Changes in the provision of physical education for children under twelve years. 1870-1992

Bell, Stephen Gordon

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CHANGES IN THE PROVISION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
FOR CHILDREN UNDER TWELVE YEARS, 1870–1992

Stephen Gordon Bell

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A thesis presented for the degree of M.A.(Ed.)
in the Faculty of Social Science

University of Durham 1994
Abstract

A chronological survey over 120 years cannot fail to illustrate the concept of change, as history and change are inter-twined and in some ways synonymous.

Issues arising from political, social, financial, religious, gender and economic constraints affecting the practice and provision of Physical Education for all children under 12 in the state and independent sectors, including those with special needs, are explored within the period. The chapter divisions are broadly determined by the Education Acts of 1870, 1902, 1918, 1944 and 1988 to illustrate developing changes.

The survey of relevant literature is followed by an introductory chapter outlining pre-1870 provision and practice, identifying pioneering efforts by physical educationalists to meet significant needs. Changes in the evolution of the subject are shown to reflect changes within contemporary society throughout the period of study.

Chapters 2, 3 & 4 span the period from 1870-1939 and trace the first official provision in elementary schools, the contest between military drill and Swedish gymnastics, and the strong therapeutic element in Physical Education linking it to the School Health Service. A parallel development in the independent sector shows differing priorities.

Chapter 5, covering World War II highlights in particular the impact of evacuation, which acted as a catalyst for reviewing provision and practice as a serious management consideration.

Plowden's assessment of Physical Education in the Report on Primary Education, 1967, halfway between the end of the war and the Education Act of 1988, is seen as a watershed between the cumulative effects of war, and the build up to massive reforms in the Acts of 1981 (Special Needs) and 1988. The model of the independent sector becomes a target for legislation in State schools under Conservative administration. This is examined in Chapters 6 & 7, whilst Chapter 8 summarizes the legislation and subsequent Physical Education entitlement for all children.

However, in conclusion, it is pointed out that legislative changes, incumbent on social historical progress, are also dependent on human and financial resources which are finite, and therefore need to be managed, in order to maximise present provision and practice, and as a basis for future planning.
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INTRODUCTION

Physical prowess in team games and individual events was very much to the fore in 1992 — the year of the Barcelona Olympics. For children in state schools, 1992 also saw the publication of the National Curriculum Document for Physical Education which includes the Attainment Targets and programmes of study for all children in these schools at Key Stages 1 & 2.

Six areas of activity are defined in the National Curriculum — athletic activities, dance, games, gymnastic activities, outdoor and adventurous activities, and swimming — all of which must be available to all children, and many of which were available to some children 150 years ago.

Whilst watching the sporting participants on television, one begins to ask, "What makes a champion?" and, "How can potential be encouraged?" Yet Physical Education is the right of every child. Although very few become champions, all deserve the opportunity to become better performers, and more importantly, to enjoy their performance.

Obviously, vast sums of money are required to achieve the standards of excellence seen on our television screens. In the case of some young British athletes, the opportunity for advanced coaching is obtained by enrolment at affluent American Universities, so there would appear to be a shortfall in provision and opportunity at home.
My thesis is to examine changes in the provision and practice of Physical Education of children under 12 years of age in England over 120 years. I shall explain how emergent issues were accommodated between each particular period of legislation (i.e. between the major Education Acts of 1870, 1902, 1918, 1944, and 1988) and how some issues have been resolved, whilst others are on-going or even remain open-ended, yet all reflect the changing patterns of contemporary society.

My focus will be mainly on the historical development of Physical Education as a pedagogical subject within the context of the development of Primary Education as a whole; its interdependence on social and economic factors, Parliamentary support, psychological and physiological preferences, and on the interest and perseverance of dedicated individuals and philanthropic movements.

