or other means of recreation during their holidays or at such other times as the local education authority may prescribe, in the school-house or in some other suitable place. . . ." ⁴⁸ Even though the provision of vacation schools, play centers, or other means of recreation was permissive, it was a first step toward incorporating recreation, as opposed to physical exercise, into the system of physical education and of extending the medical service of schools.

As a result of the Education Act of 1907, local education authorities organized school medical departments with a medical officer in charge to carry out the provisions of the act. The act also gave the Board of Education the power to supervise the arrangements of local education authorities "attending to the health and physical condition of the children educated in public elementary school," ⁴⁹ Consequently, the medical department of the Board of Education was organized in 1907 with Dr. George Newman as chief medical officer of the department. Inspectors were

⁴⁸Ibid., Section 13, (1) (a).

⁴⁹Ibid., Section 13, (1) (b).

subsequently appointed to inspect local efforts and to act as liaison officers between the medical department and local medical officers.⁵⁰

In carrying out its policies concerning the physical well-being of school children, the Board of Education placed physical education under the administration of the medical department. Thus, physical education came to be a part of school medical services. This move by the Board of Education was a natural outgrowth of its acceptance of the Swedish therapeutic exercises as the official system of physical education in 1904, as the Swedish exercises were designed to prevent or to correct physical deformities and disabilities.

The Expanded Use of the Swedish System

A consideration of the expansion of the Swedish system necessitated noting that the armed services adopted the system to their needs, that it was made an examinable subject in teacher training colleges in 1909, and that a new syllabus was issued for use in all elementary schools. Progress which the system made in elementary, secondary, and Public Schools was also discussed.

Spread of the Swedish system of exercises in schools was by no means instantaneous nor universal, but it was

⁵⁰Report for 1908 of the Chief Medical Officer,
pp. 11-12.

constant. Aspects of the spread of the system to be considered were setbacks which it encountered, criticisms which were directed toward it, re-evaluation of the system, and a new syllabus.

The adoption of the Swedish system by the armed services. In 1902 sailing vessels were replaced by steam-powered ships. In order to replace the training that seamen and young officers had received in the sailing type of vessel, a naval gymnastic department was created, and studies were made of the German system of physical education and of the English system of physical training. The navy rejected both systems, adopting instead the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises. To inaugurate the system, the navy employed a graduate of the Swedish gymnastic college of Stockholm. The school was the first in England to train men as teachers in the system of Swedish exercises.⁵¹ In 1904 a manual of the exercises was published to guide naval instructors in teaching the exercises.⁵²

After the issuance of the syllabus of 1904, the Board of Education refrained from recommending to schools that they employ ex-army instructors to teach drill or physical

⁵¹Gymnasticus, Physical Training in the Navy, pp. 1-11.

⁵²Admiralty, The Principles and Practice of Educational Gymnastics for the use of Officers and Gymnastic Instructors in His Majesty's Fleet (London: Gale and Palden, 1904), 169 pp.

exercises, for they were no longer qualified to teach the recently adopted system of therapeutic exercises. For the most part, the army drill had consisted of gymnastics and calisthenics with dumbbells and rifles. Its system also included freestanding exercises in which many forms of hand apparatus were used, together with work on the horizontal or parallel bars, vaulting horse, etc. Music was used to accompany marching.⁵³ In 1907 the army gave up its system of physical exercises in favor of the Swedish system. In accounts of this change, allusions were found to the following statistics on the physical fitness of young men examined for the army: Of 59,393 recruits inspected for the armed forces in 1907, 16,906 were rejected for defective vision or hearing; diseases of the eyes, nose, mouth, ears; decayed teeth; flat feet; malformation of chest and spine; under height; under chest measurement; underweight or other defects. In 1908 61,278 recruits were examined of which 17,293 were not accepted. In 1909 the total number inspected was 50,298, of which 15,041 were rejected.⁵⁴

⁵³Report for 1909 of the Chief Medical Officer,
pp. 172-3.

⁵⁴Report for 1913 of the Chief Medical Officer,
Appendix K, p. 366.

Swedish exercises made a compulsory subject in teacher training colleges. With ex-army instructors no longer encouraged to teach in schools, and with the medical slant which physical education had taken since 1904, the need for trained teachers of the Swedish exercises in state schools was acute. In 1909 physical education, together with hygiene, was introduced into the list of subjects which students in training colleges were required to take for the certificate examination. Students were required to practice the exercises and to study the theory of physical education and the methods of teaching the exercises.⁵⁵ A minimum time of seventy-five minutes per week was to be allotted to physical education in men's colleges and eighty-five minutes in women's colleges.⁵⁶

Prior to 1909 schools used the syllabus of 1904, which was modeled on the Swedish exercises but also incorporated features of military drill. During the period from 1904 until 1909, the medical department, by pointing up the therapeutic advantages of Swedish exercises, encouraged the use of the syllabus, and inadvertently paved the way for its new syllabus.

⁵⁵Report for 1910 of the Chief Medical Officer,
pp. 242-3.

⁵⁶Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 286.

The adoption of a new syllabus of physical education, 1909. The new syllabus was admittedly modeled on the Swedish system of exercises, and all traces of military drill were absent.⁵⁷ The hygiene and physiology of physical education were dealt with in the introduction; a chapter was devoted to instructions to teachers; recreative exercises, such as marching, dancing, skipping, and indoor games, were included as supplements to the exercises and to make the exercises more enjoyable; and seventy-two tables of exercises, arranged to cover the entire period of school life, were included to relieve the teacher of the task of making out his own tables.

In the introduction the Board advised teachers to submit children to the local medical authority for physical examinations in order to ascertain the extent of the teachers' efforts to improve the health of the children. As stated in the syllabus, the object of "physical training is to help in the production and maintenance of health in body and mind."⁵⁸

Instructions to teachers were given next. To relieve the dullness accompanying one formal exercise after another,

⁵⁷Board of Education, The Syllabus of Physical Exercises for use in Public Elementary Schools, 1909 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909), 168 pp.

⁵⁸Ibid., Introduction, p. v.

teachers were instructed to include running, jumping, marching, and simple games in the lesson.⁵⁹

The tables of exercises were divided into three progressively more difficult series. Series A included (1) simple arm, head, neck, and trunk exercises; (2) breathing exercises; and (3) running, marching, and games for children seven to nine years of age. Series B included the same activities of a more difficult nature for children from nine to eleven years of age; and Series C, the same exercises adopted for children from eleven to fourteen years of age.⁶⁰

Four appendices followed the tables. Appendix A dealt with advanced exercises, such as abdominal exercises; skipping exercises; dance steps, including the minuet, gavotte, reel, jig, Welsh dances, country dances, and Morris dances; and games, such as cat-and-mouse, three-deep, fox-and-geese, stepping stones, leap-frog, and chasing games using bean bags.⁶¹ Appendix B dealt with classroom exercises, such as toe and heel raising, trunk bending, arm and shoulder-blade exercises, breathing, and marching.⁶²

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 21-26. ⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 74-149.

⁶¹Ibid., Appendix A, pp. 149-160.

⁶²Ibid., Appendix B, pp. 160-1.

Appendix C explained the same type of activities for infants.⁶³ Appendix D described the dress for girls, which should be of light-weight material, loose fitting, and worn with stockings and ordinary underwear.⁶⁴

The syllabus of 1909 was the culmination of many years of experimentation. The need for improving the physique of the children of the nation required that the government provide them with a system which could meet this need. It had already provided for meals and medical inspection of school children and "a further requirement is physical exercise." According to the syllabus, "there should . . . be a direct relation between the three factors of nutrition, general health, and physical training."⁶⁵

It was interesting to note that the syllabus almost completely ignored activities other than the exercises. Simple games or dancing might be employed as supplementary activities during the class period, but they were not intended to be replacements for the therapeutic exercises. Outdoor games such as football and cricket were not mentioned.

During the same year, the medical department issued a syllabus on temperance, in which were set down the "advantages of abstemiousness." Every child in elementary school

⁶³Ibid., Appendix C, pp. 161-4.

⁶⁴Ibid., Appendix D, p. 164.

⁶⁵Ibid., Introduction, p. vi.

was to receive such instruction at least three times during the school year. Instead of dwelling on the deleterious consequences of alcohol as a beverage, teachers were instructed to explain the advantages of abstemiousness on "broad, intelligible grounds and as a scientific argument."⁶⁶

During the period under consideration, there was a growing feeling that physical education should be made enjoyable, but there was little evidence of how formal exercises could be made enjoyable as well as therapeutic. It was a period of appraisal of the system without any concrete results. Also, Swedish exercises were officially introduced into secondary schools, which were encouraged to provide gymnasiums in which the exercises employing apparatus might be practiced. Each of these aspects of the advancement of the Swedish system was considered in turn.

Appraisal of the Swedish system of exercises by the medical department. In 1909 the exercises were considered by the medical department as "a valuable means of treatment, both preventive and direct." According to the report of the chief medical officer,

. . . it raises the power of resistance of the tissues to the onset of disease, and renders the child

⁶⁶Board of Education, Syllabus of Lessons on "Temperance" for Scholars Attending Public Elementary Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909), p. 4.

less liable to contract illness and more able successfully to overcome it if acquired.⁶⁷

Tuberculosis was given as an example, which the report said, "can perhaps be avoided most effectively by increasing the resistance of the child to the attacks of the tubercle bacillus." Flat feet, curvature of the spine, ill-formed chests, and adenoids, were also given as deformities either preventable or curable by therapeutic exercises.⁶⁸ The department also noted "the important educational effects on the development of the brain, in the formation of character, and on the acquirement of habits of self-control and discipline" with the use of the Swedish system.⁶⁹ But the shortcomings of the system were also given attention.

The chief medical officer's report admitted in 1909 that the exercises were "dull, tedious, and monotonous."⁷⁰ In 1910 the standard of teaching the exercises was "still far from satisfactory."⁷¹ In 1911 a partial admission was made to dullness and tediousness which could be remedied by the "successful teacher."⁷² In 1912 the Board of Education

⁶⁷Report for 1909 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 183.

⁶⁸Loc. cit.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 174. ⁷⁰Ibid., p. 175.

⁷¹Report for 1910 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 243.

⁷²Report for 1911 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 292.

stated that it would "welcome the introduction of new methods of securing successful teaching of the Syllabus Exercises," and it admitted that "each exercise may be taught conscientiously with reasonable exactness, and yet the lesson as a whole may be dull, flat and tedious."⁷³

In addition to the analysis of the system by the medical department, many physical education enthusiasts were criticizing the system on the grounds that it was static, undynamic, and dull. Writing in 1913, one such critic asked, "Are the systems of physical education in vogue dominated by static or dynamic ideals?" He then proceeded to say that they were not, and also condemned the "artificially detached movements," pleading for rhythm and more dancing in the system of physical education.⁷⁴

The policy of the Board of Education concerning the Swedish system was definitely stated in 1912. Its report read in part, "after careful consideration and observation of the needs of Public Elementary Schools," the Board decided that "the freestanding exercises of the Swedish System, together with suitable gymnastic or playground games

⁷³Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 286-89.

⁷⁴Cloudesley Brereton, "Criteria of Physical Exercise in the Light of Education as a Whole," Journal of Scientific Physical Training, VI (1913-14), 31-34.

and simple dance steps," would likely prove to be the most satisfactory type of physical education.⁷⁵ Thus, the system had survived arduous criticism by the department and irksome criticism by outsiders. It was not to be replaced.

The Swedish system in secondary schools. In 1911 a "Memorandum on Physical Training,"⁷⁶ in which the value and uses of the exercises were given, was sent to all secondary schools. This memorandum officially introduced Swedish exercises into secondary schools, although numerous schools, as upper departments of elementary schools enrolling children from eleven or twelve to fourteen years of age, already used the system.

Although it was pointed out annually from 1909 until 1912 that practically every government school in the land had at least one syllabus for the use of its teachers, inspectors found in 1912, at which time they first visited secondary schools, that many were falling short in providing therapeutic exercises to their pupils. Of thirty-one secondary schools for girls inspected for physical education, only four provided three lessons of exercises a week,

⁷⁵Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 284.

⁷⁶"Memorandum on Physical Training in Secondary Schools, Circular 779," Report for 1910 of the Chief Medical Officer, Appendix D, pp. 289-99.

seventeen provided two lessons a week, and eleven provided one lesson a week. Eleven schools possessed "a properly equipped gymnasium," while the other twenty schools used a hall or vacant room. In only two schools was there a special changing room. Of the forty-three teachers employed in the schools, fourteen were considered "efficient, the remaining twenty-nine being in some way or other unsuitably trained or unequal to their work."⁷⁷

Twenty-two secondary schools for boys were also visited by inspectors. Four schools gave three or more lessons of exercises a week, six gave two lessons a week, and twelve schools gave one lesson a week. The lessons in all schools varied from thirty minutes to forty-five minutes in duration. Three schools insisted that the boys change clothes, and six schools required boys to wear suitable shoes and remove their coats and collars. Six of twenty-eight teachers employed were found to be efficient. The report concluded that such a small number of secondary schools was not representative, but at the same time noted that "physical training has yet to win adequate recognition in a large number of secondary schools."⁷⁸

⁷⁷Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 301.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 300-2.

The department also admitted that elementary schools had failed to provide as much physical exercise as it hoped they would.

The Swedish system in elementary schools. In 1912 the chief medical officer reported that the average time allotted to physical exercise was one hour a week, which was usually "divided into two, three or four periods." For example, from 268 departments in the western county of Shropshire, the time given to physical exercise was reported as follows: (1) ten schools conducted classes twice daily; (2) nine schools conducted one class of thirty minutes duration daily; (3) six schools, twenty-five minutes daily; (4) seventy-one schools, twenty minutes daily; (5) ninety-one schools, fifteen minutes daily; (6) fourteen schools, ten minutes daily; (7) seventeen did not report any exercises; (8) twenty schools conducted classes four times a week; (9) twenty-three schools conducted classes three times a week; and (10) seven schools conducted classes twice a week.⁷⁹

Swedish exercises in Public Schools. Public Schools, independent of government control and traditionally the strongholds of games and sports, did not accept Swedish

⁷⁹"Report of the Shropshire Medical Officer, 1912," Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 291.

exercises with any degree of universality. As early as 1859 Uppingham school built a gymnasium, and was soon followed by other Public Schools; but there were no systematically taught physical exercises incorporated into the physical education programs of schools, although gymnasiums were provided. What passed for gymnastics was a smattering of German, Swedish, army, or navy exercises, dependent upon who taught it.

The medical department deplored the fact that such little notice had been given to systematic physical exercise in Public Schools. The chief medical officer was moved to state that games alone were "not in themselves sufficient physical training." He stated that "something more was needed to improve carriage, and to correct faults of development." He suggested that the system employed in government schools be added to the curriculum of Public Schools, which "will make the pupils more fit for their games."⁸⁰ Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and Clifton were noted as Public Schools using the Swedish system in 1914, implying that other schools would do well to follow the lead of these great schools.⁸¹

The Swedish exercises had been introduced into Eton in 1907, and by 1911 the members of the Cadet Corps and

⁸⁰Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 198.

⁸¹Loc. cit.

all the younger boys were required to attend classes once a week in physical exercises based on the Swedish system.⁸² About the same time, Westminster School equipped the gymnasium (a covered vault beneath the main school room) with wall ladders, a vaulting horse, and parallel bars for the use of pupils who were inclined to make use of them, but there was no compulsion and undoubtedly little interest.⁸³ Another example of the lack of enthusiasm for formal physical exercise in Public Schools was Harrow, which adopted the Swedish exercises in 1911, a gymnasium having been built as early as 1874. Harrow employed a naval lieutenant to give the exercises to the younger boys and to any older boys who desired to excel in feats of agility or of strength.⁸⁴ With the advent of World War I, the idea of such exercise was almost totally given up in Public Schools.

All in all, Public Schools did not accept Swedish exercises, or for that matter, any system of gymnastics. The allocation of time between studies and games was about even, and games were considered fun whereas formal exercises were not. Too, pupils organized and administered the

⁸²Sir H. C. Maxwell Lyte, A History of Eton College, fourth edition (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), p. 575.

⁸³John Sargeaunt, Annals of Westminster School (London: Methuen and Co., 1898), p. 252.

⁸⁴E. D. Laborde, Harrow School, Yesterday and Today (London: Winchester Publications, 1948), p. 145.

playing of games, whereas physical exercises necessitated supervision by masters.

Although the syllabus of 1909 officially discarded military drill as physical education, political unrest in Europe affected the educational views of many persons in England, who regarded military drill as a patriotic necessity. Hence, the revival of military drill in schools was considered next in the discussion of the development of physical education from 1905 until 1914.

Revival of Military Drill

Although the purposes of physical education had changed under the administration of the medical department to correction or prevention of the countless physical deformities and diseases plaguing children of both sexes, some schools continued with a basic military-type drill. In 1905 Leeds, a city that had led in developing the Swedish system of exercises, published its scheme for drill and physical exercises, which included a great deal of close-order drill, the purposes of which were "orderliness, precession, celerity in class-movement, and discipline."⁸⁵

Status of military drill in Public Schools. In Public Schools military drill was adopted as part of school

⁸⁵Leeds Education Committee, Scheme for Drill and Physical Exercises (Leeds: The Committee, 1905), 27 pp.

life, but not regarded as a physical education activity. It took the form of officer or cadet training, and had its roots in the volunteer movement which swept over England in the sixties of the nineteenth century. In 1860 Eton organized a volunteer corps, the first Public School to do so.⁸⁶ Eton's corps served to popularize the movement in other schools. The South African War (1899-1902) further extended the movement, and Public Schools began to hold an annual drill and rifle meet about this time. During the same period, Westminster boys were given commissions directly by the army.⁸⁷

Just prior to the outbreak of World War I, most Public Schools either organized officer training corps or reorganized the volunteer corps into officer training units. Harrow, having had a rifle volunteer corps since about 1860, formed an officers training corps in 1908.⁸⁸ In the same year, Eton reconstituted its rifle volunteers into an officer training corps.⁸⁹ In 1912 Sir Winston Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty, made it possible for cadets from

⁸⁶Maxwell Lyte, op. cit., pp. 554-5.

⁸⁷Sargeaunt, op. cit., p. 201.

⁸⁸Laborde, op. cit., p. 206.

⁸⁹Maxwell Lyte, op. cit., p. 575.

Public Schools to enter the navy directly after passing a written examination.⁹⁰

Public pressure restored military drill in "provided" schools. In 1906 an address delivered before the medical officers of schools pleaded for military drill in schools in order to instill "a sense of duty to their country" in boys. The speaker cited German schools as excellent examples of proper training.⁹¹ In the same year the National Service League advocated universal military training, including school military drill for boys as an integral part of the program.⁹²

Admitting that universal military service was an effective means "of preventing and combating physical degeneration . . . among the people," the medical department in 1909, in refutation of the critics who advocated restoration of military drill, stated that it could never form "more than a part of a . . . general scheme for the improvement of the national physique." As stated by the chief

⁹⁰Elie Halevy, The Rule of Democracy, 1905-1914, Book II, translated by E. I. Watkins, second edition (London: Ernest Benn, 1952), p. 600.

⁹¹T. C. Horsfall, The Influence on National Life of Military Training in Schools (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1906), 12 pp.

⁹²W. P. Herringham, On Physical Training in Schools (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1906), 8 pp.

medical officer, military drill "commenced too late in life," "only the healthiest were affected," and "girls were excluded."⁹³ Military drill did not take care of children; it took care of youths and adults.

The demand for military drill in all schools became widespread during the period just prior to World War I. In 1912 a public appeal was made by General Sir Ian Hamilton to amend the Education Act to include compulsory military training for elementary school boys between the ages of twelve and fourteen, with the War Office given the right of inspection.⁹⁴ During the same year, others advocated compulsory military training for all boys under fourteen years of age on the grounds that such training would "act as a panacea for the many social evils existing . . . in our midst."⁹⁵

As a result of the interest in military drill, many local education authorities inaugurated cadet or volunteer corps. In the counties of Essex, Leicester, and Surrey, and in the cities of Bath and Brighton "squad drill, musketry,

⁹³Report for 1909 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 180-3.

⁹⁴E. Adair Impey, "Military Training Considered a Part of General Education," Journal of Scientific Physical Training, VII (1912-13), 80-82.

⁹⁵Quoted from Broad Arrow, an armed forces magazine, in Journal of Scientific Physical Training, V (1912-13), 84-85.

bayonet exercise, bomb-throwing, field day for tactics, and to a lesser extent . . . gymnastics" were adopted.⁹⁶

Military drill did not become physical education, however, either officially or unofficially. Schools organized cadet corps or volunteer units, but the medical department continued to control physical education and refused to consider drill as physical education. The pressure was so great in 1912, however, that the department felt compelled to state its policy. It reiterated the need for a system of physical education which would be universally applicable to both boys and girls of all ages, "a progressive and systematic piece of education work," and based on "physiological principles."⁹⁷ The department did not consider military drill as meeting these objectives. The War hampered the spread of Swedish exercises in schools, but it did not replace the exercises with military drill.

Summary of the Development of Physical Education from 1905 until 1914

The need to improve the physical condition of school children became the paramount concern of English education after the passage of the Education Act of 1902. Studies of

⁹⁶"Military Training in Schools," Journal of Scientific Physical Training, VI (1913-14), 26-31.

⁹⁷Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 284.

physical fitness in Scotland and in England revealed that means of improving the poor physical condition of children must be found. School medical services were founded on the framework of the Provision of Meals Act of 1906 and the Education Act of 1907. School meals, medical inspection, and physical education became parts of medical services.

During the period the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises was officially recognized and every elementary school was held responsible for teaching the exercises according to the syllabus issued by the Board of Education. The armed forces, as well as schools, adopted the system; and it was made a compulsory subject in all training colleges in 1909. A new syllabus was issued in 1909 which concentrated on the system and failed to include games and recreational activities to any extent. Criticism of the Swedish exercises as dull and monotonous led later to the inclusion of games and less formal exercises in physical education.

In 1911 secondary schools were required to teach the Swedish system, and Public Schools were asked to cooperate with "provided" schools and include it with their program of games. For a short time Public Schools adopted the system. The use of the exercises declined with the outbreak of World War I.

During the period a demand for military drill in schools was made by those who saw a need for national

preparedness. Military drill was not recognized as physical education, but it re-entered schools with the constitution of volunteer and officer cadet corps in state secondary schools and Public Schools.

In 1914 war was declared. Consideration of the development of physical education during the war and the two years immediately following was undertaken next.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1914 UNTIL 1920

The period from 1914 until 1920 encompassed the four years of World War I and the two years of adjustment to cessation of hostilities immediately following. Inevitable disorganization of England's school system accompanied the war;⁹⁸ however, physical education and other school medical services received a great deal of attention.

In the school year 1913-1914 there were in average attendance in elementary schools 5,381,479 children between five and fifteen years of age. At the end of the period under investigation, there were 5,930,654 children enrolled in either elementary or secondary schools in England. Their ages ranged from three to fifteen and over. Of the total,

⁹⁸Halevy, The Rule of Democracy, 1905-1914, Book II, p. 599. Also see Harold L. Gray, War Time Control of Industry (New York: Macmillan Co., 1918), Preface, p. viii.

4,493,974 were between five and twelve years of age, and 6,488 were fifteen years of age or older.⁹⁹ The provision of physical education for these children during the war years and immediately after the war was the aim of the medical department during the period under consideration.

In 1914 the chief medical officer of the department of the Board of Education prefaced his policy of extension and reform of physical education as follows:

If the whole question is shelved until after the war there will be a tendency to drop back into the old routine. The opportunity will have vanished and reform when it does come will be more difficult to introduce.¹⁰⁰

Despite the war, the policy of the medical department concerning physical education was to be one of reform and progress.

With this policy in mind, consideration was given the development of physical education in the schools of England during and immediately after the war by a discussion of each of the following basic topics: (1) methods used to meet the need of physical education instructors in schools, (2) extension of the Swedish system of exercises to continuation schools for youths endeavoring to complete their

⁹⁹"Memorandum on the Board of Education Estimates, 1925-26," in Birchenough's History of Elementary Education, Appendix, p. 546.

¹⁰⁰Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 187.

elementary education, (3) building regulations concerning gymnasiums, (4) evaluation of the Swedish system of exercises, (5) spread, acceptance, and criticism of games, (6) broadening concept of physical education, (7) the Education Act of 1918, and (8) the Syllabus of Physical Training, 1919. The discussion of each topic necessitated keeping in mind the effect of World War I on physical education, for no area of education was excluded from such effects. First, consideration was given the methods of meeting the need for physical education instructors in schools.

Methods Used to Meet the Need for Physical Education
Instructors in Schools

Following the lead of all patriots, many men resigned their teaching positions and enlisted in the armed forces. Specifically, physical education instructors were granted automatically the rank of non-commissioned officer upon enlistment, as both the army and the navy were using the Swedish system of exercises to train recruits. For example, of eighty-two teachers in Sheffield that enlisted in 1914, twenty-five were accepted as Swedish drill instructors with the immediate rank of non-commissioned officer.¹⁰¹ In great

¹⁰¹"Report of the Sheffield Medical Officer, 1914,"
Ibid., p. 188.

degree, teacher-training colleges for men abandoned physical education, with students who remained in college usually concentrating on military drill. In women's colleges training in the Swedish system continued. If schools were to continue to use the Swedish system of exercises for boys, the shortage of trained instructors was becoming acute.

Two methods were used to meet the shortage of instructors; namely, the registration of all teachers over the age of twenty-five having five years' experience, and employment of local organizers of physical education to train classroom teachers.

Registration of teachers. In 1909 physical education had been made a compulsory and examinable subject in all teacher-training colleges. This did not encompass the thousands of teachers who were already giving drill or exercises to children. In 1914 registration was permitted of all teachers of physical exercises who had five years' teaching experience and were over twenty-five years of age.¹⁰² In theory, this made up for the teachers who left school for the armed services, but most of these remaining teachers were women or unqualified to teach physical exercises. In

¹⁰²Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 115.

order to qualify these teachers, a scheme of area physical education organizers was formulated.

Local organizers of physical education. The medical department recommended in 1914 that each local education authority employ a "physical education organizer," expert in the field, who could assist and instruct classroom teachers in his district.¹⁰³ In addition to instructing classroom teachers, organizers were given duties which eventually led to administrative control of physical education in their respective districts. They supervised physical education in all schools, trained teachers, and instructed in local teacher-training colleges. For example, Sheffield reported that it employed a full-time organizer, whose duties included:

The supervision of physical training in the day and evening schools. . . .

The training of instructors for evening school classes.

The supervision of the training of students in the City Training College and Sheffield University Elementary Day Training Department.

The supervision of the physical training of pupil-teachers.

The appointment as lecturer in hygiene to the City Training College.¹⁰⁴

After a year, the Sheffield organizer was given two

¹⁰³Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 192-3.

¹⁰⁴"Report of the Sheffield Medical Officer, 1914," Ibid., p. 193.

assistants, a man and a woman, to aid in administering physical education. It was reported that in one year 600 Sheffield teachers "attended short courses in physical training."¹⁰⁵ Other local education authorities imposed similar duties on their organizers of physical education.

The scheme was successful, with the chief medical officer referring to the importance of organizers of physical education again in 1915. Typical of the work of an organizer was an account in the report from Buckinghamshire, where a woman was employed to teach physical exercises in four county secondary schools, to hold classes for teachers, and to inspect the physical exercises in the elementary schools of the county. In addition to teaching physical exercises, instruction was given in games and dancing.¹⁰⁶ The counties of Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Hampshire, and the cities of Norwich in eastern England and Plymouth employed qualified organizers of physical education in 1915.¹⁰⁷ In every instance the organizer or at least one assistant was a woman.

The Board of Education was so pleased with the scheme that regulations were issued under which the Board agreed to

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 194.

¹⁰⁶"Report of the Buckinghamshire Medical Officer, 1915," Report for 1915 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 92-93.