I shall use the term 'Physical Education' as a broad-brush terminology for any activity involving physical movement, although this term was not introduced into official legislation until after 1912. When I refer to 'Public School' children, I mean the younger boys and girls who were admitted, initially, from the age of eight. Later this became the age of entrance to the Preparatory Schools, and can now also include the Pre-preparatory age range. My references to Physical Education in 'Elementary Schools', is to focus on the under 12s who were not finally separated from the Higher Standards until after the 1944 Act.
Only after World War II did any extended history of Physical Education in England become available, and none in recent years, but with the publication of the National Curriculum Document for Physical Education (1992) it would seem a timely opportunity to see how issues over the whole period are about to be addressed.

I intend to use the Education Act 1870 as a starting point, but in all historical research, one year only mirrors what has gone before, and in looking at the early 19th century, I hope to highlight issues which led to the very earliest provision and practice.
Survey of Relevant Literature

As a student of History I am broadly aware of the historical background to the study which I wish to pursue. Nevertheless, I have surveyed some general histories between 1815 and 1990, to assess the background to the development of Education as a whole, and Physical Education in particular.

I intend to work from this historical framework and to examine political and social consequences in a chronological sequence.

General Histories

I have looked at Morgan K. (1), Evans E.J. (2), and Robbins K. (3) for general background material over the whole period. Then the three standard volumes in the Oxford Series, Woodward A.C. (4), Ensor R.C.K. (5) and Taylor A.J.P. (6) to give the constitutional and political background, the reigning monarchs, the great Wars, the outstanding Acts of Parliament, and the important changes in Society, whilst Thomson D. (7) was a useful synopsis. Taylor D. (8) and Bartlett C.J. (9) helped to

(2) Evans E.J. 'The Forging of the Modern State 1783-1879' (1983)
(4) Woodward E.L. 'The Age of Reform 1815-1870' (1962)
(5) Ensor R.C.K. 'England 1870-1914' (1936)
(6) Taylor A.J.P. 'English History 1914-1945' (1965)
(7) Thomson D. 'England in the 19th century 1815-1914' (1957)
(8) Taylor D. 'A Short History of the Post War World 1945-1970' (1972)
give an overall picture of the twenty five years following World War II. There is an abundance of historical literature, both fact and fictional, especially up to the outbreak of World War II. Only as material is released after the statutory embargo, will more information become available. I felt that my task was to review material wherever I could, which related to developments in Education, and in particular to Physical Education.

Social and Economic Histories

However, as Education is closely linked with Social History, I moved from the framework of constitutional and political history to social and economic, looking at Gash N. (1), Bedarida F. (2) and the relevant parts of Seaman (3), Clark Sir G. (4), Johnson P. (5), especially the chapter on the Splendours and Miseries of Progress. Briggs A. (6) brought the picture up to 1983. Gregg P. (7) showed Education in its social setting and the Life In Series e.g. Reader W. J. (8) and Cecil R. (9) again filled in the social background. Wright D. G. (10) provided the background for social legislation. Adelman

(1) Gash N. 'Aristocracy and People 1815-1865' (1979)
(2) Bedarida F. 'A Social History of England 1851-1975' (1976)
(4) Clark Sir G. 'English History - a survey' (1970)
(5) Johnson P. 'A History of the English People' (1972)
(7) Gregg P. 'A Social and Economic History of Britain 1760-1950' (1952)
(10) Wright D. G. 'Democracy and Reform 1815-1885' (1970)
P.(1), Engels F.(2) and Lloyd T.O.(3) helped to establish my views on political and social interdependence, confirming that the issues which I hope to illustrate are inextricably bound up with national politics, and the social and economic conditions of the period.

**Histories of Education**

Chronological histories of Education are numerous especially up to World War II, but I found that many were 'all-age' in that they did not attempt to separate Elementary from Secondary Education, although this was justifiable in the Victorian period when all school education was elementary. In my search through the literature, I was looking for information which related to the under 12s. Among the histories I consulted were Morrish I.(4), Graves F.P.(5) Barnard H.C.(6), Gosden P.H.J.H.(7) Dent H.C.(8), Wardle D.(9), Curtis S.J.(10), Kelly A.V.(11), Birchenough C.(12)

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(2) Engels F.'The Condition of the Working Classes in England'(1844)
(4) Morrish I.'Education since 1800'(1970)
(5) Graves F.P.A.'A history of Education in Modern Times'(1924)
(7) Gosden P.H.J.H.'How they were taught'(1969)
(8) Dent H.C.'Education in England and Wales'(1982)
(10) Curtis S.J.'History of Education in Great Britain'(1963)
(11) Kelly A.V.'Education made Simple'(1987)
(12) Birchenough C.'The History of Elementary Education'(1930)
As I was searching for evidence on the teaching of Physical Education with all children under 12, I was also looking towards the independent sector, and I consulted Simon B. and Bradley I. (4), Allen E. H. & Dealtry L. P. (5), as well as Archer R. L. (6). Most of this literature covered periods up to World War II, except for Gordon P., Aldrich R. & Dean D. (7). Only briefly was Physical Education mentioned, and usually a global reference to provision for all children.

I next moved on to search for Histories of Physical Education, and found two standard works. McIntosh P. C. (8), first published in 1952, and Smith W. D. (9) which again did not cover the period or the focus I planned to research. These two volumes both covered the whole spectrum of Physical

(1) Dunford J. and Sharp P. 'The Education System in England and Wales' (1990)
(2) Gosden P. H. J. H. 'Education in the Second World War' (1976)
(3) Dent H. C. 'The Education Act 1944' (1968)
(4) Simon B. and Bradley I. 'The Victorian Public School' (1975)
(5) Allen E. H. & Dealtry L. P. 'The Preparatory Schoolboy and his Education' (1951)
(6) Archer R. L. 'Secondary Education in the 19th Century' (1921) in the Contributions to the History of Education Series
(8) McIntosh P. C. 'Physical Education since 1800' (1952)
(9) Smith W. D. 'Stretching their Bodies' (1974)
Education, with surprisingly little evidence on the under 12s after the periods of compulsory schooling began towards the end of the Victorian era. The format of these two works was chronological, which, if this study is to be related to chronological historical events, and their influence on provision and practice, would appear to be the best way of researching the issues. In Van Dalen D.B. & Bennett B.L. (1), I discovered a section on 'Physical Education in the English National System', which has a useful summary. Again, there appeared to be a lack of detailed information on the under 12s.

**Provision and Practice**

I was, by this time, conscious of the fact that provision and practice cannot easily be separated, as both are interdependent, and both are fashioned by the chronological events in history. In some local schools their responses to changing provision and practice, are included by reference to their recorded histories.

**Prominent Individuals**

Practice is dependent on resources, both human and physical, and whereas money can buy apparatus, gymnasia and swimming pools, it cannot buy commitment and expertise.

(1) Van Dalen D.B. & Bennett B.L. 'A World History of Physical Education' (1971)
Legislation therefore needed committed individuals to see their ideals implemented, and so digression was required to look into the histories and/or publications of such individuals as Robert Owen, the Edgeworths, Mathias Roth, Archibald Maclaren, Madam Osterberg, Sir George Newman (Chief Medical Officer), Margaret McMillan, Ruth Morison, Barbara Churcher, Lilian Groves, Pauline Wetton, Peter Warburton and others who have devoted their lives to Physical Education in schools. Some of the publications included Morison R. (1), Bilborough A. & Jones P. (2), Murray G.W. & Hunter T.A. (3), Churcher B. (4), Groves L. (5), and Wetton P. (6).