¹⁰⁷Report for 1915 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 93-94.

pay fifty per cent of the salaries of all approved organizers in 1916.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, the Board laid down certain qualifications to be met by the applicant before he would be approved. First, the organizer must be "fully qualified to teach the Swedish system of exercises"; and second, "have had suitable and adequate experience of work in connection with Elementary Schools or Training Colleges."¹⁰⁹ Under these qualifications, many women were able to assume the duties of physical education organizer during the war years. For example, the county of Cornwall (southwestern England) employed a woman organizer who held demonstration classes in physical exercise for teachers wishing to attend, and inspected physical education in elementary schools. The report from the school medical officer of Cornwall did not give the number of teachers attending the classes, stating only that he hoped "the advantages of physical exercise will be fully recognized in the future."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸"Medical Grant Regulations for 1916, Part III," Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 134.

¹⁰⁹Loc. cit.

¹¹⁰"Report of the Cornwall Medical Officer," Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 195.

In 1916 the Board of Education approved organizers in twenty areas throughout England.¹¹¹ In 1917 the number had risen to forty-six, including London.¹¹² In 1918 the number of education authorities employing recognized organizers rose to fifty-one; and due to demobilization, men were being hired as well as women. During 1918, a conference of women organizers was arranged by the Board of Education in London in which organizers met and discussed their problems.¹¹³

By the end of the war, organizers had definitely broadened the concept of physical education in English schools. At their insistence, schools provided playgrounds, rented fields, constructed sheds for exercises, and purchased games equipment. Classroom teachers learned to conduct simple physical exercises, to supervise games, and to teach practical hygiene to children.¹¹⁴

In 1919 the Board of Education insisted that local education authorities that had not appointed organizers do

¹¹¹"Medical Grant Regulations for 1916, Part III," Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 134.

¹¹²Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 116.

¹¹³Report for 1918 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 160.

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 160-3.

so immediately, and recommended that they appoint men.¹¹⁵ Except as instructors in schools for girls and in infant schools, women were to be relegated to an inferior position. Seventy-four education authorities were employing 122 organizers of physical education in 1919.¹¹⁶ In 1920, 132 organizers had been appointed by seventy-nine local education authorities out of a total of 316 in England and Wales.¹¹⁷

The supply of teachers was only one of the problems facing the medical department during the period under consideration. An additional problem concerned the provision of a system of physical education for youths older than fourteen who attended continuation schools after leaving elementary schools. Here was a source of manpower for the armed forces and for industry, and it was felt that any physical education which this group of persons might be receiving needed to be extended and brought into line with that given in elementary schools.

The consideration of the extension of the Swedish system of exercises to continuation schools was discussed

¹¹⁵Report for 1919 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 173.

¹¹⁶Loc. cit.

¹¹⁷Report for 1920 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 156.

as the next step in the progress of physical education during the war.

The Extension of Swedish Exercises to Continuation Schools

The need for physical education in continuation schools for youths older than fourteen received the attention of the chief medical officer in 1914. There were approximately 2,000 continuation classes in physical education for the youths attending these schools, but few were organized as part of the curriculum of the schools, or as a continuation of the physical exercises taught in elementary schools.¹¹⁸ In 1914 the report of the medical department stated that too many had tended to train "gymnasts" rather than to develop "the physical powers of the pupils."¹¹⁹ Consequently, the medical department recommended that more freestanding, formal exercises be used, and that games, folk dancing, and apparatus exercises be used only to supplement the Swedish exercises.¹²⁰ With the extension of the Swedish system of exercises into continuation schools, all children from five to fifteen or sixteen years of age in "provided"

¹¹⁸Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 197.

¹¹⁹Loc. cit.

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 198.

schools were entitled to receive the systematic physical exercises of the Swedish system.

The war also contributed to the efforts of the medical department to supply schools, especially secondary schools, with gymnasiums. In anticipation of the time when building materials and funds would become available for construction purposes, the medical department initiated the steps necessary for local education authorities to build gymnasiums in which the Swedish system of exercises might be practiced. The consideration of building regulations concerning gymnasiums and facilities for physical education included a brief historical review of physical education facilities in order to provide background for the building regulations of 1912 and 1914.

Building Regulations Concerning Gymnasiums

At the beginning of the century, elementary school children drilled in the yard, often in very large numbers. On the other hand, Public School pupils organized their games and sports on spacious grounds properly laid out and cared for. Some Public Schools had gymnasiums, but these were more closely associated with the school non-commissioned officer and the rifle squad than with gymnastics.

Building regulations were issued in 1904, in which it was suggested that the school be planned around a central

hall, which could serve as auditorium, chapel, dining room, or gymnasium. The regulations stated that the playground should be paved for drill, and where practicable, schools should purchase or rent playing fields.¹²¹ The building regulations of 1906 and 1907 were similar, as far as facilities for physical education were concerned, to those of 1904; but in 1911 and again in 1912, secondary schools came in for additional attention and gymnasiums were advocated for teaching the Swedish system of exercises.

In 1911 the medical department recommended that secondary schools include a gymnasium properly equipped with apparatus suitable for Swedish exercises.¹²² In 1912 a detailed plan of a gymnasium to be used by local education authorities was included in the annual report of the chief medical officer.¹²³ It was noted that the freestanding exercises were not the complete Swedish system, and that "heaving, spanning, balancing, and leaping exercises" could be practiced only with suitable apparatus.

¹²¹"Building Regulations for Elementary Schools, 1904," in Birchenough's History of Elementary Education, pp. 531-32.

¹²²See page 319 for reference to "Memorandum on Physical Training in Secondary Schools."

¹²³Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 308ff.

Apparatus needed to properly equip a gymnasium for the exercises included wall bars, beams, benches, stools, climbing ropes, wall ladders, adjustable ladders, rope ladders, square (window) ladders, vaulting horses, vaulting boxes, and jumping stands.¹²⁴ According to the regulations, this equipment could fit easily into a gymnasium sixty feet long by thirty feet wide. (For the next thirty-two years the dimensions of gymnasiums did not change.) The most important piece of equipment was the gymnasium floor, which was to be of hardwood, and "laid on joists" in order "to secure a certain amount of resilience." The boards "should be laid across the gymnasium . . . as this lessens the chance of slipping."¹²⁵ The plans incorporated a changing room, but neither water nor toilet facilities were recommended.

In 1914 the provision of playing fields not less than two acres for 100 pupils became part of the statutory provision for secondary schools, and for the first time the dimensions of a gymnasium were officially prescribed as sixty by thirty feet, and not less than fifty by twenty-five feet. Changing rooms were suggested, but were not made mandatory.¹²⁶

¹²⁴"Addendum on Gymnasium Equipment," Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 302-6.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 308.

¹²⁶Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 116ff.

The expanding concept of physical education also required an increase in the size of paved playgrounds--yards. Before the war a space of sixty-four feet by twenty-four feet--1,536 square feet--was regarded as necessary for freestanding exercises for a class of fifty children.¹²⁷ Additional space was needed if running, jumping, and games were included, and if more than one class was to work at the same time, which was usually the case. In 1912 the Departmental Committee on School Playgrounds recommended that for schools of 200 and more, thirty square feet for each older, and sixteen square feet for each younger pupil should be required. Thus, a secondary school of 400 children would require 12,000 square feet of hard surface yard, or an area roughly 120 feet by 100 feet. An elementary school would need 6,400 square feet, or roughly 100 feet by 64 feet. For schools of 200 or less, a minimum of 2,000 square feet was suggested, together with an addition of twenty square feet for each older pupil, and six square feet for each younger pupil. The recommendations were embodied in the Building Regulations of 1914.¹²⁸

Under the Education Act of 1918, local education authorities were empowered to provide "centres and equipment

¹²⁷See page 341 for playground accommodation.

¹²⁸"Building Regulations for Schools, 1914," in Birchenough, op. cit., p. 532.

for physical training, playing fields . . ., school baths, school swimming baths," and other facilities for physical education.¹²⁹ This legislation was permissive. No doubt, it was too soon after the war to impose on local authorities the expense of providing gymnasiums and swimming pools when classrooms were so greatly needed.

Although no concerted efforts were made during the war to replace the Swedish system of exercises with military drill, the system came under quite a bit of scrutiny and had to be defended again and again by the chief medical officer. Rather than demand that the system be replaced with something else, most agitation was for supplementing it with more varied and recreational activities. This growing feeling of the inadequacy of Swedish exercises to fulfill the needs of children and of the youth was discussed in order to show more clearly the advent of games.

Evaluation of the Swedish System

There seemed to be little doubt that teachers and pupils found the formal exercises dull and tedious. In 1914 the chief medical officer admitted as much and blamed the "dullness" on teaching methods. The report explained that

. . . if half the lesson . . . is spent in order movements, if a lengthy pause is given between each

¹²⁹Education Act, 1918, Section 17, Clause b.

group of exercises or if all movements are commanded in the same monotonous tone, the children will be bored, the lesson will be a failure, and an observer may be pardoned for concluding that the Swedish System is not suited for use in an elementary school.¹³⁰

Reports of many inspectors evinced that classroom teachers were not proving to be good instructors of physical education.

The medical department came to the defense of its Swedish system in 1916 against proponents of games and military drill. The report stated that only formal physical exercises would supply the necessary "full physical development of the child."¹³¹ Games were considered to be recreational activities. Military drill trained only males for a specific purpose. It was reiterated that the aim of the Board of Education was to provide "not only for healthy boys, but also for girls and the weaklings of both sexes."¹³² The Board defended its decision to use the Swedish system on medical, physiological, and educational grounds.¹³³ The

¹³⁰Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer,
pp. 192-3.

¹³¹Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 125.

¹³²Loc. cit.

¹³³Ibid., p. 126.

formality of the exercises was defended on the grounds of necessity "to accuracy, and discipline, and character-building."¹³⁴

In 1917, with the war dragging on, the report of the chief medical officer stated again that the nation needed a complete scheme of educational gymnastics. He deplored the fact that "organized physical training had not received due recognition from educationalists," who, for the most part, "regarded it an adjunct to the ordinary school subjects."¹³⁵ In spite of such lack of interest by educators, the chief medical officer stated that "the most authoritative opinion in this country appears to have pronounced in favour of the Swedish system," citing the navy and the army as being in favor of the system.¹³⁶ There was no effort on the part of the medical department to rule out games and recreational activities. It desired to make the Swedish system the foundation upon which physical education was based, supplemented by other activities.

During the period under consideration, the use of games as physical education became widespread in "provided"

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 127.

¹³⁵Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 112.

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 114.

elementary and secondary schools as well as in Public Schools. This spread was due in part to the encouragement given games by physical education organizers, to the need for occupying children during the evening hours, and to the need for supplementing formal exercises with recreative activities.

The spread, acceptance, and criticism of games in schools were considered as the next topic in the discussion of the development of physical education from 1914 until 1920. First, consideration was given the spread of games in "provided" schools in general, followed by the criticism of games and sports in Public Schools, and finally, of games in secondary schools for girls.

The Spread, Acceptance, and Criticism of Games

Dullness of the therapeutic exercises was a constant criticism from 1904, when the first syllabus based on the Swedish system was issued. The Board of Education usually sought to alleviate some of the dullness by better teaching techniques. With so many men teachers in the services during the war, the Board was obliged to supplement the efforts of the remaining teachers with other activities; consequently, the organized games long played in Public Schools came to be accepted in "provided" schools as physical education.

Games in "provided" schools. In 1914 the chief medical officer stressed the importance of field games for elementary schools.¹³⁷ In 1915 Birmingham reported that considerable attention was being given to organized games for elementary school children and working boys and girls of the city. The Birmingham Athletic Institute, a voluntary organization, encouraged inter-school matches in football, cricket, and athletic sports for boys, and hockey, netball, and rounders for girls by providing prizes to competing school teams. The city park committee provided two large playing fields for the use of the schools, which used them in winter as well as in summer. Each school was allowed to choose the games it preferred, with the most popular games of girls' schools being hockey, netball, and rounders and the most popular activities of boys being athletic sports, cricket, and football.¹³⁸

The movement was also evident in the large manufacturing city of Manchester, where the park committee granted free use of the city's playgrounds to schools, and the transit company reduced its carfare to school children

¹³⁷Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 197.

¹³⁸"Report of the Birmingham Medical Officer, 1915,"
Report for 1915 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 95-96.

who were on their way to the grounds. As early as 1912 two grounds had been used by twenty-six departments of eighteen schools; in 1913 seven grounds were used by seventy-two departments of fifty-three schools; and in 1914 twelve grounds were used by eighty-one departments of fifty-seven schools. In 1915 twenty-one grounds were being used by children of seventy-five schools. Both women and men teachers were given special "coaching" in the school games of basketball, rounders, hockey, cricket, and football.¹³⁹

The medical department recommended that time for games be allotted outside that given to physical exercises, which eventually led to schools devoting at least one entire afternoon a week to games. One of the requirements for outdoor and indoor games was the provision of adequate facilities. In 1916 the medical department specified that local education authorities must provide such facilities.¹⁴⁰ This requirement was made as a result of the heretofore mentioned building regulations of 1914. However, the department was not referring to free play nor to cricket, football, and other field games alone, but to supervised chasing games, such as "hunting Red Indians" and "stalking smugglers" for

¹³⁹"Report of the Manchester Medical Officer, 1915," ibid., p. 96.

¹⁴⁰Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 126.

young children, and lead-up games to cricket and football for older children. The highly organized games were left to supplement physical exercise in secondary schools.¹⁴¹ Thus, games were recommended by the medical department for both sexes throughout the school life of children, with games predominating over formal exercises for children under eleven years of age.¹⁴²

To illustrate the lack of games in elementary schools before the movement got under way in 1915, the report of the chief medical officer for 1916 noted that girls working in munition factories in industrial areas were almost entirely ignorant of organized team games and evinced little interest in such games until they had been taught to play.¹⁴³ In 1917 it was stated that the Englishman was proud of his "love of games," and it was also conceded that he had never shown any enthusiasm for gymnastics. According to the chief medical officer, both attitudes needed amending. In the first place, he stated that "games must be developed and in some form made possible for all, girls as well as boys,"

¹⁴¹Ibid., pp. 128-29.

¹⁴²Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 129.

and in the second place, "improved facilities and better teaching would help to popularize gymnastic exercises."¹⁴⁴

The work of the army gymnastic staff in England and France to relieve battle-fatigue of soldiers just back from the front lines was given credit for providing momentum to the acceptance of games as physical education in schools during and after the war. Organized games and sports were overwhelmingly successful in rest and army camps. It was noted that most soldier "had never really played a game of cricket, football, or hockey" before coming under the tutelage of the army physical education staff; but in the future they wanted "their children to be taught a love for games" which they had never experienced, in the schools.¹⁴⁵ Consequently, the medical department urged all local education authorities to take immediate steps to insure,

. . . that a large variety of simple games . . .
 be taught as part of the ordinary physical training
 in schools; that . . . more use be made of parks and
 open spaces; that . . . playing fields be required
 for the use of school children in and out of school
 hours, that evening play centres be established, and
 that girls have equal opportunities with boys.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer,
 p. 118.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 117-18.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 118.

Games which previously had been enjoyed only by pupils of Public Schools were henceforth to be played by all children as part of school physical education. From that time, they have retained their popularity and acknowledged place in the curriculum of English schools.

At the time when elementary and secondary "provided" schools were accepting the traditional games and sports of Public Schools as physical education, games and sports in Public Schools were subjected to a great deal of criticism. This criticism was not aimed solely at games and sports, but at Public School life in general, of which games constituted an important part.

Criticism of games and sports in Public Schools.

Reference has already been made to physical education in Public Schools prior to World War I. During the War, Swedish exercises were either ignored or poorly taught; officer training units were organized in most Public Schools; and games and sports continued to take up the leisure time of pupils.

The War having disrupted the reputation for pre-eminence of the Public School system, persons within the system as well as those outside the system leveled criticism at the schools and at the system of which they were a part. One of the most widely read critics was George

Bernard Shaw, who, having been educated in an Irish counterpart of an English Public School, nevertheless vigorously denounced the English system in Misalliance and A Treatise on Parents and Children. Lying, dishonorable submission to tyranny, and the worship of games were subject to his scathing condemnation of Public School life.¹⁴⁷

In 1917 there appeared an account of Public School life written by a recently graduated young man of seventeen that shocked its readers. The tyranny of games over all aspects of school life was exposed in Loom of Youth, written by Alec Waugh.¹⁴⁸ It depicted Public School life stripped of all sentiment and glamour, crude and raw as one school boy saw his fellow pupils. The worship of games was designated as one of the greatest evils of Public Schools. In the words of one pupil, "What on earth would the country be like without them?," and in the words of another pupil, "Our fathers worshipped it [games], and damned good fellows they were, too."¹⁴⁹ The book was a sensational success, having six reprints during the first year.

¹⁴⁷George Bernard Shaw, Misalliance, The Dark Lady of the Sonnets, and Fanny's First Play, with a Treatise on Parents and Children (New York: Brentano, 1930), pp. xxxi, xl, 5-27.

¹⁴⁸Alec Waugh, Loom of Youth, fourteenth reprint (London: Richards Press, 1947), 335 pp.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 174-75.

Such condemnation did not perceptibly change conditions. The War was almost over, and criticism of Public School life declined. However, as a result of criticism, games were incorporated into the curriculum of Public Schools and were managed by pupils under closer scrutiny of adults.

Criticism of games in secondary schools for girls.

The movement to include games in physical education gave rise to criticism of games in schools for girls. In the expensive, private boarding schools for girls modeled on Public Schools, games had already been made a part of physical education. Such schools usually provided spacious playing fields, swimming pools, and well equipped gymnasiums, as well as riding facilities. Because they were private and expensive and with small enrollments, they were ignored in the general wave of criticism; but "provided" girls' schools supported by the public came under more widespread scrutiny, and as a result were criticized for their eager efforts to include games for girls.

The medical department was obliged to define its stand and to explain to local education authorities what constituted proper games for girls in secondary schools. "Undernourished, anaemic, flabby, and readily fatigued" girls should not play field games until after they had

overcome some of their physical disabilities; but at the same time, the medical department stated that such games did not physically damage girls.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the medical department recommended simple, lead-up games in which skills were developed, rather than cricket or hockey, which if played indifferently, produced bad results, both mentally and physically.

However, the medical department did not back down from its position. It stated, "in the face of criticism . . ." that ". . . every girl should have at least one afternoon each week free for games in the open air in addition to her regular gymnastic lessons."¹⁵¹ This official attitude furthered the provision of games in both elementary and secondary schools for girls.

The inclusion of games in physical education of "provided" elementary and secondary schools resulted from a need to provide informal, recreational, supplementary activities to therapeutic exercises; to supply teachers with activities which did not require a great deal of study to learn and which might be supervised without participation. At the time "provided" schools were accepting games, Public

¹⁵⁰Report for 1920 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 158.

¹⁵¹Ibid., p. 160.

Schools were being criticized for worshipping games, and there was some criticism of games in girls' schools. Nevertheless, all schools began to play games and eventually one, and sometimes two, days a week were devoted to games.

In addition to the inclusion of games in physical education, the period under consideration was notable for the broadening of the concept of physical education to include other activities. Open-air education, play centers, dancing, swimming, and camping became either associated with physical education or with some part of the program. This aspect of the development of physical education from 1914 until 1920 was considered next.

Broadening Concept of Physical Education

The years during and immediately following World War I were a period of broadening concepts of physical education despite the shortage of men instructors and the desire of local education authorities to avoid spending money. As the chief medical officer stated in 1914,

It may appear at first sight inopportune to select the present time to urge the need for an extension and improvement of physical training throughout the country in both elementary and secondary schools.

. . .¹⁵²

¹⁵²Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 187.

But the extension and improvement of physical education continued. The Swedish exercises were the cornerstone of the system of physical education, upon which other activities were built, with open-air education, play centers, dancing, swimming, and camping, as well as games, incorporated into the system of physical education.

Open-air education. Among the principles laid down by the Board of Education by which the physical education of children could be obtained was that of open-air education. According to the chief medical officer's report for 1915,

. . . a nation cannot expect to have healthy children growing up to healthy adolescence apart from the teaching of hygiene and cleanliness, feeding of school children, systematic physical training, and open-air education.¹⁵³

Having already determined that many elementary school children suffered from malnutrition and from deformities and disabilities arising from lack of sunshine and fresh air, the medical department broadened physical education to include the remedial physical effects of time spent in the open air by under-privileged children. To meet the requirement of the board, local education authorities were to provide classes to be held in the playgrounds of schools, in public parks or open spaces, at the seashore, or in the

¹⁵³Report for 1915 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 85.

country, for periods from one day to three weeks, and to provide open-air schools for disabled children.¹⁵⁴

Playground classes were a permanent part of schools in Birmingham, Blackburn, Bootle, and thirteen other areas, including London, in 1915.¹⁵⁵ In London alone, 104 of these classes were held. Doctors who examined children after these sessions in the open air found the children "both physically and mentally improved."¹⁵⁶ London also led in providing trips out of town for physically weak children. In the same year the industrial towns of Manchester, Leicester, Bradford, and Keighley provided physically weak children with holiday schools and camps in the country. Open-air schools were provided by fifteen local education authorities in 1915, serving approximately 1,000 physically weak children.¹⁵⁷

In 1916 the administration of open-air education was removed from the subdivision of physical education, but remained under medical services. The physiological advantages of open-air education were no doubt partially

¹⁵⁴Ibid., p. 98.

¹⁵⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁵⁷Loc. cit.

responsible for the growth of the movement to include play centers and camps in physical education.

Play centers. As the war progressed, more and more mothers took up work in munition or other factories, leaving their children to shift for themselves, especially in the evenings after school. Such idleness without parental supervision led to the delinquency of many children, which very soon after the beginning of the War became noticeable throughout the country. Some means was sought to occupy the leisure time of children, especially of children in industrial cities. As early as 1905, five play centers had been voluntarily supplied for children from five to fifteen years of age in London. The centers were located in the poorer districts and were open five evenings a week from 5:30 until 7:30 o'clock, and for an hour and a half on Saturday mornings. They remained open from September until the third week in July. Activities included physical exercises, dancing, singing, football and other games, painting, paper cutting, needlework, knitting, basketwork, and woodwork.¹⁵⁸ The success of the play centers in London caused the medical department to call attention to the London movement in its report in 1915, and to suggest that other areas where the need existed inaugurate such centers. Local

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 97.

education authorities were urged to either initiate the action or to support the centers if they already existed.¹⁵⁹

The interest in play was becoming widespread. In 1913 some objectives of play were listed by a writer concerned with the play center movement. Robert S. Wood stated that the aims of play included "cooperation, sacrifice, and the habit of prompt and willing obedience."¹⁶⁰ Wood, realizing that many play centers were held in small playgrounds of schools, compiled a list of games suitable for congested play areas, dividing the games into the following categories:

- a. Free-running, chasing, and capturing games
- b. Circular running games--cat and mouse, drop the handkerchief
- c. Relay races
- d. Contestant sides games--seizing sticks, snatch the handkerchief
- e. Bean bag and ball games--center ball, defending the tower
- f. Competitive ball games--football
- g. Jumping, skipping, and rope games.¹⁶¹

Wood suggested that teachers who were interested in serving as supervisors of play centers invite football and cricket clubs to consign their worn-out equipment to school play centers. The importance of Wood's book lay in the social

¹⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 97-98.

¹⁶⁰Robert S. Wood, Organized Games for the Playground (London: Macmillan and Co., 1913), Preface, p. viii.

¹⁶¹Ibid., pp. 35-61.

objectives which he attached to games. Later, social aims were given to physical education in general.

In 1917 the Board of Education issued regulations under which grants up to fifty per cent of the cost of maintenance would be paid in aid of "Evening Play Centres."¹⁶² Within a year the Board had recognized play centers in ten large industrial cities, including London. The immediate object of play centers was stated to be "a means of providing safe shelter and occupation for children between tea and bedtime." According to the chief medical officer, the ultimate object was "to promote the development of play and all that it can be made to mean for children in and out of school hours."¹⁶³

The Board of Education recommended that during the winter months play centers be conducted in school buildings, but that during the spring and summer as many activities as practicable be transferred to school playgrounds or open spaces. Local education authorities were urged to contact voluntary groups that might be interested in supplying equipment, renting open spaces, and providing free or cheap

¹⁶²"Regulations for Evening Play Centres for the Year Ending 31st July 1917," Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 129.

¹⁶³Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 129-30.

transportation.¹⁶⁴ Thus, four years after Wood made his recommendations, the Board of Education acted.

By 1918 the Board had recognized play centers in 218 areas. Play centers were so popular that many children were kept from attending due to lack of accommodation. This was found to be especially true in the poorer districts of cities where the need was greatest, but where school buildings were small and yards and play space limited.¹⁶⁵ Nevertheless, they proved to be a successful means to get children, especially older boys, off the streets for a few hours each evening and to occupy their time with supervised play and hobbies.

In 1918 reform of the entire system of state education was initiated by the Education Act of 1918.¹⁶⁶ "Section 17" of the act dealt specifically with physical education. Among other things, local education authorities were empowered to provide "facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening."¹⁶⁷ Although it did not impose on authorities the duty of providing play centers in

¹⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 130-31.

¹⁶⁵Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 118-19.

¹⁶⁶See page for reference to the Education Act of 1918.

¹⁶⁷Section 17, Clause c.

the evening, it recognized that they were part of physical education, and lent official encouragement to the provision of such centers by supplying at least fifty per cent of the funds.

In 1919 the chief medical officer reported that sixty-eight local education authorities and voluntary associations were conducting 254 centers.¹⁶⁸ In most towns and cities the organizer of physical education was given the added duty of supervising the centers, a plan encouraged by the Board of Education. Usually the staff of play centers was composed of school teachers, a plan which the Board did not encourage.¹⁶⁹

A typical play center was found to be the one at Hornsey, where the center was open three evenings a week from 5:45 to 7:15 o'clock, and on Saturdays from 10:00 to 11:30 a.m. The superintendent of the center was a teacher in one of the elementary schools and had eleven assistants, all of whom were teachers. Five assistants were present at each meeting of the center. Children who came to the center had been selected by the head teachers of their respective schools. About 400 children were listed as participants.

¹⁶⁸Report for 1918 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 165.

¹⁶⁹Loc. cit.

Outdoor games and dancing were the most popular physical activities; and sewing, raffia work, stenciling, and paper-bead making were given as the most popular quiet occupations of the children. The report noted with interest that boys and girls worked and danced together without any mishaps.¹⁷⁰

In 1919 the Board recognized 330 centers conducted by seventy-six local education authorities and voluntary groups. In London alone, there were forty-five play centers. Prior to 1920 the Board had recognized play centers and provided funds only to such centers that were held during the school terms, but in that year the Board further extended the movement by recognizing "holiday" evening play centers.¹⁷¹

Dancing. The syllabus of 1909 contained a number of recreative exercises which included simple dance steps, but dancing was not overly encouraged in schools until 1913. Before that date the need for trained instructors in Swedish exercises and the almost total ignorance of elementary school teachers of methods of conducting the physical exercises made it imperative that the medical department give

¹⁷⁰"Report of Campsbourne Play Centre, Hornsey," Report for 1918 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 166.

¹⁷¹Report for 1919 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 178.

first attention to the Swedish exercises, for they were the basis of the whole system of physical education. Finally in 1913 the chief medical officer noted that dancing had been neglected in schools, and suggested that it be introduced to counteract the rigid movements employed in the exercises. He also stated that good results were obtainable only when care was taken that every dance position had a definite form and that children should never be allowed to make purposeless or careless movements "even in time to the music."¹⁷² Under "Methods of Teaching Dance Steps," each step was explained in full, and simple folk dances were recommended as best suited for elementary schools. Ballroom dancing was ruled out.¹⁷³

When physical education was extended to continuation classes in 1914, dancing formed an important supplement to Swedish exercises as a recreative activity.¹⁷⁴ According to the medical department, the advantages of dancing were the development of grace, lightness, and sense of rhythm.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷²Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 295.

¹⁷³Ibid., pp. 296-97.

¹⁷⁴Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 198.

¹⁷⁵Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 131.

In 1917 the report of the medical department stated that dancing was a necessary part of physical education for girls, and "to a lesser extent, for boys."¹⁷⁶

Dancing was not specifically mentioned under Section 17 of the Education Act of 1918; however, "Clause c" of "Section 17" undoubtedly referred to dancing as well as to play centers. It empowered local education authorities to provide "facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening."¹⁷⁷ Further encouragement of dancing was evident in 1919. The report of the medical department stated that folk and country dancing were being given in teacher-training colleges, and that the Board of Education had employed a man to visit training colleges to instruct students. Also, local societies such as the English Folk Dance Society occasionally held instruction classes and invited teachers to attend and participate in the dancing.¹⁷⁸

Swimming, like dancing, had been encouraged since 1909, but it was not until the war that the need for swimming became recognized.

¹⁷⁶Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 119.

¹⁷⁷Education Act, 1918, Section 17, Clause c.

¹⁷⁸Report for 1919 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 176.

Swimming. In 1913 the school medical officer stated that swimming should be carried on like any other part of physical education; that is, children should "actually be taught to swim and not allowed merely to splash about in the water."¹⁷⁹ In the following year, it was termed "of first rate importance."¹⁸⁰ In 1917 the desire to encourage children to learn to swim was again evident in the reports of the medical department. In that year the chief medical officer stated that "whenever practicable children should learn to swim."¹⁸¹

But before children could learn to swim, except on their own, a place to swim had to be provided, swimming instructors had to be found, and according to the medical department, systematic instruction in "land-drill" needed to be practiced. A few local education authorities, notably in cities, built school swimming pools at this time, but most authorities made arrangements with public health committees for children to use public pools at a minimum admission charge. For example, in 1917 Coventry Education Authority made arrangements with the "Baths Sub-Committee"

¹⁷⁹Report for 1912 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 297.

¹⁸⁰Report for 1914 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 197.

¹⁸¹Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer,
p. 120.

whereby elementary school children were allowed to use the public swimming pool every day. A class of children from each school in the city visited the pool once each week. Thus, thirty-five classes of 770 children were admitted to the pool weekly. Land-drill was given to all senior classes by the regular teacher, who might not know how to swim, but could instruct and keep order while the children practiced the movements.¹⁸²

Under Section 17 of the Education Act of 1918, local education authorities were empowered to provide "school baths and school swimming baths."¹⁸³ As the act was only permissive and no funds were provided by the Board of Education to aid in building the facilities (and with the end of the war almost in sight), there was little evidence that local authorities provided swimming facilities.

Camping. The first mention of camping was in connection with open-air education, which the Board of Education urged local education authorities to provide for physically weak children. As part of open-air education, camps were called "school journeys," whereby children were taken to the seashore or to the country for one or two weeks to

¹⁸²"Report of the Coventry Medical Officer," Report for 1918 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 162.

¹⁸³Education Act, 1918, Section 17, Clause b.

continue their school work in fresh air and sunshine and receive proper nourishment. Four education authorities undertook this type of work in 1915. London School Board also made arrangements for selected weak children to go to the country for a week or two weeks at the Board's expense.¹⁸⁴

With cessation of hostilities in 1918, local education authorities were encouraged to establish school camps. Clause a, Section 17, of the Education Act of 1918 empowered local authorities to provide "holiday or school camps, especially for young persons attending continuation schools."¹⁸⁵ In that year the chief medical officer issued regulations on organization and administration of camps for elementary and secondary school boys which were to serve as guides for any local education authority that desired to inaugurate camping.¹⁸⁶ According to the regulations, a commandant of the camp must be employed who knew camping and understood boys. A site of eight to ten acres was considered suitable for two hundred boys; however, it was recommended that camps be composed of less than one hundred boys, in

¹⁸⁴Report for 1915 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 99.

¹⁸⁵Education Act, 1918, Section 17, Clause a.

¹⁸⁶"Camping," Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer, pp. 121-23.

order that they might prepare their food individually and play in smaller groups. The regulations suggested that older boys be separated from young boys and given a separate camp if practicable.

Physical education was to be an important part of camping. Physical exercises were to be taken every morning, with games and sports being played all day. Cricket, football, rounders, hide and seek, flag raiding, hare and hounds, swimming, and hikes were considered as the best games and sports. Athletic sports, sing-songs, and "camp-fire yarns" were additional activities which were suggested in the regulations.¹⁸⁷

Campers were to be expected to pay at least one-half of the cost of their two weeks' stay. The cost of transportation, the single heaviest item of cost, should be borne by the local education authority if it was unsuccessful in getting transportation without charge. The medical department urged all local education authorities to support camping and to provide school boys with "this wonderful opportunity to see the countryside and to enjoy the physical and social benefits derived from camping."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷Ibid., p. 122.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p. 121.

Immediately after demobilization of the troops, some education authorities took advantage of army camps which became vacant. They rented or purchased sections of the camp sites, but the Board of Education recommended that permanent huts and ex-army camp sites were unsuitable for children who needed to get out into the woods or along the seashore where they would be closer to nature.¹⁸⁹ In 1919 eighteen local education authorities were maintaining or contributing to the maintenance of camps in connection with elementary schools or evening play centers.¹⁹⁰

Girls as well as boys were given permission to go to camp. In Sunderland an ex-army camp near the seashore was used as a school camp to which forty boys and forty girls were sent alternately every two weeks during the summer months in 1919.¹⁹¹ A typical schedule of a camp for girls was found to be as follows:

6:30	Reveille
7:00	Bathing Parade (ablutions)
8:00	Breakfast
10:00	Prayers--Inspection--Physical Training
11:00	Break for milk
11:15	Camp instruction for camper's badge

¹⁸⁹Report for 1918 of the Chief Medical Officer,
pp. 169-70.

¹⁹⁰Report for 1919 of the Chief Medical Officer,
pp. 178-79.

¹⁹¹"Report from Sunderland Medical Officer," ibid.,
p. 179.

1:00 Dinner
 1:30 Rest-time
 3:00 Special work
 4:00 Lecture on Camp-craft
 5:00 Tea, Court of Honour
 6:00 Games
 7:30 Supper
 8:00 Country dancing
 9:30 Last post
 10:00 Lights out¹⁹²

Local organizers of physical education were given the duty of directing camping, but where this was impractical, they were charged with selecting and organizing games and other physical education activities employed to occupy the time of the campers.

During the period under consideration, swimming and dancing became important activities of physical education in "provided" schools. The significance of swimming was never deprecated; but dancing, as an activity to relieve the boredom of the formal therapeutic exercises, was thought to be more suitable for girls than for boys. Play centers and camping were also incorporated into physical education, arising from the need to occupy the leisure time of children and to provide them with some time in the country.

In 1918 a national system of education was created by Parliament. The Education Act of 1918 not only empowered local education authorities to provide for physical education

¹⁹²"Report of the Southern Training Schools' Summer Camp," loc. cit.

but in a larger sense, it provided a school system through which physical education developed uniformly and constantly. For these reasons, the act was given consideration in the development of physical education from 1914 until 1920.

The Education Act, 1918

Immediately after the war, reorganization of education took place. During the war, the government had assumed control of industry, transportation, shipping, agriculture, foodstuffs, and in great measure, all social services. The doctrine of laisse faire, "still respected in 1914, had by the end of 1917 passed into at least temporary oblivion."¹⁹³ After four years of such controls, reform was inevitable, and for education, immediate.

The establishment of a national system of public education was the cardinal principle of the act of 1918.¹⁹⁴ Each local education authority was to submit to the Board of Education its scheme "providing for the progressive and comprehensive organization of education. . . ."¹⁹⁵ The act abolished fees in elementary schools,¹⁹⁶ empowered local authorities to supply or aid in the supply of nursery schools

¹⁹³Harold L. Gray, War Time Control of Industry, Introduction, p. vii.

¹⁹⁴Education Act, 1918, 8 and 9 George V, c. 39.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., Section 1. ¹⁹⁶Ibid., Section 26.

for children between two and five, and to provide for the retention of children at such schools up to seven years of age.¹⁹⁷ The act made education compulsory for every child until the term following his fourteenth birthday.¹⁹⁸ It also charged local education authorities with providing, in the upper grades of elementary schools, advanced instruction.¹⁹⁹ The duty of medical inspection and the power to provide treatment were extended to cover children attending secondary and continuation schools provided by local authorities.²⁰⁰

Mention has already been made to Section 17 of the Act, but it was thought necessary to include in full this section of the act which dealt specifically with physical education. Section 17 read as follows:

For the purpose of supplementing and reinforcing the instruction and social and physical training provided by the public system of education, and without prejudice to any other powers, a local education authority . . . , may, with the approval of the Board of Education, make arrangement to supply or maintain or aid the supply or maintenance of . . .

(a) holiday or school camps, especially for young persons attending continuation schools,

(b) centres and equipment for physical training, playing fields (other than the ordinary playgrounds of public elementary schools not provided by the local education authority), school baths, school swimming baths,

¹⁹⁷Ibid., Section 19. ¹⁹⁸Ibid., Section 8.

¹⁹⁹Ibid., Section 2. ²⁰⁰Ibid., Section 18.

(c) other facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening.²⁰¹

The act gave power and opportunity to local education authorities to extend physical education for all school children and youths up to eighteen years of age, four years over the compulsory school attendance age.

In the same year the chief medical officer enumerated the activities which henceforth were to comprise physical education.

The true conception of physical education is something far wider than is connoted by the term "drill," or even physical exercises. An organized system of exercises has an important and indeed necessary place in an adequate scheme of physical training, but even during the time allotted to the subject, in school hours games of many kinds, dancing, swimming, and similar activities should occupy a considerable part of the lesson period. For out-of-school use there are many forms of wholesome athletic and recreative gymnastic exercises, sports, games, and open-air occupations which should be fostered in association with the more formal training given in school. It is within the province of the Local Education Authority to ensure that physical training in all their schools becomes a real living force.²⁰²

Henceforth, an organized system of physical exercises was to form only a part of the program of physical education in schools. Just as important, and occupying as much time as the exercises, were games, dancing, and swimming. Physical education was also to include out-of-school activities

²⁰¹Ibid., Section 17.

²⁰²Report for 1918 of the Chief Medical Officer, p. 172.

of athletic sports, field games of cricket and football, and camping. The war and its consequences had indeed wrought a broadening concept of physical education. Even so, no sense of direction nor lead had been provided local education authorities. This came about in 1919 when the syllabus of Physical Training for Schools was issued.

The Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, 1919

In 1918 the Board undertook to revise the syllabus of 1909. The aim was to incorporate new matter and methods into the program based on the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises. It was interesting to note the change in title. The syllabus of 1909 was "for use in Public Elementary Schools." The new syllabus was for use in "schools,"²⁰³ thereby implying that physical education was henceforth to be uniform for all schools, secondary as well as elementary.

In the syllabus the arrangement of the lessons in the exercises was much less formal than in the previous syllabus. It was recommended that breaks between exercises be provided and that half of a lesson should be devoted to "general activity exercises," such as chasing games, tag, relay races, and marching.²⁰⁴

²⁰³Board of Education, Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, 1919 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1919), 229 pp.

²⁰⁴Ibid., pp. 25-34.

An entire division of the syllabus dealt with indoor and outdoor games for children of both sexes older than seven years of age. The games were divided into five categories; namely, active games for limited space, active games for unlimited space, games for cold weather (running and stamping feet, clapping hands, making a big noise), games requiring little or no change of floor position, and games requiring little or no activity to perform. Games in each category were suggested for children from seven to eleven years of age, and for children older than eleven.²⁰⁵

Another section dealt with physical exercises for children under seven years of age in which a great deal of informality was suggested. Dramatization of stories, imitation of dogs, horses, and other animals, singing games, and simple dances were explained for the infant teacher. A recommended lesson for an infant class was as follows:

Free play; at the signal, stand still; sit, stand up, jump up; form ring; skip; and finally a game.²⁰⁶

The tables of freestanding exercises were similar to those of 1909. Ten minutes should be given to one or a combination of breathing, head pressing back, trunk bending

²⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 84-99.

²⁰⁶Board of Education, Physical Exercises for Children under Seven Years of Age (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1919), p. 4. (This section was also published separately from the syllabus.)

forward, arm and shoulder stretching, balance and leg, or turning and bending sideways exercises. Ten minutes should also be devoted to marching, running, jumping, or games, after which breathing exercises ended the lesson. Exercises employing wall apparatus, ropes, etc., were explained for schools with properly equipped gymnasiums.²⁰⁷ Outdoor and field games, such as cricket and football, were to be played at a time other than that given to physical exercises.

In the Appendices, suitable clothing for both boys and girls was discussed, but no compulsion was applied to schools to provide clothing or shoes. Dancing and swimming were also discussed in the Appendices, and schools were encouraged to include both in physical education. Folk dancing was recommended, especially for girls, and drill in dry-land swimming was recommended before children were taken to the swimming pool.²⁰⁸

Physical education activities and their aims were stated as follows:

. . . all activities likely to minister to physical health, not only gymnastics, games, swimming, and dancing, but sports, walking tours, school journeys, camps, and all forms of occupation and exercise likely to create a love of open air and a healthy way of living.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁷Syllabus of Physical Training, 1919, pp. 110-213.

²⁰⁸Ibid., Appendices, pp. 213-225.

²⁰⁹Ibid., Introduction, p. 6.

The Education Act of 1918 provided the schools, and the Syllabus of 1919 provided the method, whereby all children from infant age to eighteen years of age might take part in therapeutic exercises, games, swimming, dancing, athletic sports, and camping.

IV. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

In 1900 military drill and physical exercises were practiced in state elementary schools as physical education. This was due in part to the South African War and to the fact that they were already accepted as physical education in most schools. Reorganization of the local administration of education in 1902 brought about many changes which affected physical education. First, it severed the tie between the Board of Education and the War Office, resulting in the decline of military drill, and second, it created a desire to expand physical education in schools and to adopt the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises. Governmental investigations of physical fitness and of the physical condition of school children also contributed to the acceptance of the Swedish system.

The Swedish system of exercises was the basis of the syllabus of physical exercises issued in 1904. In 1907 physical education was placed under the administration of the medical department of the Board of Education. From this

date, it served as the foundation of physical education in state elementary and secondary schools. In Public Schools, games and sports continued to occupy the leisure time of pupils, but Swedish exercises and military drill were introduced, with little success.

During World War I, physical education received a great deal of attention. The policy of the medical department included the expansion and reform of the system despite the war. Local education authorities employed organizers of physical education to supervise school efforts and to train classroom teachers in the use of Swedish exercises, games, and sports. Physical education was extended to schools for youths who previously had not completed their elementary education. Schools were supplied with building plans of gymnasiums and encouraged to provide swimming pools, playing fields, and playgrounds in anticipation of the time when funds and building materials would become available. Games and sports became a part of physical education in state schools, concurrently being denounced as contributing to evils in Public Schools. Attention was also given open-air education, play centers, dancing, swimming, and camping, all of which became united under physical education.

Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, the national system of education was placed on a sound footing, whereby its development was uniform and constant. Local

education authorities were empowered to provide for the expansion of physical education in their schools. In 1919 a new syllabus was issued by the Board of Education which incorporated Swedish exercises, games, athletic sports, swimming, dancing, and camping into the physical education of English elementary and secondary "provided" schools.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1920 UNTIL 1945

In Chapter V consideration was given the development of physical education from the end of World War I until the end of World War II. During the period, two economic depressions curtailed government spending. Despite adverse conditions, expansion of physical education was evident and every school provided pupils with a program of physical education.

The development of physical education from 1920 until 1945 was given consideration in the following chronologically arranged topics: (1) the development of physical education from 1920 until 1927, (2) the development of physical education from 1927 until 1934, (3) the development of physical education from 1934 until 1939, and (4) the development of physical education from 1939 until 1945. In the first period, physical education progress was slow, but steady. Attention was focused on developments in rural and nursery schools. In the period from 1927 until 1934, physical education in secondary schools was emphasized. In the third period, there was widespread evidence that school programs of physical education became uniform. In the final period,

1939 until 1945, the progress which had taken place was disrupted by World War II.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1920 UNTIL 1927

Throughout the period between the passage of the Education Act of 1918 and the issuance of the report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on the reorganization of elementary education in 1927, effects of the Education Act of 1918 were evident. The need for the reorganization of elementary education was manifest during the period.

The period under consideration began with education struggling to make progress under economic difficulties¹ and ended with education receiving higher grants of money than ever before. As a branch of education, school medical services were affected by the fluctuating economic condition of the country. In 1920-21, the total cost of school medical

¹The slump in trade, the increase in unemployment, and the financial difficulties following the prosperous years immediately after World War I brought about the appointment in 1921 of the Geddes Committee on National Expenditure. Education was among the services reviewed, and recommendations were made that the cost of education should be reduced by one-third. See S. J. Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, p. 347; and Charles Birchenough, History of Elementary Education, pp. 422-424.

services was 2,982,898 pounds.² Approximately half of the amount was in the form of grants in aid from the national government, the other half came from local taxes. In 1923-24 the total cost of school medical services was reduced to 1,220,268 pounds.³ In 1925-26 the total expenditure of local education authorities on medical services had risen to 3,019,192 pounds.⁴ Physical education suffered or prospered in common with all other medical services. Because of lack of funds, the physical education course offered men at the Sheffield Training College came to an end.⁵ In 1921 the Board of Education, in "Circular 1269," called to the attention of local education authorities the relatively low expense of maintaining "an efficient system of physical training." The chief medical officer pointed out that "the cost of this Service is so small that Authorities,

²Board of Education, The Health of the School Child: Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education for the Year 1921 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1922), p. 22. In 1921 the title of the annual report was changed to The Health of the School Child. Henceforth, the report was referred to in this study as The Health of the School Child, (year).

³The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 22.

⁴The Health of the School Child, 1926, Appendix VIII, p. 170.

⁵The Health of the School Child, 1921, p. 22.

when exploring all possible sources of economy in the cost of Elementary Education, may well give very careful attention to its special claims."⁶ The economic depression began to subside after 1924, and physical education moved forward again as more and more funds became available. Whereas in 1920 39,972 pounds had been spent on the organization of physical education by local education authorities, in 1926 52,152 pounds were spent.⁷ By the end of the period, the medical officer happily reported that "satisfactory progress" had been made, "the work is still growing, expanding, developing. . . ."⁸

The consideration of the development of physical education from 1920 until 1927 was undertaken by noting, (1) spread of the physical exercises in elementary schools, (2) spread of swimming in elementary schools, (3) physical exercises in secondary schools, (4) spread of swimming in secondary schools, (5) extension of the physical exercises in Public Schools, (6) provision of play centers and school camps, (7) physical education in rural schools, (8) extension of organized games. Each topic was discussed in turn.

⁶Loc. cit.

⁷The Health of the School Child, 1926, Appendix VIII, p. 170.

⁸The Health of the School Child, 1928, p. 89.

During the period under consideration, the physical exercises continued to form the basis of the program of physical education in "provided" elementary schools. The type of program depended upon accommodation, equipment, staff, and time allowed for giving the exercises. These factors varied from school to school and area to area.

The Spread of Physical Exercises in Elementary Schools

Teaching the physical exercises in any given "provided" elementary school rested with the classroom teachers, who used the government syllabus as a guide. All teachers took a course which included exercises in teacher-training colleges. The local organizer of physical education served as the supervisor of the physical education program.

The consideration of the spread of physical exercises in elementary schools involved discussing (1) purposes of the physical exercise during the period, (2) time allowed for the physical exercises: the minimum time allowed by the Board of Education, and various practices in schools, (3) changes which took place in regard to suitable clothes for taking physical exercises, and (4) provision of vacation courses for teachers which qualified a growing number of teachers to give the exercises.

Purposes of the physical exercises. Previous mention was made to the plea of the chief medical officer to local education authorities to economize on services other than physical education.⁹ Besides being cheap (requiring no apparatus and with all elementary school teachers somewhat trained in the exercises), physical exercises were purported to be excellent preventive medicine. According to the chief medical officer, they were "designed primarily to maintain normal, healthy growth and vitality, though, if suitably used," they were "able to correct and even to eradicate various physical defects and early deformities. . . ."¹⁰ Having built up the medical services, it was important to the chief medical officer to see that this form of preventive medicine did not move backward any more than necessary.

During the period, there was evidence to support the observation that schools began to use physical exercises for display purposes, some schools reportedly teaching agility exercises and exercises for mass display. Schools that became "display" conscious, in which pupils were trained for demonstration purposes, were reprimanded in 1923. "Stunts"

⁹See p. 384.

¹⁰The Health of the School Child, 1925, p. 105.

were to have no place in physical education. According to the chief medical officer, "we must have stability and reasonable uniformity. We must be conservative, but it should be an enlightened and progressive conservatism."¹¹

The time allowed for the physical exercises. The minimum time allowed by the Board of Education for giving physical exercises was one hour a week, which the Board recommended to be divided into three twenty-minute lessons. It was found that some schools gave daily lessons in the exercises, and other schools gave three lessons of exercises and devoted one or two periods to games or swimming drill during the week.¹² Examples of the time allotted for physical exercises was found in the reports of local medical officers. In Crewe, "with few exceptions, all classes have . . . a minimum of 100 minutes a week." Young children were given a daily lesson of twenty minutes' duration, and older children were given three twenty-minute lessons and a forty-minute lesson for organized games per week.¹³

Modifications in clothing for taking physical exercises. During the period from 1920 until 1927, there

¹¹The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 110; also see The Health of the School Child, 1925, p. 111.

¹²The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 30.

¹³"Report of the Medical Officer for Crewe," ibid., p. 110.

was evidence of new interest in gym clothing. Heretofore, changing clothes to take the physical exercises, or any other physical education activity, was not widespread outside Public and other private schools. "Provided" school pupils generally could not afford to purchase extra clothing. After 1920 more and more "provided" schools began to insist that pupils at least take off their extra garments and shoes. This applied to schools for girls as well as schools for boys. As early as 1922, girls were advised to make or purchase a long-sleeved, black blouse with a white turned-down collar; navy serge tunic, cut straight; bloomers; long black stockings; and black or white shoes.¹⁴ Except in isolated cases, boys wore their ordinary clothes.

The provision of vacation courses for teachers.

Vacation courses for teachers were becoming noticeably more frequent during the period from 1920 until 1927 than in the previous period. In these courses, organizers of physical education, or an expert in the exercises, presented methods of teaching the exercises and other physical education activities. In 1925, two such courses were given. In the course exclusively for men and women teachers in elementary schools, they were taught the exercises, folk dancing, games

¹⁴Journal of School Hygiene and Physical Education, XV (1922-23), (n. p.)

and athletic sports. Most of the courses were organized without any subsidy from local education authorities. Expenses of the course were met by teachers paying a fee to attend. The classes were held in halls, out of doors, or in a school. It seemed that more women organizers inaugurated these summer courses than men.¹⁵ In a survey of physical education in various types of schools and colleges reported in 1925, it was stated that elementary school teachers needed guidance to make their lessons meaningful, and that vacation courses were excellent methods of qualifying more women teachers.¹⁶

Thus, physical exercises, the basis of the system of physical education in elementary schools, progressed during the period from 1920 until 1927 with widening purposes, and by the training of elementary school classroom teachers in summer vacation courses.

In considering the development of physical education from 1920 until 1927, it was necessary to give attention to

¹⁵"Report of the Organizer of Physical Training for Yorkshire," and "Report of the Organizer of Physical Training for Sunderland," The Health of the School Child, 1925, pp. 106-7.

¹⁶Andrey B. Ash, "A Survey of Physical Education in Various Types of Schools and Colleges," Journal of School Hygiene and Physical Education, XVIII (1925-26), pp. 96-98.

swimming, which had made a great deal of progress in elementary schools during the previous period.

The Spread of Swimming in Elementary Schools

The extension of swimming in elementary schools was given consideration by noting the continued interest in swimming in all sections of the country during the period, by drawing attention to the introduction of and interest in the crawl stroke, and by commenting on swimming and the cleanliness of school children.

Where facilities were available, swimming was recommended by the medical department for all children, with one lesson a week advocated as minimum time. During the period, swimming was still available for only a comparatively small section of the school population, but interest in swimming as a physical education activity did not diminish. In 1924 the chief medical officer reported that it was satisfactory "to note that greater attention is being given to it"¹⁷ In the same year, Leeds reported that seven city pools and three school pools were used for swimming instruction and there was an average weekly attendance of 7,088

¹⁷The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 125.

children during twenty-two weeks of instruction.¹⁸ From Nottingham, the organizer of physical education reported that pupils from fifty-three boys' schools and forty-three departments of elementary schools attended the four public pools and three school pools for instruction in swimming and life-saving. During the year, 1,549 Nottingham children were reported as "having earned learner's certificates," 954 were awarded "efficiency certificates," 422 swam the quarter mile, and 278 (including 60 girls) swam the half mile.¹⁹ At Sheffield in 1926, it was reported that "no less than 191,933 school hours" were used by visits of school children to the pools.²⁰ At Liverpool, "boys and girls attended the swimming pools on 286,000 occasions."²¹ Many schools used nearby streams and ponds for teaching swimming during the summer months. The organizer of physical education for Oxfordshire reported that schools in his district used such

¹⁸"Report of the Organizer of Physical Training for Leeds," ibid., p. 126.

¹⁹"Report of the Organizer of Physical Training for Nottingham," The Health of the School Child, 1925, p. 126.

²⁰"Report of the Medical Officer for Sheffield," The Health of the School Child, 1926, p. 87.

²¹"Report of the Medical Officer for Liverpool," ibid.

facilities.²² The medical officer for East Suffolk reported in 1926 that forty swimming places in rivers or on the sea coast were used for school children.²³

In order to increase the number of children learning to swim, the chief medical officer recommended in 1925 that the only way to teach it to more children was "to limit its teaching to a particular period of school life, and to treat it for that period as a class subject, sacrificing . . . the time which ordinarily would be given to other branches of physical training."²⁴ Consequently, swimming disappeared as a physical education activity in many elementary schools for children under eleven.

Interest in swimming strokes. Interest in swimming strokes and breathing, in addition to keeping afloat, became evident during the period. The importance of correct breathing was stressed in the report of the chief medical officer for 1926. It was emphasized that a regular intake of breath should occur with every stroke. The medical department also suggested that the crawl stroke be taught

²²"Report of the Organizer of Physical Training for Oxfordshire," ibid.

²³"Report of the Medical Officer for East Suffolk," ibid., pp. 87-88.

²⁴The Health of the School Child, 1925, pp. 110-111.

only to children over the age of twelve years, as it did not sufficiently aerate the lungs of the younger children. The breast stroke, the side stroke, and the back stroke were considered as the best strokes for young persons to learn. It was noted that the crawl stroke was commonly taught to beginners in America.²⁵

Swimming and cleanliness of school children. Although the connection between swimming and cleanliness of school children could not be ascertained, it was interesting to note some figures pertaining to cleanliness of school children. For example, in London in 1919, 22.6 per cent of the elementary school children inspected were found to be unclean of head and body. In 1920, 18.9 per cent were found to be unclean. In 1921, 20.5 per cent were unclean; no doubt due in part to the economic difficulties of the families.²⁶ In the industrial city of Manchester, a great deal of progress had been made. During the war, it was estimated that fifteen per cent of elementary school children were unclean, but in 1921 only 4.5 per cent were reported as unclean.²⁷ In

²⁵The Health of the School Child, 1926, pp. 89-90.

²⁶"Report of the Medical Officer, London School Board," The Health of the School Child, 1921, pp. 43-44.

²⁷"Report of the Medical Officer for Manchester," ibid., p. 44.