**Political and Social Publications**

As all Education is part of the social fabric of the country, I also looked at other material such as Adelmann P. (7), Bruce M. (8), Lowe R. (ed.) (9), Jackson C. (10), Padley R. and Cole M. (11) and Titmuss R. (12) because after World War II there was a dearth of chronological political and

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(1) Morison R. 'Educational Gymnastics' (1956)
(2) Bilborough A. & Jones P. 'Physical Education in the Primary School' (1963)
(3) Murray G.W. & Hunter T.A. 'Education and Health' (1966)
(4) Churcher B. 'Physical Education for teaching' (1971)
(5) Groves L. 'Twenty five years of P.E.' (1977)
(6) Wetton P. 'Physical Education in the Nursery and Infant School' (1988)
(8) Bruce M. 'The Coming of the Welfare State' (1968)
(10) Jackson C. 'Who will take our children?' (1978)
(11) Padley R. and Cole M. 'Evacuation Survey' (1940)
(12) Titmuss R. 'Problems of Social Policy' (1950)
educational histories, but certain publications focusing on particular social issues.

**Special Needs Education**

As expected, I could find very little pre-World War II evidence of the provision of Physical Education for children under 12 with Special Needs. This confirmed my intention to include it in my research so that I could make comparisons with State and Independent provision. In this context, I reviewed Groves L. (1), Jowsey S.R. (2), Bowers T. (3) and Dyson A. (4)

**Reports, Journals, Pamphlets**

Information was also to be found in Journals of the Physical Education Association (formerly the Ling Association), and in government memoranda and reports. From the point of view of the under 12s, these were Reports of the Chief Medical Officer and Syllabuses of Physical Education (5), Ministry of Education Publications (6), (7) and (8), and D.E.S. and H.M.I. Reports on policy, the National Curriculum

(1) Groves L. 'Physical Education for Special Needs' (1979)
(2) Jowsey S.R. 'Can I play too?' (1992)
(4) Dyson A. 'Special Education and the Concept of Change' (1990)
(5) Board of Education Syllabuses of 1904, 1919, 1933
(6) Ministry of Education 'Moving and Growing' (1952)
(7) Ministry of Education 'Planning the Programme' (1953)
I found that the greatest links between the provision of Physical Education and social issues such as health, housing and poverty were gradually being superceded by the provisions of the Welfare state. Granted there were/are still areas of great deprivation in the country, where educationalists were now focussing on sociological rather than social issues. These were linked with progressivism in teaching styles throughout the education field, and egalitarianism extending to opportunities for gender and racial equality. Such publications as Pluckrose H. (1), Stewart J. (2), Blyth W.A.L. (3) and Goodson I. (4) & (5) revealed the progress of changes throughout the whole of the Primary field. For changes in the Independent sector, Braund R. (6) proved illuminating, whilst Whyte J. (7) gave insight into early sex stereotyping.

Most of the literature researched for the last 20 or 30 years is concerned with looking at the changes in practice and provision of the Education system, and the management of

(1) Pluckrose H. 'What is happening in our schools?' (1987)
(2) Stewart J. 'The Making of the Primary School' (1986)
(3) Blyth W.A.L. 'English Primary Education' (1965)
(5) Goodson I. 'School subjects and Curriculum Change' (1987)
(7) Whyte J. 'Beyond the Wendy House' (1983)
those changes by the D.E.S. through their teacher training, inset courses, policy proposals and finally through its ultimate requirement in the National Curriculum Document. The Physical Education Document published 1992, certainly directs provision and advises on practice.

**Unpublished theses**

I consulted several unpublished theses but could only find one recently researched. This was Heath A.W. 'Primary Physical Education: teacher expertise and provision of facilities' (M.Phil., Nottingham 1991) which did not place the evolution of Physical Education in its historical context as I hoped to do, and dealt largely with the practice of P.E.

Three other theses dealt with the provision of Physical Education in all schools. These were: Smith W.D. 'A study of the Provision of Physical Education in the Schools in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries' (University of East Anglia, 1951); Waddington M. 'Developments in Physical Education in the Schools of Wales, with special reference to the teaching of girls' (Univ. of Wales, 1950), and Woodward A.C. 'The Development of Physical Education in schools in England and Wales 1907-33' (Manchester University, M.Ed. 1967). Although a historical approach was followed, these were not recent studies, and did not deal specifically with primary education, special needs or preparatory schools.