Liverpool in 1921, 19.6 per cent of the girls and 5.2 per cent of the boys were classified as unclean, "only about one-half of that recorded eight or nine years ago."²⁸ The areas reporting improvement in cleanliness of school children were the areas in which great strides were made in physical education facilities.

Once learned, swimming was an excellent recreation for children and youths. Whereas the Board of Education had once aimed at teaching all school children how to swim in order that they might continue the sport in later life, the Board, during the period under consideration, compromised with lack of swimming facilities in schools and recommended that swimming instruction be given to the older pupils. Later, this tended to associate swimming with secondary schools.

During the period under consideration, "provided" schools began to separate pupils in a secondary division at about the age of eleven. However, this practice was not universal. In schools that separated pupils, the upper or senior grades came to take on the aspects of modern secondary schools. With this thought in mind, consideration was given the extension of physical exercises in secondary schools.

²⁸"Report of the Medical Officer for Liverpool," ibid.

The Physical Exercises in Secondary Schools

In considering the extension of physical exercises in secondary schools, it was thought pertinent to discuss briefly the growth of "provided" secondary schools in order to acquaint the reader with types of schools frequently mentioned in later topics. In addition to discussing the growth of secondary schools, notation was made of the provision of medical services to secondary schools. Finally, the spread of the physical exercises was considered.

The growth of "provided" secondary schools. The Education Act of 1918 imposed on local education authorities the duty of providing advanced instruction for children over eleven years of age. As a result of the Act, "provided" secondary schools began to fall into certain classifications.²⁹ Some children at eleven, twelve, or thirteen who passed qualifying examinations and paid fees attended grammar schools to pursue a pre-university course. Most children were sent either to central schools or classes, or to senior departments of elementary schools until they reached the school-leaving age of fourteen. Some central and senior schools were housed on separate premises from the elementary

²⁹G. A. N. Lowndes, The Silent Social Revolution (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), p. 104.

school, while others were housed in the same building with the lower grades. Another type of secondary school was the junior technical school, set up by local education authorities to train youths for commercial or industrial work.

To foster the provision of secondary education, the Board of Education issued Circular 1350 in 1925, which stated that the Board of Education probably would not approve any scheme of a local education authority which did not provide for advanced instruction.³⁰ Out of 288 local education authorities to which the Act of 1918 applied, 142 had organized courses of advanced instruction in 1925. There were 98,400 children in 551 secondary departments or schools.³¹

The provision of medical services for secondary schools. The Education Act of 1918 empowered local education authorities to provide older scholars with medical services.³² In 1920 medical inspection of secondary school children was imposed as a duty on local education authorities. Pupils were to be inspected at least twice; first,

³⁰Board of Education, Circular 1350 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), 3 pp.

³¹Birchenough, History of Elementary Education, p. 437.

³²See p. 374 for reference to section 18 of the Education Act of 1918.

when they entered the secondary school, and second, just before they left.³³ Most common defects found among secondary school children in 1922 were defective vision, dental decay, and diseases of the nose and throat. These defects were also most common among elementary school children. It was also found that a high percentage of the pupils suffered from physical deformities. Physical exercises and games were recommended as correctives for these deformities.³⁴

The spread of the physical exercises. Teaching the physical exercises in a "provided" secondary school depended upon the classroom teacher, but to a lesser extent than in an elementary school. Many secondary schools, especially girls' schools, employed graduates of physical education colleges located either in England or abroad. Facilities and time were factors which affected the program of physical exercises in any given school. These factors varied greatly from school to school and area to area. The progress of the physical exercises in secondary schools had not kept pace with progress in elementary schools. In 1922 the head inspector of physical education for the medical

³³The Health of the School Child, 1922, p. 46.

³⁴Loc. cit.

department visited 135 "grant-aided boys' schools." Of these, he found sixty-three per cent had suitable gymnasias or halls, and forty-four per cent proper equipment and apparatus. These figures indicated that "provided" secondary boys' schools had adequate accommodations and facilities for a thorough program of physical exercises. Sixty-two per cent had wholly inadequate playing fields and only twenty-seven per cent possessed satisfactory facilities for both games and gymnastics. These percentages indicated that the schools did not have adequate facilities for playing organized games. The time given to physical education was "almost invariably inadequate." The most serious defect was found to be the lack of properly trained, competent teachers of physical exercise.³⁵ In 1923 a survey was made to ascertain what progress had been made, and it was reported that "the training was inefficient in nearly eighty per cent of the schools visited." In addition to the lack of trained teachers, the deficiency of teaching the physical exercises was due to organized games being considered "as supplying all that is necessary in the way of physical exercises."³⁶ Thus, secondary boys' schools, generally providing adequate

³⁵Ibid., pp. 31, 48.

³⁶The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 129.

accommodations and facilities for giving the physical exercises, ignored the exercises and concentrated on the popular organized games for which the schools were almost totally lacking in accommodations and facilities.

In girls' schools, better accommodations were found by the chief physical education inspector. They were usually better staffed and equipped than boys' schools. Less reliance upon games was found in girls' schools; but the time devoted to physical education generally was as inadequate as in boys' schools. Accommodations for physical exercises were deficient also, resulting in "only a portion of girls being satisfactorily trained."³⁷

Among the reasons why physical exercises were spreading slowly in secondary schools were the lack of a special syllabus of exercises, the lack of trained teachers in boys' schools, and the attention given to examinations in secondary schools. Secondary school children were almost totally dependent upon passing some type of examination to attend a college or university, to receive an appointment for government service, or to fill a position (except the most menial) in industry. Consequently, all their efforts in school, especially when they reached the higher grades, were concentrated on studying for examinations. As early as 1922 the

³⁷The Health of the School Child, 1922, pp. 31, 48.

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chief medical officer stated, "too much attention is paid to examinations. It is a danger to the health of secondary school pupils," and continued,

The congestion of studies results in the absence of freshness and initiative, for many pupils have no free time and few facilities for their own interests.³⁸

His remarks were due in part to the investigation made the previous year into the curricula for boys and girls in secondary schools.³⁹ Among the recommendations made by the committee were the following:

That more attention should be devoted . . . to the possibility of taking suitable precautions for the protection of girls against physical fatigue and nervous overstrain.

That . . . steps should be taken to reduce the amount of preparation required from girls

That systematic enquiries should be undertaken . . . to collect . . . data on the . . . relative susceptibility of boys and girls between the ages of 11 and 18 (or 19) to mental and physical fatigue, both in ordinary school work and in games.

That further enquiries should be undertaken . . . to ascertain what games and physical exercises are most suitable for girls⁴⁰

With so much time devoted to study, physical education, whether physical exercises, swimming, or games, had definitely been by-passed as an "extra subject."

³⁸Ibid., p. 49.

³⁹Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Differentiation of the Curricula for Boys and Girls Respectively in Secondary Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921), 159 pp.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 155.

The second reason for the slow spread of physical exercises was the lack of trained teachers in secondary boys' schools. Elementary schools had managed very well with partially trained classroom teachers, for the exercises were not advanced. In secondary schools, in which the pupils were of ages eleven to fourteen, fifteen, or above, a fully-trained expert teacher was required in order to make the exercises physically beneficial to the pupils.⁴¹ In 1923 secondary schools for girls were reported as managing fairly well, for there had been no break in the training of women physical education instructors since the time Madame Osterberg established her college. But, the one institution to supply schools with men physical education instructors trained in England had closed for financial reasons. If men wished to become instructors in the Swedish system of exercises, they had to go to Sweden or Denmark. As a result, almost all boys' schools were inadequately staffed.⁴²

A third reason for delayed spread of the physical exercises in secondary schools was the lack of a special syllabus of exercises. The syllabus of 1919 was intended to take care of children from five to fourteen, but most

⁴¹The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 114.

⁴²Loc. cit.

exercises were of the freestanding variety. No doubt, older boys and girls soon became bored with the simple freestanding exercises. Apparatus on which they could progress to more difficult exercises was needed. No provision was made to supply secondary schools with a syllabus of exercises until 1927.

In spite of lack of teachers in boys' schools, insufficient time in all schools, and lack of a syllabus of exercises, progress was made in secondary schools. Efforts were made to provide secondary school pupils with more time to participate in physical education activities, and to supply the schools with additional trained teachers. The first effort to supply more trained teachers took the form of a vacation course for secondary classroom teachers. The Board of Education arranged for two inspectors of physical training to conduct a vacation course in August, 1924, at Scarborough, for fifty-seven masters of secondary schools.⁴³ The course included, (1) practical lessons in Swedish gymnastics, including and excluding apparatus work, (2) agility exercises on the jumping horse and box, and the use of mats, (3) practice with classes of students and boys in commanding and teaching, (4) preparation of lessons which

⁴³Loc. cit.

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were subsequently tested and discussed, (5) criticism and demonstration lessons with boys, (6) lectures on anatomy and physiology, (7) the use of teams, and (8) the use of apparatus and equipment.⁴⁴ The course was a success. Subsequent vacation courses were arranged by the Board, for which allowances were made available by the Board for students selected by local education authorities.⁴⁵ Women also availed themselves of vacation courses. In 1925 a course was given for women teachers who wished to qualify for work in central schools, and one was given for women who wished to teach in evening continuation schools.⁴⁶ In some areas, local organizers of physical education held evening classes for teachers, and gave demonstration classes during the evening and on Saturday.⁴⁷

From time to time, the Board of Education and the medical department pleaded with secondary school managers to allow pupils more time to participate in physical education activities. Generally, their pleas went unheeded. Most physical education activities were held after school hours.

⁴⁴The Health of the School Child, 1924, pp. 130-31.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 130.

⁴⁶The Health of the School Child, 1925, pp. 106-7.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 107.

By the end of the period under consideration, a note of encouragement was given by the chief medical officer. In 1926 he stated that vacation courses for secondary school teachers were qualifying more and more men, funds had become available again, schools were planning and constructing buildings, and there was under consideration a physical education college for men.⁴⁸ In the previous year, the Board of Education had issued a memorandum on the planning and equipment of a secondary school gymnasium.⁴⁹ The gymnasium should be on the ground floor, sixty by thirty feet in area, and in no case, less than fifty by twenty-five feet. The ceiling should be flat and painted white. Windows should be along both sides and the walls painted a light color. The floor should be of hardwood. The gymnasium should not have open fires. In winter, the temperature should be about fifty-five to sixty degrees. The memorandum suggested that a changing room, not less than twenty-three by fourteen feet be provided; and it stated that it was "desirable that shower baths be provided."⁵⁰ The gymnasium should be equipped with the following apparatus: 32 wall bars, 2 double-span

⁴⁸The Health of the School Child, 1927, pp. 93-97.

⁴⁹Board of Education, Memorandum on the Planning and Equipment of a Gymnasium for a Secondary School (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1925), 7 pp.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 3.

beams, 4 wall ladders, 4 rope ladders, 1 window ladder, 10 climbing ropes, 1 vaulting box, 1 vaulting horse, 2 jumping stands, 6 benches, and 1 quilted mattress or 2 mats.⁵¹ In schools where it was impractical to provide gymnasiums, "a physical training room should be fitted-up." It should be of sufficient space to care for thirty or forty pupils, have good lighting, ample ventilation, and an unpolished wood floor.⁵²

Thus, provision of physical exercises in secondary schools depended upon accommodation, staff, and time allowed for taking the exercises. Perhaps attention might be drawn again to the place of examinations in secondary schools, which determined in some measure the type of program of physical education offered the pupils.

The Spread of Swimming in Secondary Schools

The spread of swimming in secondary schools was possible only as facilities for the sport became available. Previous mention was made to the directive of the Board of Education which stated that swimming should be introduced first for older elementary school pupils and added as

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁵²The Health of the School Child, 1927, p. 97.

expedient for the young children.⁵³ This possibly led to a ⁴⁰⁷ greater number of secondary school pupils being given swimming instruction, but lack of staff and time in secondary schools were detrimental to the spread of swimming. Nevertheless, there was evidence that secondary school pupils shared the facilities with elementary school pupils. In 1924 151,021 attendances were made by pupils of all schools in Leeds.⁵⁴ Another reference to swimming in which secondary school pupils took part was in the report from Nottingham in 1924. It was doubtful that children under eleven years of age were able to swim a quarter mile or a half mile; consequently the 422 pupils that swam these distances in Nottingham in 1924 were probably older boys and girls.⁵⁵ Generally, secondary school pupils availed themselves of swimming facilities outside of school hours. Swimming depended upon facilities and time. Secondary school pupils did not have adequate time for physical education activities during school hours, and facilities varied from area to area.

⁵³See p. 393.

⁵⁴"Report of the Medical Officer for Leeds," The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 126.

⁵⁵"Report of the Medical Officer for Nottingham," ibid.

During the period under consideration, Public Schools and other private schools provided pupils with adequate swimming facilities.

The Extension of Physical Exercises in Public Schools

During the period from 1920 until 1927, Public Schools took notice of the physical exercises which had so long been the basis of the program of physical education in "provided" schools. Out of the meeting of the Headmasters' Conference in 1923 came a syllabus dealing with hygiene and physical exercises for use in Public Schools.⁵⁶ Much of the material on hygiene was taken from publications of the Ministry of Health and Board of Education. For example, the section concerning "How to keep the Body Fit--Food and Drink" was very similar to "Temperance" issued in 1909 by the Board. The Conference admitted its indebtedness also to the syllabus of physical exercises of 1919.

The Headmasters' Conference followed the lead of the Board of Education concerning physical exercises, and although the syllabus did not reveal any zeal, at least it gave lip service to the Swedish system of exercises. "Physical Training" was defined as "on the one hand, the

⁵⁶Headmasters' Conference, The Practice of Health (Winchester: Warren and Sons, 1924), 60 pp.

formal physical exercises . . . , and on the other, games, athletic sports, and indeed all physical activities which help to produce a sound and healthy constitution."⁵⁷

According to the syllabus, formal exercises, "if properly taught, . . . form a most useful preliminary to and accompaniment of games and sports (especially those which require prolonged exertion, as, for example, football, hockey, paper chases, and foot-races)." In addition, it was stated that formal exercises assisted "weak and under-developed children . . . , to catch up with their contemporaries and to take their place in the playing field."⁵⁸ The syllabus contained a brief explanation of the Swedish system of exercise and the type of apparatus needed in the gymnasium in order to employ the advanced exercises.⁵⁹ Thus, Public Schools belonging to the Headmasters' Conference acknowledged that formal physical exercises had a place in a program of physical education. It was interesting to note that the exercises were to supplement games and sports rather than to be the basis of the program.

There was little evidence that the acceptance of the formal exercises perceptibly changed physical education

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 41.

⁵⁸Loc. cit.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 42-45.

programs in Public Schools during the period under consideration. According to Major J. M. Morris, master in charge of physical training, Dulwich College, "the only gymnasium activities at Dulwich, as at most others," were "feats of agility performed by a few enthusiasts in the evening

. . . ."60 In Public or other private schools (except in girls' schools), the organization of physical education depended almost wholly on the pupils. Each boarding house elected a member of the school athletic or games committee, as did the prefects and in some cases other forms. This body acted as the school policy making board. Each game or sport also had its ruling body and club. Every boarding house took charge of games and sports within the house. Teachers and house masters acted as faculty advisors, coaches, and umpires. The school, and sometimes graduates, employed special coaches for the major games and sports who taught only the first teams in each activity. The school furnished the accommodation for games and sports and the boys furnished the equipment.

The Provision of Evening Play Centers and School Camps

The provision of evening play centers and school camps continued through the period as phases of physical

⁶⁰J. M. Morris, "Physical Training in the Public Schools," Mind, Body, and Spirit, 16 (1936), pp. 42-44.

education. The government did not compel local education authorities to provide these services, but constantly drew attention to the good effects of the centers and camps on the health and physique of children who were accommodated. If a local education authority provided such services, the Board of Education matched the local grant with one of its own. During the period under consideration, interest in evening play centers decreased. Interest in school camps continued to expand, but new purposes of camps were becoming evident. These factors were noted in the following topics.

Evening play centers. Evening play centers were introduced during World War I to occupy the leisure time of city children during the evening hours. During the period under consideration, organizers of physical education usually supervised the physical education activities of play centers, if not the entire centers; local education authorities supplied funds and arranged for playgrounds and indoor space; and the Board of Education supplied fifty per cent of the total cost of maintaining centers. In 1920-21 a total of 95,513 pounds was spent on play centers, more than twice the amount allotted to physical education.⁶¹ Hence, 95,513 pounds were spent for a service which affected only a

⁶¹The Health of the School Child, 1921, p. 22.

very small portion of the approximately six million children of school age, while 39,972 pounds were spent for a service which should have affected the total childhood population. In 1925-26 total expenditure of local education authorities on medical services was 3,019,192 pounds. Of the total, the organization of physical education received 52,152 pounds.⁶² In 1921 there were 377 evening play centers recognized by the Board of Education receiving grants, and operated by seventy-eight local education authorities and voluntary societies.⁶³ In the last year of the period under consideration (1926), there were 264 centers recognized by the Board, with an average total number of 59,000 children attending in each evening.⁶⁴ In the literature, two factors were evident that marked a waning interest in play centers. The first factor noted was the need to economize. If a service had to be curtailed due to financial difficulties, it was suggested by the medical department that something other than physical education be curtailed. The second factor involved the acceptance of

⁶²The Health of the School Child, 1926, Appendix VIII, p. 170.

⁶³The Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer for 1920, p. 156.

⁶⁴The Health of the School Child, 1927, p. 27.

games into the physical education programs of schools.

Organized games which previously were out-of-school activities were made part of physical education and, as such, were available to children during school hours.

However, the need for evening play centers during summer vacation periods did not lessen. In 1924 the chief medical officer suggested that arrangements for playing organized games and other occupations during the summer holidays be made by local education authorities and that play centers should be opened during the summer. A report from the London Play Center Committee discussed their arrangements for summer play centers in which it was stated that a few play centers had been in use in the poorer districts during the summer vacation. They were described as providing children with a place to play and equipment with which to play, and had been very successful.⁶⁵

School camps. Under the Education Act of 1918, local education authorities were empowered, with the approval of the Board of Education, to supply or maintain or aid the supply or maintenance of holiday or school camps.⁶⁶ The cost

⁶⁵"Report of the London Evening Play Centres Committee," The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 125.

⁶⁶See p. 374 for section 17 of Education Act, 1918.

of providing camps was to be assessed in the general grant payable by the national government for elementary education. In 1920 more than thirteen local education authorities, including the industrial cities of Leeds, Manchester, and Bradford, had organized holiday camps.⁶⁷ During the same year, 2,700 London school boys enjoyed camp life for four weeks each, and a camp for girls was also provided.⁶⁸ Sunderland Local Education Authority was maintaining a camp for forty boys and forty girls, and Birmingham reported maintaining a summer camp for 300 boys (sixty every two weeks).⁶⁹ For the first time, mention was made that some of the camps were provided for physically weak children who would derive direct beneficial results from sunshine, fresh air, and wholesome food.

It was also noted that camps took on the aspects of permanency. Local education authorities provided permanent sleeping huts, dining rooms, and kitchens. Water was often piped into the latrines, ablutions, and kitchens, and cooks were hired. It was an exception to read of a master and group of boys camped in a tent and cooking their own food.

⁶⁷The Annual Report of the Chief Medical Office for 1920, p. 129.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 130.

⁶⁹Loc. cit.

Such permanency allowed more children to be accommodated. For example, 211 boys and 263 girls attended the school camp at Wigan during the summer of 1924. At Leeds, the school camp accommodated seventy boys and fifty girls at the same time. It was also noted that some school work began to find its way into the activities of camping.

Local history, geography, and nature study were sometimes referred to as taking up part of the time of the children.⁷⁰ Camping affected a comparatively small number of the total school population. On the average, children had to pay ten shillings (approximately \$1.50) a week to attend camp. But even so, there was no decline in the interest in camping.

Physical Education in Rural Schools

Prior to the economic depression following World War I, it was recorded that most people thought of children who lived in rural areas of England as being robust, healthy, and vigorous individuals. The attraction of war industries in cities drained off most families of such children, and this together with the economic condition of farmers during the early twenties, resulted in most rural laboring families suffering from many of the ills of the town and city laborers. Attention was not focused on the physical condition

⁷⁰"Report of the Medical Officer for Leeds," The Health of the School Child, 1924, pp. 127-28.

of rural children until 1923, at which time the medical officer for Devonshire made a local study of "the decline in the general physique, appearance and stature of the rural child."⁷¹

The physical condition of rural school children affected the subsequent development of physical education. Provision had to be made for improving physical education facilities, equipment, playgrounds, and playing fields in rural schools. The consideration of physical education in rural schools involved discussing (1) the surveys made in 1923 and 1924 concerning the physical condition of rural school children, (2) the conditions found in rural schools and physical education in rural schools, and (3) the steps taken to improve physical education in rural schools.

Surveys of the physical condition of rural school children. The medical officer for Devonshire found many of the children in county rural schools (except the children of farmers) "pale faced, anaemic looking, with eyes lacking lustre, undersized, underfed, and sad faced. . . ."⁷²

⁷¹"Report of the Medical Officer for Devonshire," The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 15. Most of this study was included in the report of the chief medical officer for 1923.

⁷²The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 15.

Factors which caused this decline in the health of rural children were,

1. Migration of the "fit" from the country to the town and consequent breeding from the unfit.
2. Bad housing.
3. Lack of sufficient and suitable food.
4. Intermarriage.
5. Large families.⁷³

Most pitiable of the above mentioned factors was lack of food. It was found that most children walked two or three miles to school on an empty stomach, or after having eaten "bread soaked in tea, bread soaked in bacon drippings and hot water, or fried mashed potatoes." At noon they ate "a piece of bread or a piece of cake of a very uninteresting appearance." The meal at night, after a two or three mile walk home, consisted of "tea and bread with marjarine, supplemented in some cases with fried potatoes or a vegetable stew."⁷⁴

These observations about children living in rural districts of Devonshire and attending county schools which were empowered to provide school meals, medical inspection and treatment, and physical education were borne out by the school medical officer for West Riding, Yorkshire. He stated,

⁷³Loc. cit.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 15-16.

"there is a curious listlessness and want of energy about many of the children in the rural schools." When allowed to go outside to play, "they spend their time hanging about the door and porches and sitting down." His analysis of the problem was "lack of alertness both of mind and body," and recommended that more stringent efforts be exerted to provide them with the physical exercises and organized games.⁷⁵ It was recorded in 1924 that the population of the rural districts of England and Wales was 7,849,990 out of a total of 38,403,000 or 20.5 per cent. Approximately 1,300,000 were children of school age.⁷⁶

To ascertain the health of the rural child, a survey of school conditions and the general physique (height, weight, emaciation, pallor, and fatigue) of the children was undertaken in twenty-two counties in 1924 by the medical department of the Board of Education. The local medical officers carried out the inspection of 9,691 children, of which about ten per cent were from three to four years of age. Excluding dental diseases and "special defects," 1,889 or 19.9 per cent were found to suffer from impaired physique. This was for the entire area, but locally, the figures showed the

⁷⁵"Report of the Medical Officer for West Riding," ibid., p. 109.

⁷⁶The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 23.

proportions to be quite different. In West Riding, thirty-nine per cent were found to be suffering from impaired physique, and in Merioneth, Wales, forty-seven per cent. Evidence was also recorded of decadence of the physical condition of school children.

Of the 9,691 children examined, 2,745 walked one or more miles to reach school, and 1,355 walked two or more miles. To most medical officers, the walk was not nearly as important a factor as the conditions under which the children walked. For example, they wore wet shoes and clothes, departed from home at an early hour, and had eaten inadequate food. Mention was also made of the lack of provision at school for drying the wet clothes and shoes, a hot midday meal, and for keeping warm.⁷⁷ Generally, school buildings in rural areas were found to be much worse than city buildings. Proper lighting, water supply, toilet facilities, and ventilation were factors which contributed to the poor physique of the children.⁷⁸ Thus, few rural schools were clean, warm, dry, or provided for the comfort of the pupils.

⁷⁷"Reports from Carnorvan, Wiltshire, Dorset, Hertfordshire," The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 42.

⁷⁸"Reports from Cheshire, Cumberland, Kent, Lancashire, Norfolk, Buckinghamshire, Shropshire," ibid., pp. 43-44.

The medical department concluded that no forward progress was being made, but also concluded that the health of rural children was not declining. School conditions were stated to be lagging behind city schools, and "the remarkable progress which had taken place in the towns is not being shared equally in the rural districts."⁷⁹ Thus, rural children were found to lack school plants, equipment, and medical services equal to that of town and city children. Most rural schools were found to be without any program of exercises, games, dancing, or swimming. Playgrounds were usually wet, unpaved, and without equipment. Playing fields were almost invariably unavailable. Thus, physical education accommodations and programs of rural schools were also unequal to those of city schools. Recommendations were made by the medical department to alleviate these conditions.

Steps taken to improve physical education in rural schools. Immediately, the Board of Education issued a syllabus of physical exercises for rural schools. As stated in the syllabus, "physical training is required by country children as much as by town children. . . ."⁸⁰ It was noted

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 47.

⁸⁰Board of Education, Physical Exercises for Rural Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1924), p. 1.

that long walks to schools, besides tiring the children, developed poor posture, and physical exercises were recommended to correct this fault. It was also noted that rural children needed opportunity for cooperating with each other and for developing a sense of leadership, both of which could be advanced by playing organized games.

Taking into account that facilities were generally unfavorable, the syllabus recommended that the road be used or that the children "find a good flat surface on which to stand" to practice the physical exercises. It was also suggested that teachers take advantage of grassy areas, slopes of hills, ditches, tree stumps, and fences when planning activities; use stones for marking off areas; and use nuts, maize, and wheat for filling bean bags. It was also suggested that folk dancing be included in the activities, and that during the summer, the children be taken to a nearby stream or pond to practice swimming. Organized games were strongly recommended.⁸¹

The freestanding exercises were arranged for two groups of pupils. Group one included children up to the age of eleven, for which a set of simple exercises were given. Group two included all ages, for which a set of suitable

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 32-35.

exercises were given. Allowance was made for the smaller size of groups by stipulating that boys and girls should play, take exercises, and take part in organized games together.⁸²

Organizers of physical education also showed immediate interest in rural schools. In 1925 the organizers of East Riding and of Northumberland held vacation courses for teachers of rural schools in their respective districts. The teachers were instructed in methods of teaching the exercises, dancing, organized games, and the principles of the team system.⁸³

Thus, rural schools, long ignored while city schools developed and received the attention of the country generally, finally found themselves in a condition that demanded that immediate steps be taken to raise their standards. Henceforth, physical education in rural schools made progress comparable to that in city schools, with a certain time lag.

Nursery Schools and Physical Education

Nursery schools fostered the growth of free play and games. The consideration of these contributions to the

⁸²Ibid., pp. 35, 61-68.

⁸³The Health of the School Child, 1925, p. 107.

development of physical education included briefly tracing the early growth of nursery schools, followed by a discussion of the contribution to physical education of the nursery schools, and finally, the growth of the nursery school movement during the period from 1920 until 1927.

The early growth of the nursery schools. Voluntary experiments in regard to the education of children between two and five years of age were in progress from the early years of the twentieth century. In 1907 the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education was asked to investigate the problem of schools for children under five. In their report in 1908 the committee concluded that nursery schools were a necessity in industrial cities, but they advised against lowering the entrance age for school attendance.⁸⁴ The Education Act of 1918 empowered local education authorities to establish nursery schools for children below the age of five.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, nursery schools were opened by voluntary agencies in several large towns. The most famous example was the school established in 1911 by Rachel and Margaret McMillan in London. The

⁸⁴Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, p. 332.

⁸⁵See p. 374 for section 19 of the Education Act, 1918.

McMillan open-air nursery school was the model for nursery schools in England. The dictum on which they organized their school was "space." According to Miss Margaret McMillan, "children want space . . ., from the age of one to seven, space . . . is almost as much valued as food and air."⁸⁶

The contributions of voluntary nursery schools to physical education. The importance of the nursery school movement begun by the McMillans to the development of physical education involved the procedures within the school, the plan of the school, and its subsequent effect on infant schools (schools for children between the ages of five and seven years of age). The procedure of school activities depended upon freedom of movement based on the instinctive desire of children to play. The plan of the school included plenty of outdoor space arranged in the form of a garden, and equipped with natural gymnastic equipment, such as "rough stone steps and lots of jumping off places," climbing poles, jungle gym, and straight paths for running.⁸⁷

⁸⁶Margaret McMillan, The Nursery School, revised ed. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1930), Introduction, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 28. Also see Florence A. Morgan, "Some Considerations Affecting the Physical Training of Children under Seven Years," Journal of Scientific Physical Training XII (1919-20), 59-61.

The growth of the nursery school movement. Following the McMillan school principles, the Board of Education issued a "Syllabus of Physical Training for Children under Seven" in 1919. The Board recognized that among the fundamental needs of small children were "craving for great activity and love of play."⁸⁸ Exercises were classified as primary and secondary. The primary exercises were simple freestanding exercises, and the secondary exercises were games and simple dance steps.

In 1922 there were twenty-four nursery schools recognized by the Board of Education, of which ten were in London.⁸⁹ In the following year, twenty-six were in operation, eleven of which were in London.⁹⁰ Officially, the purpose of nursery schools was given by the medical department in 1923. The chief medical officer stated that "such a school should aim at building up physique and fostering the mental growth of the children . . . by placing them in happy, healthy surroundings."⁹¹ While in school, the

⁸⁸Board of Education, Physical Exercises for Children under Seven Years of Age (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1919), p. 4.

⁸⁹The Health of the School Child, 1922, p. 22

⁹⁰The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 80.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 82.

children were taught about and practiced cleanliness, given breathing and other exercises, played with bricks, beads, paints, etc., played games, climbed, jumped, and ran, all because, from the viewpoint of the child, it was fun.⁹²

In 1925 ninety-nine day nursery schools with 3,364 children enrolled were recognized by the Ministry of Health, and twenty-six nursery schools, enrolling 1,367 children were recognized by the Board of Education. (It was estimated that 3,400,000 children in England and Wales were under five years of age.)⁹³

Even though the number of schools was small and few children were accommodated, provision for children under five years of age had been introduced into England, and in later years it was to spread and become an integral part of the national system of education. The physical education activities begun in the type of school involving free play, climbing, jumping, and running were later to be incorporated into schools for five- to seven-year-old children, and in some measure, into schools for seven- to eleven-year-old children.

⁹²Ibid., p. 85.

⁹³The Health of the School Child, 1926, p. 41.

The Extension of Organized Games

From 1920 until 1927 games came to be recognized as a socializing force in "provided" schools, and teachers came more and more to rely on games as an instrument of character building, developing leadership, and developing a sense of cooperation among children. The following two quotations from L. P. Jacks' Education Through Recreation illustrated the change which came about during the period under consideration:

In 1921 we said that an education which trained young people for work but not for play, for labour but not for leisure, for toil but not for recreation, was a half-done job. . . . That is what we said, but for the most part we were voices crying in the wilderness.⁹⁴

Eleven years later Jacks stated,

The discovery of the educational possibilities of the play side of life may be counted one of the greatest discoveries of the present day.⁹⁵

He also noted that "the words play, recreation, and leisure have become momentous words in the educational vocabulary."⁹⁶

During the period under consideration, organized games became a full-fledged partner of physical exercises.

⁹⁴L. P. Jacks, Education Through Recreation (London: University of London Press, 1932), p. 35.

⁹⁵Loc. cit.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 36.

In both elementary and secondary schools, more and more time was devoted to playing cricket, football, rounders, net ball, and hockey. Athletic sports were also noted as taking up the time of the pupils. In 1924 the chief medical officer stated that in most boys' secondary schools, "field games have been considered as supplying all that is necessary in the way of physical exercise."⁹⁷ To a lesser extent, the same was true in secondary schools for girls.⁹⁸ The movement was also felt in elementary schools. Inadequate play space, large numbers of children, and lack of sufficient equipment necessitated modifications of the organized games. The organized games of cricket, association football, hockey, and Rugby football required playing fields; but cricket with a small rubber ball, shinty (informal hockey), net ball (basketball on a small court and using a goal without a backboard), and football with a small rubber ball were acceptable substitutes for elementary school children.⁹⁹

To meet the desire for games, the Board of Education issued in 1920 a pamphlet on games suitable for all types of

⁹⁷The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 129.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 128.

⁹⁹M. B. Davies, Physical Training Games and Athletics in Schools, revised ed. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1951), pp. 184-85, 195, 206-07.

playgrounds (small, large, and odd shaped), and for playing fields.¹⁰⁰ In the first year, it was reported that 130,000 copies of the pamphlet had been sold, which attested to the interest in organized games.¹⁰¹

The extension of organized games from 1920 until 1927 was given consideration in the following topics: (1) the adoption of the Public School team system by "provided" schools, (2) the spread of inter-school matches, (3) the time given to playing games, (4) the provision of playing fields, and (5) the provision of game equipment. The team system was a modified form of the boarding house organization of games in Public Schools. The spread of games resulted in the spread of inter-school matches. In the provision of playing fields and equipment the efforts of schools, local education authorities, and voluntary organization to provide schools with playing fields and equipment were discussed.

The adoption of the team system in "provided" schools. Playing organized games required that teams be chosen, either by the teacher or by pupil leaders. Mention of the "team system" was made in the syllabus of 1919 in reference to

¹⁰⁰Board of Education, Suggestions in Regard to Games (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1920), 71 pp.

¹⁰¹Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer for 1920, p. 156.

physical exercises as well as to games. According to the syllabus, "greater variety in the work" could be obtained "by giving the teams different exercises and games." The boys were able to get more practice in the exercises and to take more active part in the games, a great deal of time was saved by teams working separately, and "keen rivalry" could be encouraged between teams, which would "add greatly to the interest of the work to stimulate proficiency."¹⁰² It was also mentioned that the employment of the team system exemplified "the principles of the House system" employed in the organization of games in Public Schools.¹⁰³ Whether it was called the "house system" or the "team system," such organization reportedly taught "cooperation, loyalty to one's side, willingness to work under chosen leaders, and the habit of cultivating success and failure in action and conduct with reference to the society no less than to the individual."¹⁰⁴ The syllabus further suggested that a leader and vice-leader be chosen. At first it was suggested that they be selected by the teacher; but that later on, they be chosen by the team or "house."

¹⁰²Board of Education, Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, 1919, p. 27.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 25.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 29.

One of the first advocates of the team system in connection with the Swedish exercises was Elli Bjorksten, teacher of gymnastics at the University of Helsinfors, Finland, in 1916, who recognized the effectiveness of the team system. Her teaching methods were emulated in Denmark and other countries, and with the translation of her book, Principles of Gymnastics for Women and Girls, into English in 1926, the use of the team system became widespread, especially in girls' schools.¹⁰⁵

Thus, transference of the traditional organization of games in Public Schools was made to the organization of games in "provided" schools. In 1923 the chief medical officer was happy to report that the "team system" was used widely in schools. In the report from Derbyshire, the organizer of physical education reported that "team work" was becoming more and more popular in teaching physical education activities in schools.¹⁰⁶ Dividing a class into teams with a "leader" (captain) and dividing a school into houses for playing games was accepted in "provided" schools and became

¹⁰⁵Elli Bjorksten, Principles of Gymnastics for Women and Girls, translated by Agnes Dawson and E. M. Wilkie, second ed. (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1937), pp. 112-114.

¹⁰⁶"Report of the Organizer of Physical Training for Derbyshire," The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 111.

an integral part of every school's organization of physical education.

The spread of inter-school matches. Once games became popular in schools and all teams within a school played one another, the familiar pattern of schools selecting the best players to form a varsity team and seeking matches with neighboring schools began. "Provided" schools followed the course that Public Schools had taken during the previous century. They too began to take part in inter-school matches of cricket, football, rounders, net ball, and hockey. As early as 1920, the medical department suggested that inter-school matches, which were becoming very popular in cities, be played on Saturday morning rather than during school hours. The chief medical officer warned instructors against "coaching a picked team" and ignoring the less proficient. He stated that inter-class matches were more desirable than inter-school matches, for "by this means it [was] possible to raise the general level of play in the schools, and avoid giving undue attention to selected children while the majority [might] be more or less neglected.¹⁰⁷ Throughout the period from 1920 until 1927 the chief medical officer warned schools to guard against too much competition;

¹⁰⁷Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer for 1920, p. 156.

which arose from inter-school matches. Nevertheless, inter-school matches became more and more popular, and rivalry between "provided" schools became as great as rivalry between Public Schools.

Time given to playing games. In 1920 the medical department recommended that elementary schools allow a forty-minute weekly period for organized games where the playing field was near, or an hour period where the playing field was some distance from the school.¹⁰⁸ In 1923 many schools were arranging a weekly period for organized games of one hour, and some of two hours.¹⁰⁹ Several afternoons a week were advocated for playing games in girls' large secondary schools by a games enthusiast. She also recommended that teachers concentrate on one game in order to make the girls "keen on it."¹¹⁰ A portion of every afternoon was devoted to games in Public Schools. Derek Patmore, a pupil of Uppingham in 1924, recorded that all boys, weak and strong alike, participated in some type of game almost every day.

¹⁰⁸Loc. cit.

¹⁰⁹"Report of the Medical Officer for Crewe," The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 110; and "Report of the Medical Officer for Hull," ibid., p. 113.

¹¹⁰Phyllis Spafford, "Methods of Teaching Outdoor Games," Journal of Scientific Physical Training, XIII (1920-21), 71.

Whether it was cricket, fives, Rugby football, athletic sports, or hare-and-hounds depended upon the season. According to Patmore, Uppingham "turned out superb athletes, and the school was extremely good at all games."¹¹¹

The provision of playing fields. To play organized games required playing fields. Constant efforts were made in all sections of the country during the period from 1920 until 1927 to supply the necessary fields. In the report of the Conference on New Ideals in Education, held at Keble College, Oxford, in 1923, there appeared a note of urgency concerning the provision of playing fields. The report of the conference stated, "we must find them, make them, insist on having them."¹¹² Schools located in the heart of cities usually did not have access to a playing field. Schools close enough to fields to transport their pupils did so at least once a week. Schools located on the outskirts of towns and cities were in a position to purchase large playing fields. Usually, country schools did not have playing fields. Generally, arrangements for the provision of playing fields varied from school to school and area to area.

¹¹¹Derek Patmore, "Memoirs" (London: unpublished memoirs, 1924).

¹¹²Conference on New Ideals in Education, Report of the Conference on New Ideals in Education (London: The Conference, 1923), p. 76.

In some areas, public parks and open spaces were used. For example in Leeds, cooperation with the parks committee of the city government was maintained by the education authority whereby the schools had use of the playing areas of the parks during school hours and on Saturday mornings.¹¹³ In some cities, permanent playing fields on the outskirts were bought by the city government. The government prepared and equipped them and the schools received full use of them.¹¹⁴

Local education authorities sometimes independently provided and equipped playing fields. In 1924 Leicester reported that two playing fields of twenty-two and thirteen acres respectively had been bought and equipped for cricket, football, rounders, shinty, net ball, hockey, and tennis. More than 8,000 children per week were using these fields.¹¹⁵ Another example of the efforts of local education authorities to provide playing fields was evident in reports from Stoke-on-Trent. In 1920 1,500 children per week used ten playing

¹¹³"Report of the Medical Officer for Leeds," The Health of the School Child, 1923, p. 112.

¹¹⁴"Report of the Medical Officer for Stoke-on-Trent," ibid.

¹¹⁵"Report of the Medical Officer for Leicester," The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 124.

areas, and in 1924 8,900 children each week used fifty-three playing areas.¹¹⁶ In London in 1926, 22,000 boys got a weekly cricket match in the summer, and 900 football, hockey, and lacrosse teams played regularly throughout the winter on fields in the parks.¹¹⁷ In Sheffield in 1926, 10,000 children had an hour each week for the playing of organized games in the city parks and open spaces.¹¹⁸

In all sections of the country, cities were struggling with the problem of providing playing fields for schools, but country districts were far behind in such provision. For example, in Leicestershire, the organizer of physical education stated,

It is a curious but nevertheless incontrovertible fact that children, living in Rural or Semi-Rural Districts, often in small overcrowded cottages, are debarred the use of playing fields.¹¹⁹

During the period from 1920 until 1927, the Board of Education approved "over 500 proposals (352 for secondary schools and 164 for elementary schools) for the acquisition of playing fields or of school sites including playing fields."¹²⁰

¹¹⁶"Report of the Medical Officer for Stoke-on-Trent," ibid.

¹¹⁷Times Educational Supplement, May 16, 1926, p. 8.

¹¹⁸"Report of the Medical Officer for Sheffield," The Health of the School Child, 1926, p. 83.

¹¹⁹"Report of the Organizer of Physical Training, Leicestershire," The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 125.

¹²⁰The Health of the School Child, 1926, p. 84.

Besides the efforts of city governments, local education authorities, and the Board of Education, voluntary agencies, such as playing fields associations, boys clubs, churches, and private philanthropy assisted in extending the provision of playing fields of the nation. Perhaps the most important was the National Playing Fields Association, formed in 1925 under royal patronage. The aims of the association were as follows:

1. To secure adequate Playing Fields for the present and future needs of all sections of the community.
2. To secure proper playgrounds for the children.
3. To save the few open spaces that still exist in and around our increasingly congested cities and towns.
4. To save existing sports grounds, which are threatened with extinction.
5. To focus local opinion and provide an organization to give it effective expression.
6. To co-operate with all Local Authorities and others, who are striving to secure these objects.¹²¹

The association undertook to survey the existing facilities for recreation, to supply funds to local agencies for purchase of playing fields, and to arouse public interest in playing fields for the youth of the country. The association laid down as a standard, "every unit of a 1,000 population, five acres of public open space for games should be provided." Concerning schools, the association suggested that in

¹²¹Loc. cit. Also see Henry A. Mess, Voluntary Social Services since 1918 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1947), p. 177.

elementary schools, "at least two hours per week should be devoted to team games," and that a standard should be set up in regard to the area of playing fields which should be provided in the case of new schools."¹²² In 1926 the survey showed that in thirty-five towns with a total population of 1,535,730, situated in eleven counties, there was one public football ground for every 14,219 persons, one cricket ground for every 25,595 persons, one hockey field for every 127,977 persons, and one playground for every 29,533 children. It was calculated that less than ten per cent of the children in the public elementary schools had the chance of playing other than on their asphalt school playgrounds.¹²³

Within two years, the National Playing Fields Association, together with other agencies, had purchased 800 playing fields with a total acreage of 6,000 acres.¹²⁴ Even where playing fields were provided for the total population of the area, schools were granted use of them during school hours. Thus, the National Playing Fields Association rendered a service, not only to the nation as a whole, but to the schools in particular.

¹²²M. Jane Reaney, The Place of Play in Education (London: Methuen and Co., 1927), p. 63.

¹²³Ibid., p. 66.

¹²⁴Mess, op. cit., p. 177.

The provision of game equipment. As a result of wholesale participation by school children in games, the provision of equipment became a problem. Whereas free-standing exercises required no apparatus and playground games required only the simplest equipment, if any; the organized game of cricket required bats, balls, batting pads, stumps, and balls; association football required the use of a round, leather-covered ball and goals; Rugby required an elongated ball, goal posts, and shin guards for players; hockey required sticks, balls, and goals; net ball required goals and a ball; and rounders required bases (sticks), bats, and balls.

To supply the necessary equipment, school manual training departments made it, teachers sponsored fund raising drives, and local education authorities appropriated funds. During the early years of the period, the medical department recommended that manual training departments of schools make as much of the equipment as possible. Net ball posts, cricket bats and stumps, football goals, hockey sticks, and rounders' bases and bats were among the equipment suggested. In 1924 Liverpool manual training departments of schools made:

56 sets of Cricket Stumps.
136 Bats for Rounders.

156 Flag Posts for Football.
 148 Rounder and Baseball Posts.
 32 Net ball Posts.
 88 Football Posts.
 19 Sets Playground Cricket Stumps.
 35 Iron Net ball Rings.
 300 Iron Spikes for Football Posts.
 11 Sets Jumping Standards.¹²⁵

With much of the equipment being made by the manual training departments, the equipment for games was acquired at greatly reduced cost to the schools. Teachers, besides giving much of their time to supervising the playing of games after school hours, raised much of the money necessary for the provision of equipment.¹²⁶ Also, local education authorities provided funds for the provision of games' equipment. For example, in 1926, the Liverpool Education Authority authorized over one thousand pounds for the purchase of games equipment.¹²⁷

By the end of the period, organized games had become equal in importance in "provided" schools to the physical exercises. The medical department encouraged games as physical education in all schools. In regard to the young

¹²⁵"Report of the Medical Officer for Liverpool," The Health of the School Child, 1924, p. 124.

¹²⁶"Report of the Medical Officer for Staffordshire," The Health of the School Child, 1926, p. 83.

¹²⁷"Report of the Medical Officer for Liverpool," ibid., p. 84.

children in infant departments of elementary schools, the chief medical officer stated,

There seems to be an instinct of playfulness in the young of all animals. Is it not something we ought to train and build upon? Education . . . should consist of the beginning of music, art and letters, of adventure and heroism, of the vigour of the youthful body and the curiosity of the awakening mind, of tales of romance, of games.¹²⁸

For elementary school children in general, he said,

It is obvious that field games constitute an additional and effective means for securing the full development of the body, mind, and character. They create and develop, as nothing else can, such qualities as initiative, accuracy, quickness of decision, unselfishness, self-control, the team spirit, and a desire to 'play the game.' Added to which is their enormous health value.¹²⁹

Even where playing fields were inaccessible, he stated that games of some sort "should form an integral part" of physical education. It was interesting to note that progression in organized games was also recognized. According to the chief medical officer, "the games programme should be planned on progressive lines, beginning in the junior classes, and the children should be practised on various movements and exercises which serve as a preparation and training for the more advanced games later on at the secondary school, the University, the Polytechnic, or in the leisure time of the

¹²⁸The Health of the School Child, 1926, p. 80.

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 81.

worker."¹³⁰ Thus, lead-up games were recommended for young elementary school children, and organized field games for older school children. Writing in the same year, H. M. Abrahams used a quotation from Shakespeare to herald the maturity of games in schools. He said, "'To be or not to be' is not the question--for a sort of boom in athletics [sports and games] is certainly about to be."¹³¹

Summary of the Development of Physical Education from 1920 until 1927

Physical exercises formed the basis of the program of physical education in "provided" elementary schools. Classroom teachers gave the exercises. The syllabus of 1919 served as a guide for teaching the exercises. During the period, most schools provided three lessons a week in the exercises, although the practice of a daily lesson was becoming widespread. Schools adopted distinctive clothes for taking the exercises as accommodation and facilities improved. Interest in swimming continued to be widespread, with isolated areas offering more and more children the opportunity to learn to swim.

¹³⁰ Ibid., pp. 85-86.

¹³¹ H. M. Abrahams, "Athletics and the Schools," Journal of School Hygiene and Physical Education, XIX (1926-27), 88-90.

In secondary schools, the difference between what should have been done and what was done was much greater than in elementary schools. Even in schools possessing adequate accommodation and equipment, attention was not given to physical exercises. This was especially true in boys' secondary schools, which were generally inadequately staffed. Swimming suffered in common with the physical exercises.

Public Schools began to recognize the value of gymnastic exercises during the period, but their programs of physical education continued to be based on games and sports.

During the period from 1920 until 1927, the provision of evening play centers decreased. The need for such services was not as great in this period as during the war years. On the other hand, school camps increased. Camps became permanent and there was a move toward making them camp schools for the underprivileged.

The economic depression following World War I had adversely affected the physical condition of rural children. Therefore, a great deal of attention was devoted by local education authorities and the medical department to improving physical education in rural schools.

Physical education activities in nursery schools were spreading to infant and junior elementary schools. Free play and games replaced formal exercises in infant and nursery schools.

The most rapid growth was observed in organized games. All children played games. Extension of school playgrounds and playing fields was widespread, and school teams began to play inter-school matches in cricket, football, net ball and other games and sports.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1927 UNTIL 1934

Whereas the previously considered chronological period began in an economic depression and ended in relative prosperity, the period from 1927 until 1934 began in prosperous times and ended in another economic depression. The first three years of the period were ones of increased construction of school buildings, gymnasiums, swimming pools, and the purchase of playing fields. In the last four years, construction of school accommodation and physical education facilities was curtailed again.¹³² However, the period was

¹³²Beginning in 1931, economic conditions in England steadily deteriorated. Trade diminished and unemployment increased. To meet the national emergency, all phases of government spending were curtailed or stopped. Teachers' salaries were reduced, first fifteen per cent, five per cent of which was subsequently restored. Local education authorities were instructed to economize in all phases of their work, and building of schools was halted except in cases of absolute necessity. The playing fields circular of 1930, encouraging local authorities to secure sites, no longer applied; suddenly, "scheme after scheme was jettisoned." See Curtis, History of Education in Great Britain, pp. 352-53.

one of plans for educational reform and steady expansion of physical education.

In 1927 recommendation were made that led to the reorganization of secondary education and directly affected the development of physical education. In consequence, physical education in secondary schools was expanded. Handbooks for older girls and for older boys were issued by the Board of Education, and a college for training men instructors of physical education was established. In 1931 reorganization of elementary schools was recommended, results of which later were to lead to the extension of physical education in schools of that type. In 1933 the Board of Education issued a new syllabus incorporating the principles, methods, and activities which had evolved in physical education since the issuance of the syllabus of 1919.

The consideration of the development of physical education from 1927 until 1934 was undertaken by (1) reviewing the report of the Consultative Committee on the education of the adolescent, (2) discussing the syllabus of physical training for older girls and the handbook of gymnastic training for boys, (3) giving an account of the establishment of the men's college of physical education, (4) reviewing isolated efforts to improve physical education facilities in secondary schools, (5) commenting on physical education

in junior technical schools, (6) reviewing the report of the Consultative Committee on primary education, (7) discussing the spread of swimming, school camps, dancing, and games, and (8) reviewing and commenting on the Syllabus of Physical Education, 1933.

The need for organizing education so that the elementary stage led naturally and generally to the secondary stage was recognized as paramount in 1924, when the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education was asked,

To consider and report upon the organization, objective and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, . . . up to the age of 15. . . .¹³³

The Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent

In 1927 the report of the consultative committee on the education of the adolescent was published.¹³⁴ It had far-reaching effects on the reform of the English educational system. It recommended that all children should go forward at the age of eleven to some type of secondary school. Prior to issuance of the report, experiments in higher elementary

¹³³Board of Education, The Education of the Adolescent: Report of the Consultative Committee (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927), p. iv. This move was in anticipation of raising the compulsory school age to fifteen.

¹³⁴The Education of the Adolescent, 339 pp.

education had been made (without any cooperative program or publicized aim) by isolated local education authorities. The Board of Education endeavored to consolidate these efforts in the Education Act of 1918, which imposed on local education authorities the duty of providing "advanced instruction" for children over eleven. The committee was not concerned with those few pupils, who, after completing elementary education were admitted to private grammar schools; but concerned primarily with children needing a "good general education" and those who would work "in commerce, industry, and agriculture."¹³⁵ Recognizing that "a tide . . . begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve," the committee proposed that

. . . all children should be transferred, at the age of eleven or twelve, from the junior or primary school either to schools of the type now called secondary, or to schools . . . of the type which is now called central, or to senior and separate departments of existing elementary schools.¹³⁶

Thus, the committee recommended that a break should come at eleven years plus, and that all education following should be of an advanced nature.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. iv.

¹³⁶Ibid., Introduction, p. xix.

Secondary education was meant to apply to all "post-primary education"; not to education provided in a class of schools called secondary schools (grammar schools).¹³⁷ The committee recommended that the terms "elementary education" and "elementary schools" be replaced with "primary education" and "primary schools." After primary school, children would pass to either the orthodox secondary school--grammar school, with a predominantly literary or scientific curriculum which carried the education of pupils at least to the age of sixteen plus and prepared them for university study, or the "modern school" heretofore known as central schools and senior departments of elementary schools, which were to give pupils "a realistic practical" four-year course. Junior technical schools and trade schools were also classified as post-primary schools.¹³⁸ The report proposed that a new optional "leaving examination" be framed for the new modern schools.¹³⁹ The reorganization of English education was eventually carried out on the lines as proposed in the report.

In addition to setting down the frame work of a new system of post-primary education, the report dealt with

¹³⁷Ibid., p. 71.

¹³⁸Ibid., pp. 173-75.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 179.

physical education in connection with the new schools. The¹⁴⁰
report pointed out that the purposes of physical education
included "the development of . . . mental power and . . .
the formation of character," as well as securing "the full
development of . . . health and strength" of children.¹⁴⁰
Attention was given to the controlled physical benefits
derived from the use of the physical exercises along with the
committee recommendation that the exercises be used to foster
these effects. On the other hand, games developed character
and "the social virtues." Recommendation was made that
"where possible every modern school should have a playing
field of its own," but where this was impossible, several
should share one.¹⁴¹

Commenting in 1927 on the report of the committee, the
Board of Education advised local education authorities to
embark upon a general reorganization of schools and of
teaching.¹⁴² The medical department welcomed the new pro-
posal for reorganization of post-primary physical education.
According to the chief medical officer, it would reduce the
size of both primary and post-primary physical education

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 242-43.

¹⁴¹Ibid., pp. 244-46.

¹⁴²"Circular 1397," The Health of the School Child,
1927, p. 89.

classes, separate the very young from the older pupils, and make instruction of the physical exercises and games more meaningful to pupils and teachers alike.¹⁴³

The effects of the report on physical education were immediately evident. Although the syllabus of 1919, framed for children up to the age of fifteen, was considered adequate at the time, in 1927 new reference books of physical exercises for older girls and boys were issued by the Board of Education. Also, efforts were made to increase gymnastic facilities and equipment in secondary schools, and a college of physical education to train men teachers of secondary schools became a reality.

The Syllabus of Physical Training for Older Girls and the Reference Book of Gymnastics for Boys

In order to supplement the exercises contained in the syllabus of 1919, the Board of Education issued in 1927 a syllabus of physical training for older girls¹⁴⁴ and a reference book of gymnastic training for boys.¹⁴⁵ Each

¹⁴³The Health of the School Child, 1927, pp. 96-98.

¹⁴⁴Board of Education, Syllabus of Physical Training: Extension for Older Girls (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927), 241 pp.

¹⁴⁵Board of Education, Reference Book of Gymnastic Training for Boys (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927), 323 pp.

included a progressive list of exercises for girls and for boys respectively between the ages of eleven and sixteen to eighteen. The syllabus for girls stressed posture and corrective exercises, and the syllabus for boys stressed physical fitness and posture. Progression of exercises, team work, and rest periods was dealt with in both books. Games, swimming, and dancing were discussed and recommended for girls, but the reference book for boys did not include games or other activities. In the introduction of the boys' book, it was noted that "games, athletic sports, swimming, and other forms of physical exercise, while of great value for their own particular effects and pleasures, cannot of necessity be designed nor modified to serve the immediate purpose of physical development."¹⁴⁶ It was deduced from the promptness with which the Board of Education issued the syllabi for older girls and boys, coupled with the above statement, that the Board was giving more encouragement to physical exercises than to games, especially in schools for boys, which already had developed a program of organized games almost to the exclusion of the exercises.