Finally, Finer A.R. in 'An evaluation of progress in
Physical Education with reference to the primary field' (Nottingham 1971) reviewed a much narrower historical period of provision.

The contents of each had some bearing on my research, but none had the same approach or covered the whole period of provision for under 12s.

**Justification for Research**

From the available literature:-

1) There appear to be two useful chronological histories of Physical Education, but without emphasis on the issues leading to provision and practice.

2) These histories do not cover the last 40 years, nor do they deal separately with the history of the provision and practice for children under 12.

3) There is little evidence of post war sociological ideologies of egalitarianism being recorded in the provision and practice of Physical Education, although progressive teaching styles had been evident in physical education since the late Victorian period through the work of Madam Osterberg and the Ling Physical Educationalists.

4) There is some need to make comparisons between the Independent sector, children with Special Needs and the mainstream of provision and practice for under 12s.

5) The present long-serving government's attitude to Physical Education may have been influenced by practices in the
Independent sector for the under 12s.

6) There is a place for this research, as we have reached a milestone in Primary Education, and there is a need to learn from the past to make better provision for the future. Winston Churchill is reputed to have said that the longer you look back, the farther you can look forward, and I intend to endorse this view. All history is unfinished history, but we need to look back, to learn from mistakes, to prepare for the future.

Method of Study

In evaluating this literature for research, the following research plan will be used:

1) Concept

a) The major issue being investigated concerns the provision and practice of Physical Education within the parameters of the political, social and economic conditions of the period.

b) The issues are defined within each historical period.

2) Theoretical Framework and Hypothesis

a) The research aims to look at the issues of provision and practice within defined periods.

b) The hypothesis is, that some issues are unchanging, and that
provision and practice always operate within clearly defined constraints, whilst other problematic issues may be solved within the scope of improving social and economic conditions.

3) Research Design

a) The research involves literature search, and comparisons of provision of programmes of study and attainment targets of the present day, with those at various stages over the last hundred years.

b) The second theme compares provision and practice of Physical Education in State Schools, Independent Schools and Special schools for under 12s.

4) Results and Discussion

a) At the end of each historical section, usually where an important Education Act has been passed, the dominant issues are discussed in relation to the evolution of Physical Education against its historical background. Conclusions and future projections are examined.

5) Summary

a) An overall assessment is made in the conclusion to justify
the viability of the research and to act as a stimulus and guide for future provision and practice.
CHAPTER 1

The Physical Education of young children before 1870 and the issues leading to initial provision

The provision of education for the under 12s in England in the 19th century was the result of a gradual development and bringing together of industrial and religious organisations, ideas, methods, and systems which were totally unrelated in purpose or form, yet provided a rich seed-bed for pedagogical ideas right across the curriculum.

In looking at the emergence of Physical Education as part of the curriculum for all children, I intend to use 1870 as a starting point. By this date, the issues affecting the provision and practice of Physical Education were already well-established. Along with other subjects of the curriculum, Physical Education was seeking recognition and approval.

Physical activity is a natural form of human expression, and from earliest times children have devised games and physical exercises to make challenges among themselves on an informal basis. This is evident in Greek, Roman and Egyptian artefacts where score boards, tallies, and chips from games like 'chucks' have been discovered. Games devised informally bear an uncanny resemblance across various cultures. Football, or kicking an object into a 'goal' defended by an opposition, evolved long before organised
games, and seems to have been very much like the Shrove Tuesday Football Match which survives today in Sedgefield, Co. Durham—a sort of 'free for all' with an unlimited number of players.

Great Educators of the early 19th century who promoted Physical Education

At the beginning of the 19th century several 'great educators' were promoting their ideals. In his book 'Emile', Rousseau made a powerful appeal on behalf of Physical Education to stimulate curiosity and inventiveness in the education of 'the whole child'. Rousseau strongly influenced the Edgeworths, and Richard Edgeworth trained his own son according to Rousseau's guidelines:

".....uncommon strength and hardiness of body, great vivacity...........whatever regarded the health and strength and agility of my son, had amply justified the system of my master.......