The Establishment of the Physical Education College for Men

With the gradual extension of education beyond the primary state, new demands were made for trained physical

¹⁴⁶Ibid., Introduction, p. 2

education teachers in secondary schools. Post-primary girls' schools had a supply of teachers who had received a three-year course in one of the private colleges of physical education for women, but boys' schools were still without specially trained teachers. The need for physical education instructors in post-primary schools was finally recognized in 1927, at which time the Board of Education stated, "a trained teacher of gymnastics should be employed whenever possible."¹⁴⁷ To aid in supplying men teachers skilled in the exercises and other activities, the Board continued to encourage vacation courses and to examine graduates of training colleges in physical education. At the same time, the trustees of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust examined the possibility of offering financial assistance to a local education authority toward providing a college of physical education for men.¹⁴⁸ In 1930 the Carnegie Trust gave 30,000 pounds to the Leeds Education Authority, the purpose of which was to construct and equip a building suitable for teaching the Swedish system of exercises. A one-year course was offered men who had completed a two-year course in a training college or who were students

¹⁴⁷The Health of the School Child, 1927, p. 91.

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 94.

in a university teacher-training department.¹⁴⁹ The college opened in 1933, with some thirty students enrolled. Preference was given to men who wished to teach in grammar or modern schools.¹⁵⁰ Thirty-seven students completed the first year's work, with two accepting employment in training colleges and thirty-two in Public and post-primary schools.¹⁵¹

Efforts to Increase Physical Education Facilities in Secondary Schools

Impractical as it was to provide a gymnasium for every post-primary school, efforts were made by the medical department during the period under consideration to aid schools in providing at least a "physical training room" in which the exercises could be practiced under reasonable conditions and with some apparatus. The essential requirements of such a room included sufficient space, good lighting, ample ventilation, and an unpolished floor.¹⁵²

Lack of facilities was a perpetual problem in secondary schools. In 1930 it was reported that "lack of

¹⁴⁹The Health of the School Child, 1930, p. 81.

¹⁵⁰The Health of the School Child, 1932, pp. 79-80.

¹⁵¹The Health of the School Child, 1933, p. 52.

¹⁵²The Health of the School Child, 1927, p. 97.

accommodation had imposed unfortunate limitations on the range and completeness of the instruction" of physical exercises.¹⁵³ Wherever schools were financially unable to purchase the permanent variety of gymnastic apparatus, it was recommended by the medical department that the schools build the portable type.¹⁵⁴ An example of a school complying with this recommendation was noted in the report from Blackpool for 1931. Some of the boys' senior schools constructed vaulting boxes and balancing forms on which they might practice agility exercises.¹⁵⁵ By 1932 it was noted that a few gymnasiums had been constructed, but the world financial crisis was being felt in England at this time, and school building construction declined. It was interesting to note that in areas where gymnasiums had been built, most reports from teachers commented on the excellent effects of the shower baths on the cleanliness of the children.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³The Health of the School Child, 1930, p. 174.

¹⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 75-76.

¹⁵⁵"Report of the Organizer of Physical Training for Blackpool," The Health of the School Child, 1931, p. 114.

¹⁵⁶See "Report of the Medical Officer for Glamorganshire, Wales," The Health of the School Child, 1932, pp. 90-91.

Physical Education in Junior Technical Schools

During the period under consideration, physical education in junior technical schools was more undeveloped than in any other type of boys' secondary schools. It was estimated in 1933 that only about half of the 182 junior technical schools registered with the Board of Education had any sort of gymnasium or hall, and that a majority of the schools gave only one lesson a week in the physical exercises. Most did not have access to a playing field.¹⁵⁷

In 1928, one year after The Education of the Adolescent was published, the consultative committee of the Board of Education undertook

To inquire and report as to the courses of study suitable for children (other than children in Infants' Departments) up to the age of 11 in Elementary Schools, with special reference to the needs of children in rural areas.¹⁵⁸

The consideration of the recommendations of the committee was discussed in the following topic.

¹⁵⁷The Health of the School Child, 1933, pp. 39-41, Also see Ministry of Education, A Guide to the Educational System of England and Wales (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945), p. 20.

¹⁵⁸Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1931), Preface, p. xii.

Report of the Consultative Committee on Primary Education

The report of the committee was published in 1931.¹⁵⁹ The committee agreed that all children should go forward at about the age of eleven to some form of secondary education, and that primary education fell into two stages. The first stage was the period up to seven years of age, and the second stage began at seven and ended at eleven plus years of age.¹⁶⁰ The committee recommended that, wherever possible, separate schools should be maintained for children under seven years of age. These schools were referred to as "infant schools." Schools to which children of seven to eleven plus years of age attended were referred to as "junior schools."¹⁶¹ Hence, a division in primary education was recommended for children between the ages of five and eleven plus. It was interesting to note that the committee suggested that the curriculum of the schools be thought of in terms "of activity and experience rather than knowledge to be acquired or facts to be stored."¹⁶² Thus, meaning was given to the theory behind

¹⁵⁹Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary Schools, 169 pp. Sir W. H. Hadow was chairman of the committee. He was also chairman of the committee that reported on the education of the adolescent.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁶¹Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 75.

the nursery school movement begun by Margaret McMillan.¹⁶³ The report led to the development of new methods of teaching in primary schools. "Learning by doing," and "learning by experience" became watchwords of English primary educational practice.

Concerning physical education in infant schools, the committee spoke of "activity and movement,"¹⁶⁴ and recommended not only simple physical exercises, but games, dancing, and dramatic activities. These activities were stated to be as important as the exercises. Small group games, chasing games, circle games, and games with simple apparatus were also suggested. In junior schools, organized games of net ball, stoolball, and touch Rugby were recommended as affording "essential training for the bigger national games" to come later. Playing fields were not considered by the committee as important as well-drained, hard-surfaced playgrounds. Free play was recommended for children in both types of school.¹⁶⁵ Henceforth, formal physical exercises were to warrant less and less attention in primary schools.

¹⁶³See p. 423 for reference to the McMillan nursery school.

¹⁶⁴See p. 425 for the aims of nursery schools.

¹⁶⁵Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary Schools, p. 98.

Classroom teachers had always assumed the duties of teaching physical education in primary schools. The report confirmed the fact that physical education provided by teachers was to take on the aspects of play, movement, freedom, and fun which had not characterized it heretofore.¹⁶⁶ In 1932 the chief medical officer reminded teachers "to give the children a thoroughly interesting and happy time, so that they return to the classrooms refreshed and invigorated, indeed in some degree re-created."¹⁶⁷ During the period, a great many publications appeared concerning games for infant and junior schools in accordance with the principles recommended in the report.

The Spread of Swimming

During the period under consideration, interest in swimming continued to be widespread. However, facilities for swimming were still far behind the interest, hence the concentration on providing swimming instruction to children over eleven years of age rather than endeavoring to teach all school children to swim. Interest in speed swimming was

¹⁶⁶Reference was made on p. 425 to "Physical Exercises for Children under Seven Years of Age, 1919" which also incorporated freedom of movement and play into physical education for infants.

¹⁶⁷The Health of the School Child, 1932, p. 78.

also evident. One of His Majesty's Inspectors of Physical Education, in reporting on the Olympic Games held at Amsterdam in 1927, commented on the use of the crawl stroke as a speed stroke. She recommended that it not be employed in schools unless a breath of air be taken with every stroke.¹⁶⁸ There was evidence that a few schools built swimming pools. For example, in 1930 five pools were approved by the Board of Education for grants.¹⁶⁹ The popularity of swimming was noted in the reports from Wolverhampton, Blackpool (located on the Irish Sea), Monmouth, and Leeds for 1931.¹⁷⁰ In the following year, 6,300 children learned to swim at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 2,000 at Bolton, and 2,000 at Stoke-on-Trent.¹⁷¹ The spread of swimming was curtailed only because of lack of facilities.

The Spread of School Camps

During the period from 1927 until 1934, camping continued as a part of the responsibilities of local education authorities that had first shown interest in the activity.

¹⁶⁸"Report of Miss Greenall," The Health of the School Child, 1927, Appendix F, pp. 194-95.

¹⁶⁹The Health of the School Child, 1930, pp. 78-79.

¹⁷⁰See Reports of the Medical Officer for Wolverhampton, Blackpool, Monmouth, and Leeds, in The Health of the School Child, 1931, p. 114.

¹⁷¹The Health of the School Child, 1932, p. 89.

The same cities continued in the forefront in providing camps for school children. For example, in 1928, 600 children in Croydon were sent to camps, Liverpool maintained fifty (as against ten in 1923), Sunderland maintained two, Leeds provided camps for 2,280 children, London maintained five camps, which accommodated 4,600 children.¹⁷² By this time it had become customary for teachers to assume the position of supervisors and teachers of camping expeditions, and in 1931, for the first time, camping was included in the course of a physical education college. The Chelsea College of Physical Education conducted a seaside camp for two weeks during the summer of 1931. The regular college work was all done out of doors, and additional instructions was given in fire building, cooking, washing dishes, etc.¹⁷³

The Spread of Dancing

Dancing was still not universally accepted in schools. According to the medical department, it had not gained a place comparable to games or swimming because it had not always "met with the approval of educationalists," because it was often taught incorrectly, and because many classrooms

¹⁷²The Health of the School Child, 1928, p. 38.

¹⁷³The Health of the School Child, 1930, pp. 79-80.

teachers were unfamiliar with dancing.¹⁷⁴ However, there was abundant evidence that infants (five-seven) enjoyed dancing and musical games. The simple dances and games were frequently mentioned in reports from local education authorities in regard to infant and junior schools. Also, many girls' schools included dancing in their programs of physical education. It was more commonly considered recreation than physical education.

The Spread of Games

The report on the education of the adolescent and the report on primary schools affected the extension of games in schools. It was noted that the separation of secondary school pupils from primary school pupils allowed the older pupils to devote more time to games on the playing field and less time to physical exercises on the playground. It was also noted that, for the most part, primary schools ceased to supply their older pupils with gymnasiums, which were not considered a necessity for the younger children. Concentration by older pupils on the organized games of Rugby, hockey, net ball, association football, and cricket became widespread, while primary school children played simple lead-up games or group games.

¹⁷⁴The Health of the School Child, 1933, pp. 50-51.

During the period from 1927 until 1934, "provided" schools adopted another feature of Public Schools; namely, concentrating on one game during the winter and another game during the summer. Athletic sports became an annual spring event. Football, either association or Rugby, was adopted as the winter game in secondary schools for boys, and net ball or hockey in secondary schools for girls. In place of cricket as the summer time game, most schools adopted rounders and stoolball for boys and girls, and continued to play football or hockey. An athletic sports meet in the spring filled out the schedule for the year. In most schools, facilities determined the type of game played. Schools that had access to large playing fields copied exactly the games and sports of Public Schools, with boys playing football and girls playing hockey during the winter, and cricket and rounders during the summer. Less fortunate schools made the necessary modifications. Of all cities, London probably had the greatest difficulty concerning facilities for playing organized games. Many schools had no playgrounds at all, some had inadequate yards or playgrounds, others had playgrounds but no playing fields. As in many other cities, the first schools had been built in the densely populated areas of the city, which, over the years, had become business rather than residential districts. The

schools had not followed, to any degree, the population;⁴⁶³ consequently, they had become more and more hemmed in. Playing fields were out of the question, except on the outskirts of the city, great distances from the schools. But London was fortunate in having the royal parks, which from time to time had been given to the people by the royal family. These public parks and open spaces were used by the schools to make up for the lack of playgrounds and playing fields. In 1928 it was reported that 211 football, 402 cricket, and 374 net ball grounds were available in the parks and open spaces for the use of school teams.¹⁷⁵

To play organized games, schools without playing fields or schools with inadequate playing fields had to modify the games to suit the facilities. In 1930 the Board of Education issued a useful guide to local education authorities concerning size and plan of playing fields for schools of different size in School Playing Fields. The maximum use of every inch of ground was recommended, and playing fields for football, etc., were reduced or modified to fit all sizes and shapes of grounds.¹⁷⁶ There was evidence that

¹⁷⁵"Report of the Medical Officer for the London School Board," The Health of the School Child, 1928, p. 37.

¹⁷⁶Board of Education, School Playing Fields (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1930), pp. 5-19.

inter-house, inter-school, and inter-city matches in football, cricket, rounders, net ball, and hockey, and athletic sports meets were being held.¹⁷⁷ In 1931 some London schools were experimenting with sand-filled jumping pits. Heretofore, the broad and high jump had been made on grassy plots of ground of which not enough were available.¹⁷⁸

In 1931, the year that the report on primary schools was published, the report of the medical department mentioned that the syllabus of 1919 was in need of revision in order to conform to the reorganization of the school system as outlined in the reports of the consultative committee. The new syllabus was to be basically a book for primary schools, and was to be supplemented by pamphlets for post-primary school pupils.¹⁷⁹

The Syllabus of Physical Training, 1933

The syllabus was issued by the Board of Education in 1933.¹⁸⁰ It was designed mainly for use in primary schools. It evinced the development of new aims of physical education, the development of the team system, the importance of free

¹⁷⁷The Health of the School Child, 1932, p. 86.

¹⁷⁸The Health of the School Child, 1931, p. 114.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁸⁰Board of Education, Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1933), 352 pp.

play, games, and athletic sports, and the change which physical exercises had undergone. Writing in the preface, the chief medical officer stated,

The place, scope and conception of physical education have broadened, and it has gradually assumed a meaning entirely different from that implied by the old term "school drill."¹⁸¹

The new edition of the syllabus showed a notable advance upon its predecessors in leaving far more scope for the initiative of the individual teacher and calling for a higher standard of performance on the part of the children. Photographs and illustrations of children playing games and taking the exercises also demonstrated the progress made since the 1919 syllabus was issued.

The syllabus was divided into two parts. Part I included seven chapters covering; the introduction, the general methods of teaching physical exercise, the physical exercise lesson, the organization and coaching of games, notes on teaching dancing, swimming, and athletics, physical exercises for children under seven years of age, and the use of the syllabus under exceptional conditions (rural schools, wet weather). Part II covered the description of exercises and positions, description of games and practices, and lessons and tables of exercises.

¹⁸¹Ibid., Preface, p. 6.

Physical education was defined as

. . . all activities likely to minister to physical health, not only gymnastics, games, swimming, and dancing, but sports, free play, walking tours, school journeys, camps, and all forms of occupation and exercises likely to create a love of open air and a health way of living.¹⁸²

Posture received extensive consideration in the syllabus.

As stated in the introduction,

The outward expression of the results of such training, and the ultimate test by which every system of physical training should be judged are to be found in the posture and general carriage of the children
. . . .¹⁸³

Posture was to become a watchword in the classroom, gymnasium, and on the playing field.

As stated in the syllabus, the essential conditions (in addition to the syllabus) necessary for a system of physical education were a daily lesson, open-air teaching, proper accommodation, proper clothing, washing after exercise, and equipment.¹⁸⁴ The daily lesson was to be not less than "five 20-minute periods a week," three of which might be devoted to the more formal lessons and the other more specialized activities, such as indoor or group games

¹⁸²Ibid., Introduction, p. 9.

¹⁸³Ibid., Introduction, pp. 12-18

¹⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 18-20.

or swimming drill. It was also suggested that extra afternoon periods be set aside for organized games. Open-air teaching of exercises was recommended whenever the weather permitted. Such a practice laid "the foundation of a habit of seeking enjoyment out-of-doors."¹⁸⁵ Proper facilities, the third requisite, were recognized in the syllabus as a goal. A gymnasium was not recommended for junior schools; however, a physical training room was considered practical for all schools. Proper clothing was strongly recommended. Clothing included shoes, and the syllabus stated that it was "most desireable that boys and girls . . . be provided with suitable clothing. . . ."¹⁸⁶ According to the syllabus, the problem was to persuade children to discard some of their outer garments, rather than to bring to school additional clothing. It was suggested that teachers wear a special costume or at least change shoes in order to set an example for the children. Admitting that it was seldom possible for primary schools to provide children with shower bath arrangements, the syllabus stated nevertheless that teachers should constantly remind children to bathe after exercise. Finally, equipment was mentioned as an

¹⁸⁵Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁸⁶Loc. cit.

essential requirement for a system of physical education. Dealing primarily with primary school children, the syllabus did not stress gymnastic apparatus. Instead, mention was made of balls, bats, jumping ropes, bean bags, and hoops. The syllabus suggested that as much equipment as possible be made in the school, and that it should be looked upon as an essential part of the ordinary school equipment.¹⁸⁷

In Chapter II, special attention was given to the general methods of teaching physical exercises. Control of the class depended upon "the voice with good command, natural tone, and expression"; keeping all children busy; interest in the results obtained by the children; and "class spirit" through the use of a corporate activity. It also mentioned that physical training must be progressive, with the children "learning or aiming at improvement all the time." With respect to organization of the class, the team system was advocated as the best method of organization, and competition between teams was suggested as an incentive to effort.¹⁸⁸

In Chapter III, the selection and classification of exercises and the physical benefits derived from their

¹⁸⁷Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 26-28.

use were explained.¹⁸⁹ The organization and coaching of games was given attention in Chapter IV.¹⁹⁰ The importance of games in promoting "health, moulding the character and developing team spirit" was recognized. It was stated that "unless children were taught to play and enjoy organized games while still at school," it was unlikely that later on they would occupy their leisure time with exercises of that nature. Teachers were warned against teaching the organized games of football or net ball to young children. Instead, lead-up games involving catching and throwing a ball, running, and simple maneuvering should be used. When children reached the ages of nine or ten, games of more skill should be introduced, and at eleven, children should be introduced to the organized games suitable for the playing field. For boys, association and Rugby football were suggested as good wintertime games, and cricket as a summertime game (where playing grounds were provided). In addition to these national games, it was recommended that Rugby touch, rounders, and stoolball make up the activities for the playground, especially where space was limited. It was suggested that coaching in football or cricket for inter-school matches be held after school hours. Teachers

¹⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 32-36.

¹⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 37-60.

were warned against letting such competitions get out of hand, and it was stated that "the exploitations of a few individually good players (boys probably more so than girls) is undoubtedly growing."¹⁹¹

Dancing, swimming, and athletic sports were discussed in Chapter V of the syllabus.¹⁹² It was stated that dancing was accepted as a physical education activity in most girls' and infant schools. English country dances, Scottish country dances, and folk dances of other nations were recommended. Swimming depended upon facilities. Recommendation was made that a school should concentrate on one age group, preferably the ten- to eleven-year-old children, rather than endeavor to give all children instruction. Serious training in athletic sports was stated to be out of the question. However, the syllabus recommended that every junior school (seven to eleven year old children) have a "School Sports Day," which should be "rather informal" but corresponding to the inter-house and school matches of secondary schools.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹Ibid., pp. 37-59.

¹⁹²Ibid., pp. 61-68.

¹⁹³Ibid., pp. 61-67.

Rural schools presented problems not easily overcome. Lack of playgrounds and playing fields, undrained and unpaved playgrounds, lack of a physical education room, and the wide range of ages were obstacles to developing a satisfactory program of physical education in rural schools. Nevertheless, the syllabus urged rural schools to stress good posture, and to develop cooperation and leadership among the pupils by giving modified physical exercises and plenty of games. The syllabus stressed organized games for rural school children. It was suggested that dancing be given out-of-doors on some grassy plot of ground, and that swimming be practiced in a pond or stream, if one was near.¹⁹⁴

In Part II further evidence of the changing conception of physical education was noted. Recommendations were made to teachers to teach the exercises "with a rhythmical swing"; that is, once children understood the movement, they should practice voluntarily without waiting for a command. The effects of the exercises on posture was often mentioned. Included were head and trunk bending, arm, balance, and leg exercises.¹⁹⁵ The last two chapters of the syllabus dealt with a description of simple games and tables of

¹⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 78-80.

¹⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 93-97.

exercises respectively. The games involved learning to throw, catch, bounce, kick, and bat a ball, after which children were to practice these skills in lead-up games to the national games.¹⁹⁶ Forty-two tables of progressive exercises were given to aid teachers in following a graduated sequence, and model lessons were given which included the exercises, games, and dancing.¹⁹⁷

Generally, the syllabus of 1933 showed clearly that acceptance often followed practice, rather than practice following theory. For example, the official acceptance of an athletic sports day in "provided" schools came after schools copied the Public Schools' annual sports day. As was previously mentioned, the syllabus paved the way for schools to adopt special physical education costumes, to improve playgrounds, and it led to the acquisition (due to the demand for games) of more playing fields. A comparison of the first syllabus (syllabus of 1904) with the syllabus of 1933 showed the enormous progress which had been made in this phase of the development of physical education in schools. One feature of this advance was the transition from the very formal and limited aims of the 1904 syllabus

¹⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 139-195.

¹⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 196-348.

to the freedom and wider scope of physical exercises in the syllabus of 1933. Another difference noted lay in the admittedly foreign system of exercises of the earlier syllabus, which in the latter one, was referred to as British.

Summary of the Development of Physical Education from 1927 until 1934

The report of the consultative committee on the education of the adolescent recommended that children older than eleven years of age be given advanced educational instruction in schools separate from children under eleven years of age. The recommendation was gradually put into effect, and as more schools became post-primary (secondary) schools, additional development took place in physical education.

To provide handbooks for use in secondary schools, the Board of Education issued in 1927 a syllabus of physical education for girls and a reference book of gymnastic training for boys. These publications supplemented the syllabus of 1919. To provide secondary schools for boys with a supply of instructors, a college of physical education was established at Leeds in 1933. During the period, constant efforts were made to improve physical education facilities in secondary schools. Generally, progress was made except in junior technical schools.

During the period, the consultative committee reported on primary education. It recommended that infants (five to seven years of age) be provided for separately from juniors (seven to eleven plus years of age). As a result, infant and junior schools became widespread, and the physical education activities of nursery schools were introduced into the program of these schools.

The spread of swimming, camping, and dancing was not uniform, but advances were made in each activity by some local education authorities. On the other hand, the spread of games continued to be universal.

In 1933 the Board of Education issued a new syllabus of physical education which incorporated the aims, methods, and activities which had evolved since the issuance of the syllabus of 1919. Generally, the period from 1927 until 1934 was one of progress.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1934 UNTIL 1939

After 1934 England began to free itself from the economic depression, and preparations for a campaign of general educational advancement were made. In October, 1934 the national government issued a program of educational reform. As quoted by Birchenough, "there never was a time when a

well educated democracy was so necessary as it is today"¹⁹⁸ The program included in its plans that the school-leaving age was to be raised to fifteen, local education authorities would be "empowered to make building grants to voluntary school managers . . . , there would be increased grants for the conveyance of children . . . , and adult education developed."¹⁹⁹

Physical education in schools was to have special attention. As quoted in Birchenough,

'the reproach that we are a C. 3 nation must be removed at once and for all. This can only be achieved by a systematic plan covering the whole period from infancy to the end of school life and beyond.'²⁰⁰

The aim of such a plan was to be carried out "'by a wide extention of the facilities for, and the time applied to physical training, to instill in all children a pride of physical fitness.'²⁰¹ The period under consideration was one of optimistic progress in physical education.

¹⁹⁸Quoted from Education, LXVI, in Birchenough's, History of Elementary Education, pp. 520-21.

¹⁹⁹Birchenough, op. cit., p. 521; Also see The Health of the School Child, 1935, pp. 58-59.

²⁰⁰Birchenough, loc. cit.

²⁰¹Loc. cit. The government restored teachers' salaries in 1935 to the 1930 level.

To implement the campaign, the Education Act of 1936 was passed; the British Medical Association undertook an investigation of physical education; the government, working with voluntary agencies, initiated an integrated plan for physical education and recreation; and governmental efforts were made to improve physical education facilities and standards in schools. Consideration was also given to the spread of physical exercises, games, swimming, camping, and dancing.

The Education Act of 1936

The Education Act, 1936,²⁰² raised the school-leaving age to fifteen, to take effect on September 1, 1939.²⁰³ Exemptions were allowed where it could be proved that the child was proceeding to "beneficial" employment.²⁰⁴ The Act empowered local education authorities to make grants to managers of voluntary schools up to seventy-five per cent of the cost of the school buildings for senior children. In return for the grant, managers surrendered the appointment

²⁰²Education Act, 1936, 26 George V and 1 Edward VIII, c. 41.

²⁰³Ibid., section 1.

²⁰⁴Ibid., section 2.

of teachers to the local authorities.²⁰⁵ The opposition of church-affiliated schools was circumvented by allowing such "voluntary" schools to offer religious teaching by "reserved" teachers (teachers of a sectarian dogma, possibly wearing the habit of a religious order).²⁰⁶ The Education Act of 1936 led to closer association between local education authorities and voluntary schools.

In 1935 the Minister of Health, in speaking before the British Medical Association, asked whether or not something could be done to bring to the people the benefits of physical culture. He hoped that the medical profession would aid in the furtherance of this aim. As a result of his remarks, a committee was appointed by the association "to examine the present position of physical education from the point of view of the improvement of national health and physique."²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵Ibid., section 8.

²⁰⁶Ibid., section 12. The outbreak of World War II postponed the introduction of raising the compulsory attendance age to fifteen and curtailed the number of schools accepting the grant to thirty-seven.

²⁰⁷British Medical Association, Report of the Physical Education Committee (London: British Medical Association, 1936), Preface, p. vi.

Report of the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association

The report of the committee, published in 1936, stated that exercise, fresh air, sun-bathing, nutrition and diet, clothing, posture, alcohol, and tobacco were factors which should influence fitness for the individual.²⁰⁸ The report covered inquiries into formal physical exercises, recreative training (games, athletic sports, swimming, dancing, etc.), and instruction in hygiene in primary, junior technical, Public, and secondary schools for boys and girls. Additional information was included on the program of private preparatory schools for boys, physical education in universities, and organizers of physical education.

The committee made some general recommendations. Physical education in all schools should include systematic gymnastic exercises, games, and other activities; "each activity playing its full part in a balanced scheme of training." Gymnastic training was not to be regarded as a supplementary activity to field games and athletic sports. It also recommended that increased provisions be made for facilities for swimming instruction, and that "physical exercises should be undertaken in appropriate costume."

²⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 2-4.

It was stated that local education authorities should provide a stock of suitable clothing and shoes for the use of children who could not provide their own.²⁰⁹ Concerning primary schools, the committee recommended that a daily period be devoted to some branch of physical education, that suitably equipped gymnasiums with changing rooms and shower baths be included in all new senior and central schools, that "more numerous and extensive playing fields should be provided for elementary schools, especially in the areas of slum-clearance schemes and new housing estates." It also recommended that the unsatisfactory playgrounds possessed by many elementary schools, particularly in rural areas, should be economically reconditioned.²¹⁰ It recommended that pupils attending junior technical schools be given the same amount of physical education as pupils attending senior schools, suitably equipped gymnasiums, and properly qualified teachers to instruct them in physical education activities.²¹¹ Public and secondary schools were considered by the committee together.

²⁰⁹Ibid., p. 6.

²¹⁰Ibid., p. 8.

²¹¹Ibid., pp. 8-9.

Recommendation for boys' and girls' Public and secondary schools were, (1) at least three periods each week of gymnastic training be given in addition to the time devoted to games and swimming, (2) preparation for examinations should not be allowed to curtail the activities, (3) additional teachers be employed, (4) additional accommodation to provide for gymnastic training and out-door organized games, (5) teachers of physical education in Public and secondary schools should be fully qualified, (6) the number of athletic events in connection with school athletic sports for which a pupil might enter on one day should be limited, and (7) punishment drill should be abolished.²¹²

Physical education in private preparatory schools for boys was found to be "far from satisfactory." Out-of-school games were usually the only activity given the boys. Most of their time was devoted to studying for examinations.²¹³ Concerning the universities, the report stated that physical education "was conspicuous by its absence."²¹⁴

The report strongly urged the appointment of organizers of physical education by local education authorities.

²¹²Ibid., p. 12.

²¹³Ibid., p. 8.

²¹⁴Ibid., pp. 12-13.