(1)

When, with his daughter Maria, they published 'Practical Education', they made several references to the value of Physical Education:

".......as an agreeable exercise, useful to the health and advantageous, as it confers a certain degree of habitual ease and grace...."

(2)

These useful activities could also be pleasurable and bring the joy of success.

(1) Edgeworth R.L. Memoirs I p. 268
(2) Edgeworth R.L. & M. Practical Education p. 127
At New Mills, in Lanarkshire, where Robert Owen was attempting to establish a new social order, he incorporated an Infants' School for the children of his textile workers. At this school he set up one of the earliest examples of the provision of Physical Education for children from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 years of age:

"....Great emphasis was laid on physical training........ Much time was to be spent in the playground, and games and story-telling were to occupy a prominent part in the work of the school...."(1)

Owen not only valued Physical Training as an integral part of child development, but he also saw the opportunity for marching and drilling as a preparation for military services. He wanted his work force to be well-trained, united, happy and fit. Dancing was essential:

"....as a pleasant, healthful, natural and social exercise, calculated to improve the carriage and deportment, and to raise the spirits and increase the cheerfulness and hilarity of those engaged in it...."(2)

In Owen's scheme, his school playground (which is still discernible today at New Lanark) was of vital importance for physical and social training, and it is interesting to trace the importance of the quest for playground space over the next 150 years as a crucial factor in seeking equality of provision.

From the ages of 6, to 10 or 12 years, country dancing

(1) Birchenough C. A History of Elementary Education p. 300
(2) Silver H. The Concept of Popular Education p. 163
and drill were included as part of the curriculum at his school.

"...The success of Owen's work amazed contemporary observers, for it was evident that the children were clean, healthy and happy; that they were adjusted and socially literate..."(1)

James Buchanan was put in charge of Owen's school in 1816, and he carried Owen's ideas south when he later moved to London. The London Infants' School Society was founded in 1824, to promote the education of the youngest children, and eventually replace the inefficient Dame Schools (although the latter are now thought to have been an early reasonable attempt at child-minding). Samuel Wilderspin, a disciple of Pestalozzi, adopted and adapted Owen and Buchanan's ideas, and regarded the provision of a playground and outdoor training as essential features. He became one of the innovators of Infant Education in London, and eventually, the rest of the country. He laid down the first principle, that Infant Schools must have regard to the physical development of children.:

"...............To have 100 children or upwards, in a room, however convenient in other respects, and not to allow the children proper relaxation and exercise, which they could not have without a play-ground, would materially injure their health........"(2)

The status quo in the first 20 years of the 19th century

A playground, therefore, was essential, and games had to be devised, whilst periods of intellectual work were to

(1) Silver H. op. cit. p. 164
(2) Wilderspin S. The Infant System p. 101
alternate with periods of recreation. Action songs were sung, and there was a whole series of finger, hand and arm-stretching exercises. Already physical education was considered highly beneficial in the development of young children, and Sanderson describes how Owen's philosophy, via Wilderspin, spread to the Lancashire towns of Salford and St. Helens:

".....stress was laid on the playground as a supervised and clean refuge from the streets. ............Physical exercise was obtained through play periods and a special 'March to the Gallery' lasting another quarter of an hour, as well as a crocodile walk on part of one afternoon.(1)

Where any form of education existed, it was a compromise among different factors:

".....the church, state, economic conditions, private enterprise and philanthropy......."(2)

Nevertheless, in the first twenty years of the 19th century, schools were in existence which included physical education in the curriculum, and in post-Napoleonic Europe gymnastic programmes for adults and children were being established. From Sweden, in 1814, came Ling's floor-standing exercises without apparatus, which were therapeutic, whilst from Germany, Guts Muth's exercises (first introduced to England in 1800) were more aggressive gymnastics, using poles, ropes and horizontal bars. The fact that the Swedish

(2) Graves F.P. A History of Education in Modern Times p. 301
system eventually came to predominate in Elementary Schools was perhaps due to the fact that no vast expenditure was involved - no gymnasium required - no equipment - no lost balls - no broken racquets to replace. The Swedish gymnastics could be enjoyed by large numbers of pupils on a school yard or field without the threat of 'military indoctrination' of drill. Towards the end of the century, therapeutic benefits and the dogged determination of women gymnasts helped to secure its popular acceptance.