Following the lead of the medical department, the British Medical Association regarded the organizer of physical education as an indispensable member of a local authority's staff. Out of 316 local education authorities, in England and Wales, only 128 employed organizers.²¹⁵ In addition to the passage of the Education Act of 1936 and the report of the British Medical Association, the campaign was sparked throughout the country by the initiation of a national plan for physical education and recreation. In the words of the chief medical officer,

The aim of the government's scheme is to create a new way of life and attitude of mind, involving recognition by people of all ages of the great benefits, mental, moral and physical, which accrue from a fit and healthy body. Its aim is not the regimentation of the nation or insistence upon the efficacy of physical exercise alone for all and sundry. The scheme contains no element of compulsion.²¹⁶

The National Scheme of Physical Education and Recreation

The development of physical education for those persons no longer attending school was outside of the scope of the study, but because of its relation to physical education in schools, it was considered at this juncture. The

²¹⁵Ibid., pp. 13-14.

²¹⁶The Health of the School Child, 1936, p. 41.

development of facilities and accommodation for leisure-time activities of youths and adults was carried on by voluntary agencies such as private clubs, the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and industry, with the help and cooperation of municipal and the national government. A "Keep-Fit" movement sprang from the popularity of classes of adults and youths practicing the physical exercises and playing games. During the early part of 1937, the government issued a statement of its general policy on physical education and recreation.

"Command 5364." Command 5364²¹⁷ provided for the establishment of two National Advisory Councils (one for England and Wales, the other for Scotland), two Grants Committees, the organization by the National Advisory Council, the organization of twenty-two local committees, the establishment of a National College for Physical Training, and grants to the National Playing Fields Association and to the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training. The purpose of all this was to provide, by means of capital grants, adequate opportunities for physical recreation for young persons and adults no longer attending school. It was all supplementary to the provision made by local

²¹⁷"Command 5364," loc. cit. Also see Birchenough, op. cit., p. 525.

education authorities, the aim being to further voluntary and municipal plans.²¹⁸ Provision to implement the proposals was made by the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937.

The Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937. The Physical Training and Recreation Act²¹⁹ empowered every local authority, from the parish council to the county council, to assist voluntary organizations to provide and maintain community centers, gymnasiums, and playing fields, and to assist the provision of these facilities by other bodies.²²⁰ Another feature of the Act established area physical education and recreation committees, the functions of which were (1) to review the existing facilities for physical education and recreation in their area and to encourage the promotion of local schemes, (2) to examine proposals submitted to them for the provision of such facilities, including applications, together with the recommendations to the Grants Committee of

²¹⁸Report of the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association, p. 23.

²¹⁹Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, 1 Edward VIII and 1 George VI, c. 46.

²²⁰Ibid., section 1, 4.

the National Advisory Council.²²¹ In addition to setting up the administrative framework to get the scheme underway, the Board of Education issued handbooks of physical exercises, games, and athletic sports to be used as guides by physical education instructors of voluntary agencies.

The Handbooks: Recreation and Physical Fitness for Youth and Men, and Recreation and Physical Fitness for Girls and Women. These handbooks were to serve as guide books for youth organizations, clubs, classes, and recreation centers. They were the first books of their kind issued by the Board of Education. In the preface of the book for men, it was stated that "the schools provide a systematic and progressive physical education up to a certain age," and that the purpose of the handbook was to continue this training.²²²

In the handbook for men, gymnastic exercises, games (indoor and outdoor), athletic sports, swimming, dancing, boxing, wrestling, and camping were discussed and illustrated. In the handbook for women, a "keep-fit" scheme was outlined which included corrective exercises, ball movements to music,

²²¹Ibid., section 2, 5.

²²²Board of Education, Recreation and Physical Fitness for Youths and Men (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), Preface, p. 6.

skipping, and ballroom dancing.²²³ Less emphasis was placed on gymnastics in the girls' handbook than in the handbook for men; but dancing, both folk and ballroom, was considered at some length. Outdoor training for girls and women included games (hockey, net ball, stoolball, rounders, cricket, and lawn tennis), swimming, athletic sports, and camping.²²⁴

The campaign for improving physical education facilities, equipment, and standards in schools was given consideration in a discussion of "Circular 1445," "Circular 1450," "Suggestions for the planning of School Buildings," and the report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Schools (grammar schools and technical high schools).

The Campaign for Improving Physical Education Facilities, Equipment, and Standards in Schools

"Circular 1445." In January, 1936 the Board of Education issued to local education authorities Circular 1445.²²⁵ The importance of school playing fields had been

²²³Board of Education, Recreation and Physical Fitness for Girls and Women (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), pp. 23-72.

²²⁴Ibid., pp. 196-269.

²²⁵"Circular 1445," The Health of the School Child, 1935, p. 7.

stressed by the medical department and the Board for some years, but now, the local education authorities which had not already done so were duty-bound to secure playing-field accommodation for their schools. The circular also stated that the Board of Education would welcome proposals for the provision of suitably equipped gymnasiums in secondary schools; thus, supplying grants for purchasing equipment. The time given to physical education should be increased, and special attention needed to be given to primary schools in view of the reorganization which was taking place. Improvement of facilities was called for in boys' secondary schools. For the movement to succeed, the circular stated that there must be a large supply of qualified teachers and an increase in the number of organizers of physical education, who were considered by the Board as the keystone of the whole structure of physical education.²²⁶

"Circular 1450." In 1935 the chief medical officer commented on the hygienic influence of open-air physical education activities on dress, especially for girls. But

²²⁶Ibid., p. 44. In 1936 eighty-seven men and ninety-five women organizers of physical education were employed by 124 local education authorities out of 316. There were six physical education colleges for women and one for men.

many reports from local education authorities commented on the unsuitable clothes and shoes worn by children.²²⁷

In the autumn of 1936, the Board announced that the rapid development in the past three years had convinced them that if physical exercises were to be fully beneficial, children taking part in them must be suitably clothed and shod. They were therefore prepared to recognize for grant expenditure by local education authorities the purchase of clothes and footwear for physical education, provided they remained the property of the authorities and were kept at schools.²²⁸ For secondary pupils, clothing consisting of an undershirt or blouse with shorts or knickers (or in some cases for girls, a bathing suit) was recommended, with a pullover sweater for cold weather, and light, flexible, heelless shoes. For junior school children only shoes would usually be provided. Each child must have his own kit and suitable arrangements must be made by the school for storage.²²⁹ Thus, the medical department, without waiting for schools to initiate the practice, accepted the responsibility of fostering the use of suitable clothing in physical education.

²²⁷The Health of the School Child, 1935, p. 48.

²²⁸"Circular 1450," ibid., pp. 48-49.

²²⁹Loc. cit.

The "Suggestions for the Planning of School Buildings." It had been many years since the principles which governed the planning of new schools had been indicated. Especially was this true of schools for older children. In 1936 the Board of Education issued Suggestions for the Planning of Buildings for Public Elementary Schools.²³⁰ It cleared up any doubts concerning building standards for physical education facilities. Junior schools needed "halls" of 1,800 square feet. Senior schools (secondary) needed a gymnasium at least sixty by thirty feet with changing rooms and showers, but provision for storing equipment was not recommended. The smallest desirable site for a school of one type (an infant, junior, boys' secondary, etc. with a one class entrance) was two acres. A senior school of 300 pupils required a minimum of four to five acres. No suggestion was made for the size of playing fields for junior schools. The standard for school playgrounds was also increased. A school of 200 pupils, whether junior or senior, was to provide an area of hard, level and undivided surface 110 by 120 feet. A junior school of 400 or a senior school of 480 pupils required 160 by 270 feet in order to carry out

²³⁰Board of Education, Suggestions for the Planning of Buildings for Public Elementary Schools (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1936), 339 pp.

an adequate physical education program. All of this was in addition to playing field accommodation.

In 1938 the report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education (with special reference to grammar schools and technical high schools) was published.

The report of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education on Secondary Schools. Previous reference was made to the report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent recommending a break at eleven plus for all school children,²³¹ and to the report on primary schools recommending separate schools for infants and juniors below eleven years of age.²³² As a result of these reports, reorganization of primary schools had been undertaken on quite a large scale. In 1938 approximately seventy-seven per cent of the children in urban and thirty-eight per cent in rural areas had been reorganized along lines suggested in the report on the education of the adolescent.²³³ To further the reorganization of secondary schools, the Consultative Committee inquired into the organization and interrelation of

²³¹See p. 446 for reference to the report on the education of the adolescent.

²³²See p. 456 for reference to the report on primary schools.

²³³Birchenough, op. cit., Appendices, p. 548.

grammar and technical schools. The terms of reference of the committee were

To consider and report upon the organization and interrelation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code, which provide education for pupils beyond the age of eleven plus; regard being had in particular to the frame work and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about 16.²³⁴

Thus, special consideration was given the grammar schools and technical schools. The grammar schools had developed as copies of Public Schools and according to the report, needed to widen their curricula, which should be thought of in terms "of activity and experience rather than of knowledge acquired and facts to be stored."²³⁵ It advocated greater freedom in the choice of subjects and a reduction in the content of examination syllabi.²³⁶ Alongside the grammar school, a new type of "technical high school" was recommended. These schools, to be on a par with the grammar schools, were to concentrate on training the youth for a career in technology or science.²³⁷ There should be opportunity for

²³⁴Board of Education, Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education, (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938), p. iv.

²³⁵Ibid., p. 363.

²³⁶Ibid., pp. 363-64.

²³⁷Ibid., pp. 371-72.

transfer between the grammar and technical high schools "until about the age of 13."²³⁸ The principle of equal status among secondary schools--modern, technical, or grammar--was strongly recommended.²³⁹

In all types of secondary schools, whether grammar, modern, or technical, the report recommended that gymnasiums and playing fields be included in the building requirements; and that physical education "receive greater emphasis in the curriculum and a larger share of the time-table."²⁴⁰

Coming at the time when the country was fearful of war, the Board of Education was not in a position to accept the recommendations of the committee until at some later date. The reorganization of education under the Education Act of 1944 incorporated the recommendations of the report into law.

In addition to discussing the national campaign for improving the physique of the people, and the improvement of facilities, equipment, and standards in schools, consideration was given the progress made in schools of physical exercises, games, swimming, camping, and dancing. The spread of each activity was discussed in turn.

²³⁸Ibid., pp. 373-374.

²³⁹Ibid., p. 377.

²⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 365, 378.

The Spread of Physical Exercises and Improvement of Supply
of Facilities and Equipment

During the period from 1934 until 1939 schools were in the process of adopting the syllabus of 1933. The issuance of the new syllabus of physical exercises required that all teachers in elementary (primary) schools be introduced to the exercises, and to the aims of the system as laid down in the syllabus. It was interesting to note the method used by the London County Council to adopt the syllabus. First, every teacher (about 12,000) was supplied with a free copy of the syllabus, together with a circular calling attention to features of the book and making suggestions. Next, head teachers (principals) of schools were called together and details of the syllabus were explained. At the same time, the number of classes in methods for teachers was increased. Finally, teachers were given the opportunity to visit a college of physical education to see classes of infant, primary, and senior boys and girls at work.²⁴¹

In infant and junior schools, the classroom teacher gave the exercises.²⁴² Generally, the time allowed for the

²⁴¹"Report of the London County Council," The Health of the School Child, 1934, pp. 37-38.

²⁴²Report of the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association, p. 6.

exercises in primary schools was short of a daily lesson, but it was ascertained from reports of local medical officers that most schools gave three lessons a week. Some schools, such as infant and junior schools in Birmingham, were reportedly giving two lessons of physical exercises daily.²⁴³

In secondary schools and senior and central departments of primary schools (children between the ages of eleven and fourteen) the physical exercises were not given as much attention as was recommended. The report of the British Medical Association stated that generally, "insufficient time is at present allowed for physical education in gymnasia."²⁴⁴ It also found that the proportion of schools employing men who were not trained in military colleges to be only twenty per cent of those employed. In secondary schools for girls, the British Medical Association found the supply of teachers to be more adequate than the supply in boys' schools, and that generally, girls were given freestanding exercises.²⁴⁵

In Public Schools, physical exercises were universally subordinate to games. The British Medical Association found

²⁴³"Report of the Birmingham Medical Officer," The Health of the School Child, 1934, p. 39.

²⁴⁴Report of the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association, p. 9.

²⁴⁵Ibid., p. 10.

that Public Schools had ample facilities for giving the physical exercises, but did not make full use of the facilities. Physical exercises were often used as punishment.²⁴⁶ Naturally, the time devoted to physical exercises was inadequate. It was reported that a few Public Schools provided two periods a week, some one, and most none.²⁴⁷

Facilities for giving the physical exercises varied from school to school and area to area. In infant and junior schools, the classroom, hall, or playground was the place used for giving the exercises. In senior departments and secondary schools for boys and girls, accommodation was improving. In Birmingham in 1935 sixty-six of 101 senior schools were equipped with portable gymnastic apparatus.²⁴⁸ In London in 1937 140 gymnasiums for senior departments of elementary schools were opened.²⁴⁹ Practically all Public Schools and private schools had adequate gymnasium facilities.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 9-10.

²⁴⁷Ibid., p. 9.

²⁴⁸"Report of the Medical Officer for Birmingham," The Health of the School Child, 1934, p. 39.

²⁴⁹"Report of the Organizer of Physical Education, London County Council," The Health of the School Child, 1937, p. 37.

²⁵⁰Report of the Physical Education Committee of the British Medical Association, p. 9.

The Spread of Games

Whereas the spread of the physical exercises lagged because of lack of facilities, equipment, and instructors, games spread in spite of such handicaps. Infant and junior school children were taught games suitable for the playground. Chasing, circle, and simple ball games were reportedly employed in all schools. Senior schools depended upon games almost as much as Public Schools. Athletic sports were usually included in every school's program. A sports meet was becoming an annual event in more and more secondary schools.²⁵¹

In 1935 all senior school children in Birmingham had one organized games period weekly. The local education authority owned twenty-eight playing fields of some 260 acres used by over 40,000 children weekly. An additional 10,000 children were reported as using the public parks and private grounds weekly. For secondary schools, there were thirteen playing fields of 112 acres and attended by 6,000 pupils.²⁵²

During the period, efforts were made in all sections of the country to provide children with playing fields. In 1937 159 sites and twenty-three extensions to existing sites

²⁵¹Ibid., p. 10.

²⁵²"Report of the Medical Officer for Birmingham," The Health of the School Child, 1934, p. 59.

for playing fields were acquired by local education authorities.²⁵³ But the lack of playing fields was still acute. Sites for playing fields were accessible only on the outskirts of cities, necessitating a great deal of time being spent in route to the field and back again. In 1937 the London School Board experimented with sending pupils to the playing fields for an entire day. The children left their schools at 9:15 o'clock and reached the fields at about 10:00 o'clock. They remained there until 3:30 o'clock, at which time they journeyed back to school. They took their own lunches. Permanent huts were constructed on the sites to serve as classrooms. A portion of the day was spent in study, and the rest of the time was devoted to games.²⁵⁴ Inter-class and inter-school matches in the national games and athletic sports increased as playing fields became available.

The Spread of Swimming

More than any other activity, swimming depended upon facilities. The interest in all outdoor sports resulted in more and more schools turning to natural facilities to teach swimming. Heretofore, physical education directors in

²⁵³The Health of the School Child, 1937, p. 35.

²⁵⁴"Report of the Organizer of Physical Education, London County Council," ibid., pp. 36-37.

schools located near the sea were often hesitant about allowing children to swim in the surf, because of currents, rocks, etc.²⁵⁵ But there was evidence that schools located near the sea were finding it to be an excellent place to teach swimming. The coast guard was often called in to advise on proper swimming places, currents, and cleanliness of the water.²⁵⁶ In London in 1937, two new school swimming pools were opened, and Manchester schools possessed sixteen swimming pools and thirty-four "plunge baths" (small pools).²⁵⁷

The Spread of Camping

Previous reference was made to the changing features of camping. Some camps began to take on the features of schools, with courses in history, geography, and science becoming part of the daily activities of the children. This was possible because camp sites tended to become permanent and were usable for longer seasons. During the period under

²⁵⁵A swim in the Irish Sea in the summer of 1942 convinced the writer that the temperature was too cold for swimming. The temperature was estimated to be forty to forty-five degrees.

²⁵⁶"Report of the Medical Officer for East Suffolk," The Health of the School Child, 1934, p. 41.

²⁵⁷"Report of the Organizer of Physical Education, London County Council," The Health of the School Child, 1937, p. 37.

consideration, two distinct types of school camps became apparent. One type was the summer camp school, and the other type was the recreative summer camp. The summer camp school combined school study with recreation for children from bad home conditions, of poor parents, with physical defects (blind or deaf), or mentally retarded. In 1936 there were forty local education authorities making provision for such camp schools. Games formed an important part of the activities at such schools, but no mention was made in the daily schedules of physical exercises.²⁵⁸ The other type of school camp was the holiday camp, the purpose of which was recreative, but it had become customary to select children of the same type as mentioned above for these camps.²⁵⁹

The Spread of Dancing

Dancing was already established in infant schools and in a majority of girls' senior and secondary schools. During the period under consideration, dancing began to take on a new meaning in girls' secondary schools. In 1935 the chief medical officer noted that "rhythm, the source of dance" should receive further study, and that some girls' schools

²⁵⁸"Camp Schools for Public Elementary School Children," The Health of the School Child, 1936, pp. 95-106

²⁵⁹Loc. cit.

were experimenting with the "aesthetic side" of dancing in addition to folk and country dances.²⁶⁰ The "modern dance" had been discovered, and was henceforth to receive the attention of women physical education teachers.

The period from 1934 until 1939 was one of steady, though gradual, growth of the system of physical education, in which games were considered to be as important as the physical exercises, with athletic sports finding a permanent place in every school's program, and with modern dance receiving the attention of girls' secondary schools.

Summary of the Development of Physical Education from 1934
Until 1939

In the period from 1934 until 1939 a national campaign for improving physical fitness was inaugurated. For youths and adults, administrative organization was set up, headed by the Board of Education, which extended accommodation and facilities for physical education and recreation throughout the country.

The British Medical Association investigated physical education in schools, recommending that physical exercises, games, swimming, dancing, and all other physical activities be incorporated into the system of physical education on an

²⁶⁰The Health of the School Child, 1935, pp. 53-54.

equal basis. The association also recommended that the supply of teachers be extended and that organizers of physical education be employed by every local education authority.

During the period, the government endeavored to improve physical education facilities, equipment, and standards in schools by stressing that playgrounds and playing fields were required in order to have an adequate physical education program. To aid in clothing pupils in suitable gym suits, the Board of Education offered grants to local education authorities. Minimum requirements for playgrounds and playing fields were issued in 1936. And the report of the Consultative Committee on secondary schools recommended that facilities be extended.

The syllabus of 1933 was adopted in schools. Physical exercises were given in all primary schools, but were not universally practiced in secondary schools and Public Schools. Games spread even where facilities were inadequate. London schools experimented with sending children to the playing field for an entire day.

Swimming in the sea became common. Many city local education authorities extended their facilities for swimming, with London adding two pools in 1937, and Manchester possessing sixteen pools in 1938. School camps were usually conducted for the use of underprivileged children, and

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many camps took on the features of schools. The modern dance became popular in girls' secondary schools.

In 1938 the chief medical officer wrote with evident pleasure that "physical education . . . is now an established part of the curriculum of all the schools within the purview of the Board." He continued by stating that not all schools offered their pupils "a liberal physical education," but that steady improvements had taken place. Physical education in elementary schools, "in scope and quality, need not fear comparison with that . . . produced in any other country."²⁶¹

War in 1939 brought progress to an immediate halt, and as it continued, the increasing difficulties under which physical education was administered and taught resulted in a general lowering of standards. The consideration of the effects of World War II on physical education in England and the development of physical education until 1945 was undertaken as the final step in tracing the historical development of physical education in English schools.

²⁶¹The Health of the School Child, 1938, p. 28.

IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION FROM 1939 UNTIL 1945

The consideration of the development of physical education from 1939 until 1945 warranted a discussion of (1) the evacuation of children from urban centers of population, and its resultant effects on society, education, and physical education, (2) the war and its effects on the school medical services, and (3) the war and its effects on physical education, taking into account the reduction of physical education staff, facilities, and equipment. Consideration was also given the youth service, the aim of which was to provide recreational facilities for youth no longer in school; and developments in physical education during the war. Finally, consideration was given the Education Act of 1944, in which all previously mentioned reforms were incorporated. Physical education after the war was also given consideration.

That war was going to affect education to a greater degree than ever before was foreseen by the Board of Education and the Medical Department. During World War I, grants had been reduced, construction of school buildings curtailed, and a shortage of men teachers existed, but school children, teachers, local education authorities, and the Board of Education pursued their normal activities unmolested. In 1939 every area of England was in bombing range of the

German airplanes, and aerial attacks on the civil population were anticipated by the government and populace alike. With this in mind, the government made arrangements for the evacuation of school children from large urban centers of population.

The Evacuation of Children from Urban Centers of Population

For the purpose of evacuating children, England and Wales were divided into three types of areas: (1) evacuation areas from which children (and teachers) were to be sent, (2) reception areas, chiefly rural parts of the country where children would be received, and (3) neutral areas, which would neither evacuate nor receive children.²⁶² In evacuation areas, schools were to be closed for the duration of the war and their premises used for other services, such as fire services, civil defense organizations, hospitals, and the military forces. All schools were to be closed during the period of evacuation, but schools in neutral areas were to reopen as soon as the buildings were equipped with air-raid shelters. In receiving areas, where schools would be over-crowded, the double-shift system and "extra accommodation" were purported to take care of all children. The evacuated children were to retain their separate identity

²⁶²The Health of the School Child, 1938, p. 7.

in school in spite of sharing the premises of the local children.²⁶³ Such was the theory of evacuation of school children from the potentially dangerous urban areas of the country. A rehearsal took place in the summer of 1939 in which all went well.

On Thursday, August 31st, the public was warned that "as a precautionary measure it had been decided to start evacuation of school-children . . . tomorrow." According to Dent, it set off,

. . . the greatest educational retreat that Britain has ever known; a retreat which for a while threatened to deteriorate into a rout; even, conceivably, to end in complete disintegration of the educational services.²⁶⁴

The actual evacuation was completed satisfactorily. From London alone more than half a million children (and many mothers) left the city for the country in eleven days.²⁶⁵ Leeds evacuated 40,000 in seven hours.²⁶⁶

Before commenting on the effects of evacuation on education and particularly physical education, it was thought pertinent to briefly mention the social repercussions of evacuation.

²⁶³H. C. Dent, Education in Transition, fifth ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), pp. 16-17.

²⁶⁴Ibid., p. 1.

²⁶⁵The Health of the School Child, 1938, p. 7

²⁶⁶Dent, op. cit. p. 2.

The social repercussions of evacuation. To uproot hundreds of thousands of children from the security of their homes and to replant them in a strange environment constituted problems far beyond the comprehension of all concerned. Also, the social and physical conditions in which hosts and guests had previously lived were so diverse that complications of living together immediately arose. The results of placing children from slum and near-slum areas of cities in the palaces of country gentry, the homes of middle class town and country dweller, and the homes of prosperous farmers sent "a spasm of horror shuddering the length and breath of the country." A retired medical doctor was surprised to find that his young guests had never slept between sheets or washed before going to bed. Another host found that her party would not eat green vegetables or home-cooked food, preferring instead canned salmon or fish and fried potatoes.²⁶⁷ From some areas came reports that most children were filthy, that bed-wetting was very general among them, that most cursed, that many could use only a spoon with which to eat, that some were sewn into their clothes, and that many came without shoes.²⁶⁸ Many mothers that accompanied their

²⁶⁷The Times Educational Supplement, September 16, 1939, p. 4.

²⁶⁸Dent, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

children to the receiving areas were reported to show the same signs of social ignorance. The results of such mixing were evident in the fact that before Christmas, ninety per cent of the mothers returned to the cities, and many took their children. Evacuation had, in fact, "lifted the lid to reveal a seething stew of social degradation hitherto unsuspected . . . by increasingly comfortable and comfort-loving middle- and upper working--classes. . . ."269 Never before had it been so clear that one half of England had no idea how the other half lived.

The educational effects of evacuation. The educational effects of evacuation on the children were as great. Rural schools were admittedly behind city schools in regard to physical premises. It was common for the entire school to be seated in the same room, with five-year-olds studying beside fourteen-year-olds. Playgrounds, books, paper, pens, and science equipment were often inadequate for the regular pupils, much less for the evacuees. Added to the lack of facilities and equipment was the number of "lost" children. An effort had been made to evacuate children by schools in order that their identity could be maintained, but vast numbers of children had stayed at home and considerable

269 Ibid., p. 11.

numbers of children had been privately evacuated by their parents. It was recorded that one half of a girls' senior school was spread over thirteen villages, and two halves of a boys' school were found at opposite ends of the country, simply because it had not been possible to load them all on the same train.²⁷⁰ Even where teachers found all their children (or most of them), they often insisted on carrying out the wishes of the Board of Education and refused to merge with the natives. For example, "many of the urban teachers . . . affected an air of lofty superiority over their country colleagues," hanging a curtain between the two groups and "carrying on."²⁷¹

In the meantime, children who had not left the cities, and children who were constantly returning with their mothers were faced with closed schools already taken over by other services. To arrest the public clamour demanding that something be done, no matter what, the Board of Education stated in November, 1939, that some schools in evacuation centers would be reopened. However, before that could be accomplished, the new tenants of schools houses had to be ousted and air-raid shelters provided. It was a slow process.

²⁷⁰Ibid., p. 21.

²⁷¹Ibid., p. 22.

Compulsory school attendance came back into effect April, 1940, and order became evident in the receiving centers. Although many thousands of children returned to the cities, thousands more stayed in the country.

The effects of evacuation on physical education.

Evacuation directly affected physical education. In evacuated areas, all physical education activities came to an immediate halt. Gymnasiums, swimming pools, and playgrounds all became useless to school children. In receiving areas, the increased school population completely overwhelmed the already insufficient facilities and equipment of the schools. Rural schools were admittedly without playing fields, playgrounds, gymnasiums, swimming pools, and equipment. The only ample facilities they possessed were fresh air, sunshine, and open spaces.

The War and Its Effects on the School Medical Services

The war naturally affected the school medical services in direct proportion to other educational services. Many medical officers, nurses, and dental surgeons went into the armed services. Those who remained spent a portion of their time in civil defense work which curtailed the time available for attending to their school duties. Consequently, local education authorities were forced to reduce their programs of inspection and treatment, as well as all other services.

The War and Its Effects on Physical Education

The progress which had been evident in the previously discussed chronological period came to an immediate halt. The war depleted the number of men teachers of physical education which had so laboriously been built up, the training college for men was closed, vacation courses for all physical education teachers were suspended, indoor and outdoor facilities were greatly reduced, swimming in most areas was suspended (especially in the sea), many playing fields were requisitioned, and instruction in physical education suffered in consequence of the foregoing conditions. Each of these conditions was considered in turn.

The reduction of the physical education staff in schools. The war heavily depleted the number of men teachers of physical education employed in schools. Possessing qualifications valuable to the armed services, they were among the first to be called to serve. Women physical education instructors, as well as older men, endeavored to fill the positions left vacant by the men, but even many women were taken into the armed forces. The training courses in physical education for men were suspended for the duration. (They did not reopen until 1946.) The six private colleges for women continued to train teachers in spite of evacuation and reduced staffs. The courses in teacher-training colleges

were continued in colleges which were not evacuated, but discontinued in colleges that evacuated. Local education authorities that endeavored to continue with a program of physical education employed older persons to fill the positions of organizers of physical education. Although many had long been out of contact with the work they were expected to do, they offered courses for teachers, gave lectures, and trained youth leaders. Most vacation courses for men and women closed during the war.²⁷²

The war and its effects on facilities for physical education. The evacuation of schools from the large urban districts reduced the indoor facilities available. Many school gymnasiums and halls were requisitioned by civil defense organizations and military authorities for organizational posts, training centers, first aid stations, decontamination centers, etc.²⁷³ The outdoor facilities for physical education also were severely affected. School playing fields, or portions of them, were requisitioned and used for growing crops, for anti-aircraft gun emplacements, or as balloon sites, throughout the whole, or greater part of the war.

²⁷²The Health of the School Child, 1939-1945, pp. 113-15.

²⁷³Ibid., pp. 115-16.

Many of the remaining fields deteriorated due to the lack of maintenance. There were no caretakers, fuel became unobtainable, and difficulty of repairing mowers and other machinery contributed to the run-down condition of fields and open spaces.

Like games, swimming depended upon facilities. When the facilities for swimming were requisitioned by the government, the sport could no longer be practiced. Many pools were used by the armed services and air raid patrols as storage tanks for fire fighting. Many closed because of the shortage of fuel and water. Towels and swimming suits wore out, and were irreplaceable. An example of the curtailment of swimming facilities was given by the organizer of physical education for Manchester. Before the war, Manchester had sixteen swimming pools, with thirty-four small "plunge" pools. With the advent of war, four of the sixteen pools were immediately requisitioned as first-aid posts. With one exception, all of the remaining twelve pools were reduced to one "plunge" pool. In 1940 three pools were bombed.²⁷⁴

²⁷⁴"Report of the Organizer of Physical Education for Manchester," The Health of the School Child, 1932-1945, p. 116.

The war and its effects on physical education equipment. During the first year of the war, the supplies of equipment were undoubtedly ample to meet the needs of all schools. The manufacture of sports equipment came to an end almost immediately. As stocks diminished, schools began to find themselves without bats, leather balls, rubber balls, jumping ropes, etc. Consequently, schools were compelled to limit physical education activities to those requiring little or no equipment. During the war, it was not uncommon to see boys playing cricket with a piece of plank and a tin can. Footballs all but disappeared. The work in infant and junior schools particularly suffered from the lack of equipment, such as play-balls, jump-ropes, and hoops.

Thus, lack of staff, facilities, and equipment during the war adversely affected every physical education activity that had been spreading throughout the schools during the century. Physical exercises often reverted to mass drill--just to exercise the children; organized games were played less and less, on smaller and smaller areas, with less and less proper equipment; swimming was usually not taught at all; dancing became an out-of-school recreative activity for secondary school children; camp sites were either taken over for evacuated schools, by civil-defense units, or by the armed services.

In spite of war-time difficulties, some interesting developments in physical education took place. The campaign aimed at improving the physique of the youths and adults continued, and school physical education underwent changes that undoubtedly affected later developments. The youth service was given consideration first, after which the changes in physical education were discussed.

The Youth Service and Physical Education

In the preceding period, consideration was given the national campaign aimed at improving the physique of youths and adults. The outbreak of the war emphasized the need of youths in the fourteen to twenty age group for recreative activities. The evacuation, the blackout, the drafting of parents into the armed services, and the closing down of clubs and youth organizations caused the government to set up the Youth Service.

It was under the administration of the Board of Education, who aided voluntary bodies to find and rent premises and playing fields for recreation.²⁷⁵ Arrangements were made by the Board with the War Office to release, "so far as military requirements allow," qualified organizers and

²⁷⁵Board of Education, Circular 1529: Youth, Physical Recreation and Service (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1940), 6 pp.

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leaders of physical education. Local committees contacted graduates of schools, "old scholars' associations," evening schools, and industries in order to make the program known to the youth of the land.²⁷⁶ Efforts were made through voluntary agencies to interest the youth in first-aid, civil defense, agriculture, and forestry. Cadet organizations attached to the navy, army, and air force were greatly expanded. For example, in 1942, approximately 50,000 naval cadets between the ages of fourteen and seventeen were in part-time training.²⁷⁷ The cadet corps of the army were training approximately 200,000 youths in 1942.²⁷⁸ The air force cadet corps in 1942 numbered approximately 200,000 youths between the ages of fifteen and eighteen years.²⁷⁹ During the war, plans were made to continue the work of the youth service after the emergency, and the Youth Advisory Council of the Board of Education made two reports dealing with plans for the future and the extension of the service.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶Ibid., pp. 3-4.

²⁷⁷Board of Education, "Memorandum on the Services Cadet Organizations" The Youth Service After the War (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1943), pp. 27-28.

²⁷⁸Ibid., p. 29.

²⁷⁹Ibid., p. 31.

²⁸⁰The Youth Service After the War, 110 pp.; and Ministry of Education, The Purpose and Content of the Youth Service (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945), 16 pp.

The youth service movement, allied as it was with the Board of Education, provided recreation to thousands of secondary school age children. In 1941 all boys and girls between the ages of sixteen and eighteen were required to register.²⁸¹ This fact alone proved that the waiting period before call-up had to be one of suitable occupation during leisure time.

But more important to the study were the developments in physical education in schools which took place during the war. At first, schools not completely disorganized by evacuation endeavored to carry on their program of physical education "as usual," but as the war progressed it became more evident that modifications had to be made. The results of these modifications were given consideration in the following topic.

Physical Education Developments During World War II

Significant developments in physical education were found to have occurred in three areas: (1) the concept of physical education, (2) playground equipment, and (3) the Americanization of organized games. The consideration of each of these developments was undertaken in turn.

²⁸¹Dent, op. cit., p. 120.

The broadening concept of physical education.

Evacuated children who remained in the country were found to improve "in physique, general health, poise and bearing . . . and increases in weight and height, rosier cheeks, greater physical strength, have not been mere fiction but sober fact."²⁸² The activities which the country child took for granted, such as digging and planting in the garden, looking after live-stock, picking berries, and working in the field had a profound effect on the child from the city slums. Thus, practical country work took on aspects of recreation for both the country children and their guests.²⁸³ In 1942 over 30,000 boys and girls, most of them secondary school pupils between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, spent the whole or part of their summer holidays working on farms.²⁸⁴ The opportunity given city children for the first time to play and work in the countryside affected the development of physical education. Henceforth, a good percentage of these boys and girls desired to spend at least a portion of their time in the open air and in the country.

²⁸²See "The Schools in Wartime," in Dent, op. cit., p. 39.

²⁸³The Times Educational Supplement, April 20, 1940, p. 7.

²⁸⁴Dent, op. cit., p. 117.

Modifications in playground equipment. In infant and junior schools, experimentation with new physical education equipment became evident during the latter part of the war. With practically all existing equipment worn out and irreplaceable, schools began to adapt modified army obstacle-course apparatus to the school playground. These took the forms of simply constructed, ladder-like hurdles, through which children could climb or jump over.²⁸⁵ Climbing walls made of planks or bricks were also used as playground equipment.²⁸⁶ Naval climbing nets became very popular.²⁸⁷ Ordinary fire ladders, placed across two uprights also proved to be excellent playground equipment. After the war, this emergency type apparatus became permanent playground equipment.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵Mildred E. Head, Agility Apparatus for Primary Schools (London: Evans Bros., (n. d.), 31 pp. The author described this type of apparatus.

²⁸⁶Ministry of Health, Play with a Purpose (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951), pp. 10, 18-19, 21.

²⁸⁷Ibid., p. 19. Also see Ministry of Education, Seven to Eleven (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), 35 pp.

²⁸⁸Ministry of Education, Building Bulletin, I (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1949), pp. 11-12.

The Americanization of games. From time to time throughout the war, schools located near armed-forces camps obtained the services of physical education instructors to teach games. Sometimes schools were fortunate enough to fall heir to used equipment. Especially was this true when the schools concerned were secondary or senior schools. American military personnel in England did not seemingly become aware of this method of lessening the tensions between their hosts and themselves until toward the end of the war. Prior to 1944, there was no evidence that American camps were cognizant that schools existed in the nearby villages and that children required anything more than chewing gum and candy. In 1944 and 1945 American camps in northwestern England began to send athletes and coaches to visit schools and other centers to give demonstrations and coaching to groups of teachers and school boys.²⁸⁹ Contact with Americans in England during the war undoubtedly affected the manner in which games were played by school boys and girls after the war. Size of playing area, hard and fast rules concerning every aspect of the game, and the duties of the umpire were not as important to the English before the invasion by Americans. The English seemed to play the game for fun, while Americans seemed to play to win. To what extent this

²⁸⁹The Health of the School Child, 1939-1945, p. 115.

affected English games was unascertainable, but the attitude of English secondary school boys playing a match of association football with an American school in 1952 was certainly different from the attitude of English school boys in 1943. In 1952 the English coach insisted that the playing field be properly marked off, and the rules were discussed at length before the match got underway. The umpire was instructed "to watch carefully" for off sides, hacking, and unsportsmanlike conduct, as well as other infractions of the rules. The English boys showed as much determination to win as the American boys. (They even brought a girls' pep-squad.) In 1943 such precautions were unnoticed in matches between English school boys.

Raising the compulsory school age to fifteen in 1939 had been postponed because of the war; Public and private schools were still out of the framework of the national system of education; there was an insufficient number of nursery schools; and accommodation in elementary and secondary schools was inadequate. All of these difficulties; and many more, faced English education when war was declared in 1939. Throughout the war years, agitation for reform of the system of education grew.²⁹⁰ By 1943 the areas for reform

²⁹⁰See Dent, op. cit., for a discussion of the movement for reform in education which arose during the war. Also see British Information Center, Education in Britain (New York: British Information Service, 1948), p. 7.

had become concrete, and the government issued a plan of educational reconstruction.²⁹¹ Proposed reforms included (1) raising the compulsory school age to fifteen (and eventually to sixteen), (2) organizing public education into three progressive stages; namely, primary, secondary, and further education,²⁹² (3) supplying nursery schools for children between the ages of two and five,²⁹³ (4) providing for separate schools for infants and juniors, (5) transfer of all children at eleven years of age (after classifying them according to aptitude, intelligence, school record, and parent's wishes) to grammar, secondary modern, or technical high schools,²⁹⁴ and (6) allowing parents to send their children to independent (private and Public) schools.²⁹⁵ In 1944 the Education Act was passed by Parliament, embodying the recommendations of the "white paper" of 1943.²⁹⁶

²⁹¹Board of Education, Educational Reconstruction (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1943), 33 pp.

²⁹²Ibid., p. 7.

²⁹³Ibid., p. 8.

²⁹⁴Ibid., pp. 8-10.

²⁹⁵Ibid., p. 10.

²⁹⁶Education Act, 1944, 7 and 8 George VI, c. 31.

The Education Act of 1944

Administratively, the Board of Education was replaced by the Ministry of Education. The Minister became a cabinet member of the government,²⁹⁷ assisted by a permanent staff which included school inspectors. Their duties were to inspect and report to the minister on the efficiency of schools. Under the terms of the Act, 146 local education authorities were set up, consisting of sixty-two county councils, eighty-three county borough councils, and London County Council. The educational work of the councils was carried on by education committees with permanent staff.²⁹⁸

Educationally, the act divided schools into three classifications: primary, secondary, and further educational institutions. Primary schools encompassed nursery, infant, and junior schools. Nursery schools need not be free. Infant and junior schools were free and children attended them between the ages of five and eleven. Voluntary primary schools were incorporated into this plan.²⁹⁹ Secondary schools were classified into three types, grammar, secondary modern, and technical high schools. Grammar schools

²⁹⁷Ibid., Part I, sec. 1.

²⁹⁸Ibid., Part II, sec. 6.

²⁹⁹Ibid., Part II, sections 7, 8, 11.

provided a literary education for children from eleven to eighteen. Modern secondary schools provided an all-round secondary education for children up to the compulsory school attendance age. Technical high schools provided for children up to the compulsory school age training suitable for a career in industry or agriculture.³⁰⁰ Under "independent schools" were classified all private schools (Public Schools) which would not receive any public money, but which were subject to inspection by the ministry and might associate with the state system if they so desired.³⁰¹

Physical education was dealt with in section 53. Local education authorities were compelled to secure "recreation and social and physical training" facilities for primary, secondary, and further education in their areas. Thus, a uniformly progressive program of physical education was possible from nursery school through state-supported colleges and universities. With the approval of the Minister of Education, local education authorities were empowered to establish, maintain, and manage, or assist the establishment, maintenance, and management of "camps,

³⁰⁰Ibid., Part II, sections 7, 8, 11, 12.

³⁰¹Ibid., Part II, sections 9, 13, 15.

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holiday classes, playing fields, play centres, and other places (including playgrounds, gymnasiums, and swimming baths not appropriated to any school or college) . . . " for pupils. Consequently, out-of-school physical education activities were left to the discretion of local education authorities. The Minister of Education was given the power to make regulations concerning gym clothing and shoes. Local education authorities were empowered to cooperate with voluntary agencies to aid in the provision of facilities for physical education. Hence, swimming pools, playgrounds, and playing fields could jointly be purchased and maintained by local education authorities and voluntary bodies.

Generally, the Education Act of 1944 consolidated the structure of English education. The sections reviewed had their roots in earlier movements or practices, which had been accepted and adopted in a somewhat piecemeal fashion. Under the act, one definite system of education emerged. The act definitely stated that physical education was to be a part of the national system of education. Local education authorities were given the duty of providing physical education for their schools.

Physical Education After the War

The upheaval caused by the war was too drastic for recovery to pre-war standards to be speedy. Most schools were in bad repair, if not destroyed. Classrooms were overcrowded and teachers were overworked. Absenteeism among school children was widespread, resulting from many families being on the move. A drastic overhaul of school premises was needed in order to bring to an end the obsolete school buildings. Schools located in the heart of cities had to be moved to more densely populated suburban areas. Large classes required more buildings and more space. The supply of teachers in elementary and secondary schools had to be increased as soon as possible.

The fundamental material aids to teaching physical education were still scarce after the war. Gymnasiums, apparatus, games' equipment, and playground apparatus had to be replaced only when wood, steel, brick, and mortar became available.

Another problem confronting physical education after the war was to rebuild the program which had been disrupted. New ideas and principles which had developed and matured during the war had to be incorporated into the program. Facilities had to be provided in order to have an adequate program of physical education in schools. A more adequate

supply of secondary school instructors was needed. Apparatus had to be part of the equipment of every school, and games and sports of all kinds had to be made integral parts of the program. Physical education could not be reconstructed in isolation from the rest of educational reconstruction, but had to be incorporated into the total structure of the reformed system of education on the lines laid down in the Education Act of 1944. Thus, war had once more affected the development of physical education in England.

It was possible to get a preview of things ahead by considering a number of regulations issued by the Ministry of Education concerning or affecting the development of physical education. The 1945 building regulations stated that every primary and secondary, existing as well as planned, new school must include a playground and have access to a playing field. Nursery schools must have garden space, a portion of which must be paved. Every primary school must have a hall at least 1,800 square feet, and every secondary school must include in its accommodations a gymnasium.³⁰²

³⁰²See "Regulations Prescribing Standards for School Premises, 1945," in Dent, The Education Act, 1944, fourth ed. (London: University of London Press, 1952), p. 87.

Circular 13, issued in 1944, which dealt with leisure-time provision for school children, proposed that provision of facilities for children aged eleven to fifteen be comparable to those provided youths and adults.³⁰³

In 1944 and again in 1945 the Ministry called to the attention of local education authorities the fact that camp sites and buildings were being evacuated and would consequently be available for use again as holiday and school camps.³⁰⁴

In 1945 the Ministry invited proposals for the expansion of existing teacher-training colleges and the establishment of new ones.³⁰⁵ In the same year, the Ministry ruled that in the future grants to voluntary organizations for provision of facilities for recreation and social and physical training would be direct rather than through local education authorities. Local authorities were to adhere to the same procedure.³⁰⁶

³⁰³See "Leisure-time Provision for School Children," ibid., p. 109.

³⁰⁴See "National Camps, 1944, 1945," ibid., pp. 110-112.

³⁰⁵See "Provision of Additional Training College Accommodation," ibid., p. 112.

³⁰⁶See "Provision of facilities for Recreation and Social Physical Training," loc. cit.

V. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER V

In the period from 1920 until 1927 physical education suffered or prospered in common with all other medical services. The period commenced with curtailment of government spending. It ended with the expansion of school accommodation and physical education facilities. The physical exercises were given in all elementary schools. In secondary schools, lack of facilities, staff, and interest curtailed their spread. Swimming was practiced wherever facilities were available. Games were universally played.

The period from 1927 until 1934 commenced in an aura of prosperity and ended in another economic depression. Plans for the reorganization of secondary and elementary education were made in 1927 and 1931 respectively. Physical education in secondary schools received a great deal of attention. Supplementary to the syllabus of 1919, handbooks for use in secondary schools for boys and for girls were issued by the Board of Education in 1927. A physical education college for men was established in 1933. Efforts were made locally and on the national government level to improve physical education facilities in secondary schools.

The period from 1934 until 1939 was one of optimistic growth of physical education in all schools. Elementary schools offered physical exercises, swimming, dancing, and

games. In secondary schools, more facilities for the physical exercises and games became available, swimming instruction increased, dancing became popular in girls' schools, and games were universally played.

In 1939 all progress came to an immediate halt. From 1939 until 1945, physical education suffered in common with all other educational services. Staffs of schools were reduced, facilities requisitioned or bombed, equipment wore out, and children evacuated or moved. Teacher-training was curtailed. Concurrently, a new recreative aim developed. Older children and youths sought relief from the war in the countryside. New playground equipment was introduced. Such items as miniature obstacle courses, climbing nets, and fire ladders made their appearance in school playgrounds. The effect of more than a million Americans in England was evident in physical education. There was evidence to support the observation that games took on some of the characteristics of American games.

Throughout the war, plans were made for reforming the national system of education. In 1944, a new education act was passed. The act made it the duty of every local education authority to provide schools with a program of physical education in which physical exercises, swimming, dancing, and games were compulsory. The act empowered local education

authorities to provide or aid in the provision of camps, play centers, and holiday walking and bicycling tours. Under the act, the national government financially assisted local education authorities to foster this expansion.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDED FURTHER RESEARCH STUDIES

I. SUMMARY

Prior to the twentieth century two programs of physical education developed in English schools. In Public Schools, catering to the upper classes, the program of physical education consisted of the traditional games and sports originally developed without authorization of the administration of the schools. In government-aided elementary schools for the lower classes, military drill, calisthenics, or Swedish exercises constituted the physical education activities. Because of the appalling conditions under which the children of the poor lived, worked, and attended school, government and elementary school officials encouraged military drill and calisthenics to discipline the children and establish habits of cleanliness and promptness.

After the turn of the century military drill lost its educational prestige as a disciplinary measure in elementary schools and was replaced by the Swedish system of therapeutic exercises, the aim of which was to correct and prevent physical disabilities. Games and sports continued as the only physical education in Public Schools.

During World War I, elementary schools expanded and secondary-type schools became numerous. As school accommodations and facilities improved, swimming, dancing, and the traditional games and sports of the Public Schools became recognized as supplementary to the physical exercises in government-aided schools, gradually taking equal rank with the physical exercises during the 1920's. The out-of-school activities of evening play centers and camping were grouped administratively with physical education. During the thirties, the program of physical education in state schools included physical exercises, swimming, dancing, games, and sports. In Public Schools the traditional games and sports still predominated.

In 1939 as national efforts were turned toward war, expansion of physical education was halted. Facilities were requisitioned by the government, destroyed, or judged to be unsafe for use. Irreplaceable equipment wore out. Local and national physical education staffs were depleted by enlistment and civil defense work. The revision of the physical education curriculum was postponed until the end of the war in 1945.

Chronology

As the development of English physical education was traced, the following dates stood out:

1796. The first inter-school match of cricket was played between the pupils of Westminster and Eton, indicating that these schools had agreed upon rules and procedures for playing.

1823. The beginning of Rugby football dates from 1823, when a pupil picked up the ball and ran forward to a touchdown.

1829. Pupils of Eton and Westminster held the first recorded school rowing contest on the Thames River at London.

1840. The initial governmental investigation of physical education activities and playgrounds in elementary schools was undertaken.

1849. The first cricket coach was employed at Westminster School, London.

1871. Military drill was officially recognized by the Board of Education as physical education in elementary schools.

1878. The Swedish system of therapeutic exercises was introduced into London elementary schools for girls.

1890. Physical exercises as well as military drill became recognized by the Board of Education as suitable for physical education in elementary schools.

1893. Physical education became recognized as a subject of instruction in all elementary schools.

1904. The investigation of physical deterioration in England focused attention on the physical condition of school children. The recommendations stemming from this investigation fostered the spread of the Swedish system of exercises.

The first syllabus of exercises based on the Swedish system was issued by the Board of Education.

1907. The school medical service was established. The administration of physical education was placed under this department of the Board of Education.

1909. Physical education was made a compulsory course of study in teacher-training colleges.

A new syllabus based on the Swedish system of exercises was issued. Games, dancing, and swimming were included in the syllabus and recommended to supplement the exercises.

1911. The McMillan open-air nursery school opened. Freedom of movement, free play, and playground equipment in this school later made it a model for state infant and junior schools.

1914. Every local education authority was empowered by the medical department to employ at least one organizer (coordinator or supervisor) of physical education.

1918. The Education Act of 1918 empowered local education authorities to provide facilities and equipment for physical education. It also permitted them to provide, or

aid in providing, evening play centers and holiday or school camps.

1919. A new syllabus was issued, recommending that rhythmic movement be substituted for rigidly commanded exercises, that the team system be used to organize pupils for the exercises and games, and that games, swimming, and dancing be made integral activities in the program. A trend toward similar physical education activities in Public Schools and state schools was evident in the syllabus of 1919.

1923. Public Schools belonging to the Headmasters' Conference issued a syllabus of physical exercises, recommending that physical exercises be incorporated into the program of physical education in the member schools.

From 1923 concerted efforts were made to improve facilities, equipment, and standards of physical education in rural schools.

1927. Handbooks of physical education for secondary schools were issued by the Board of Education to supplement the syllabus of 1919.

1933. A new syllabus of physical education was issued. It contained physical exercises, dancing, swimming, and games. It recommended greater use of organized field games in schools.

1937. The Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937 provided for the extension of recreational facilities for youths and adults no longer in school.

1944. The Education Act of 1944 compelled local education authorities to provide facilities and equipment for physical education. This included gymnasiums, playgrounds, playing fields, and swimming pools.

Factors Contributing to the Development of Games and Sports in Private (Public) Schools

Adequate facilities, excess leisure time of pupils, and the system of boarding houses within the Public Schools contributed to the gradual development of games and sports. Generally, Public Schools possessed spacious grounds, although the property was not in every case adjacent to the school. Pupils of Public Schools played games to occupy their leisure time. When they were not actually studying or attending classes, they were usually left to their own devices. Gradually, games and sports predominated over other activities. Boarding houses fostered the growth of games and sports by grouping together some twenty to sixty boys from which an excellent team for almost any game could be selected. Boarding houses also supplied adult coaches.

Factors Contributing to the Development of Formal Physical Exercises in State Schools

Lack of play facilities, overcrowded conditions, the uncouthness, the uncleanness, and the poor physical condition of children of the poor led to the introduction of formal exercises in government-aided and state schools. The overcrowded day schools for children of the poor lacked space for adequate playgrounds and playing fields. Children of the poor were generally undisciplined and unclean. Before they could acquire any knowledge, it was considered necessary that they learn to keep quiet, to listen, to sit still, to wash, to use a comb and brush, to march in line, and to speak only when spoken to. To bring order out of chaos, military drill and calisthenics were considered useful. After military drill was seen to be inadequate, Swedish therapeutic exercises took its place, because most children of the poor suffered from physical defects or deformities. These formal, freestanding exercises were devised to correct and prevent physical defects and deformities.

II. CONCLUSIONS

The Development of Objectives of Physical Education

The following conclusions were reached concerning the development of objectives of physical education in English schools:

1. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century physical activities were exclusively leisure time activities of Public School pupils. In government-aided elementary schools the objectives of physical education were disciplinary.

2. After the middle of the nineteenth century and until about 1912 the objectives of physical education in the state system of schools were primarily the prevention and correction of physical disabilities and deformities. The objectives of physical education in Public and other private schools included the development of sportsmanship and related ethical concepts.

3. After 1912 the objectives of physical education in all schools included the improvement of the health of children, the development of sportsmanship and related ethical concepts of children, and the provision of recreational activities for children.

The Development of Games and Sports

The following significant facts were noted concerning the development of games and sports in the program of English physical education:

1. The games of cricket, Association football, Rugby football, fives; the athletic sports of cross-country running, sprint and hurdle racing, high and broad jump,

putting the shot; swimming; and rowing originated as physical education activities in the old, endowed, private boarding schools.

2. The spread of games and sports throughout the Public School system occurred during the middle of the nineteenth century, when newly founded schools emulated the activities of the older schools.

3. During the first quarter of the twentieth century cricket, football, athletic sports, and swimming became recognized physical education activities in upper elementary and secondary state schools.

4. The spread of games and sports throughout the state system of schools was accelerated by World War I. Games and sports became popular leisure-time activities of soldiers in rest camps and in behind-the-line camps. After demobilization, soldiers continued their interest in games and sports and encouraged their children to participate in these activities. During the war evening play centers, designed to occupy the leisure time of children during the evening hours, were established in industrial cities. Games and sports were popular activities of evening play centers.

5. The spread of games and sports throughout the state system of schools was retarded by lack of playground and playing field facilities. Constant efforts were made by individual schools, individual local education authorities,

the national government, and voluntary organizations to provide children with space in which to play.

6. Free play, circle games, chasing games, musical games, and dramatic activities originated in nursery schools, spreading throughout the lower elementary school system during and after World War I.

The Development of Freestanding and Gymnastic Therapeutic Exercises

The following significant trends were noted in the development of freestanding and gymnastic therapeutic exercises in the program of English physical education:

1. Freestanding and gymnastic therapeutic exercises originated as physical education activities in state schools for girls during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

2. The Boer War (1899-1902) accelerated the spread of therapeutic physical exercises by focusing attention on the poor physical condition of soldiers.

3. The spread of therapeutic physical exercises was accelerated by the report on Scottish physical education made in 1903 and the report on English physical deterioration made in 1904. Both reports recommended that therapeutic exercises be given school children to improve their physical condition.

4. The spread of therapeutic physical exercises was accelerated in 1907, at which time physical education was placed under the administration of the medical department of the Board of Education.

5. The spread of physical exercises was retarded during World War I by the enlistment into the armed services of men physical education instructors and the curtailment of construction of gymnasiums.

The Development of Camping

The following developments were noted in camping as an out-of-school physical education activity:

1. Camping arose from the need to provide city school children with a vacation in the country.

2. The spread of camping was retarded because of the expense of purchasing camp sites and of providing transportation and food.

3. The spread of camping was facilitated by encouragement and financial aid from the national government and voluntary organizations.

The Development of Dancing

The following trends were noted in the inclusion of dancing in the program of English physical education:

1. Dancing originated as a physical education activity in elementary schools for girls during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

2. The spread of dancing was accelerated in girls' and infants' schools (for children from five to seven years of age) by interest of women classroom teachers and the use of government syllabi.

3. The spread of dancing was retarded in boys' schools by the lack of properly trained instructors and the lack of interest of instructors and boys.

The Development of Military Drill

The following trends were noted in the inclusion of military drill in the program of English physical education:

1. Military drill originated in government-aided elementary schools during the middle of the nineteenth century.

2. The spread of military drill during the middle and latter years of the nineteenth century was facilitated by governmental recognition and financial grants.

3. Military drill declined as increasing consideration was given to appropriateness of educational activities to stages of child development.

4. Military drill ceased to be encouraged as physical education in 1909 and virtually disappeared within the following decade.

III. RECOMMENDED FURTHER RESEARCH STUDIES

Possible areas of further research for which the study conceivably could form a basis are: (1) tracing the chronological parallels between English and American practices in physical education, (2) determining the extent, if any, that American practices in physical education rested upon English practices in physical education, and (3) comparing English with American programs in physical education.

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