Physical Education in the Public Schools

Public Schools for older boys were firmly established in England by 1800 - many having illustrious foundations. In their leisure periods (which were few) boys would devise challenges for themselves as an antidote to the hard formal graft of a classical education, but as the century progressed:

"...The special contribution of the public schools to physical education was in the development of ball games, from their crude beginnings into games with definite rules and penalties..."(1)

Initially there were seven boarding schools which were defined by Sydney Smith as Public Schools, and included Winchester, Westminster, Eton, Harrow, Charterhouse, Rugby and Shrewsbury. These were:

(1) Smith W.D. Stretching their bodies p.9
"........ an endowed place of education of old standing to which the sons of gentlemen resort in considerable numbers and where they continue to reside from eight or nine to eighteen years of age." (1)

It was in the boarding schools that the games system grew up because the boys had to organise themselves in their free time. Under pupil control, sports and games developed a powerful network within the individual schools where physical prowess tended to supercede any advantage of birth or background. As the century progressed, these schools provided not only for the children of aristocrats, but also for a growing group of professional classes, ambitious for social and educational advancement, through character building.

Schools therefore, began to broaden the curriculum to include the organisation and encouragement of games and sports, not only for their intrinsic physical value, but also for their moral influence. This 'Muscular Christianity' (also prevalent in the Universities) promoted the development of athleticism, and encouraged respect for others, patient endurance, unflagging courage, self-reliance and self-control, and was supported by Kingsley, Arnold, Thring and other prominent Public Schools Headmasters. In fact, so committed was Thring to the educational value of organised games that he succeeded in elevating Uppingham from a small county grammar school of 25 pupils into a major Public School with over 300 boys.

In Tom Brown's School Days', Hughes endorses the view that the main purpose was not to provide the good scholar but a brave, helpful, honest, Christian gentleman. Because of the popularity of his book, Hughes' ideas became a model for the existing Public Schools and the new ones which were being established.

In 1860, Lord Elcho initiated a movement for the introduction of military drill into the Public Schools. The response was enthusiastic and corps were quickly established at Eton, Winchester, Harrow, Rugby and Shrewsbury. However this did not have any marked impact on these schools until the time of the Boer War, and eventually became the nucleus of the Officers Training Corps founded in 1908.

Attitudes to Physical Education in some schools however, were not always positive. In fact, many teachers and headteachers resented the time spent on games and sport:

".........Organised games were in their infancy, and received little encouragement, as an occupation of educational value, from the school authorities......"(1)

but it soon became evident that the new middle classes were forcing the issue. By broadening the curriculum, disorder and brutality declined, and opportunities could be seen for acquiring physical excellence, stamina and character-building as useful assets for career and social advancement, as long as parents could foot the bills. A great part of Public School life consisted of the organisation and supervision of

(1) Barnard H.C.A History of English Education p.18
boys by other boys, and this was highly developed in sports and games. This could never have been allowed to happen in the elementary schools, where drill and gymnastics were adopted to develop discipline - the lower orders were to be kept under control, because of the prevalent fear that to educate the masses would aggravate discontent and give them ambitions beyond their rightful destiny.

The middle classes never put success in sports on a par with intellectual achievement, but privilege with power was sought by the new rich. Reforms in politics spawned reforms in education, and the rise of the middle class during the early Victorian era changed the face of the Public Schools, because, with their new affluence, they could buy their way into the schools of their choice. Many of the Public Schools were originally set up for the benefit of 'pauperes et indigentes', but by the middle of the 19th century, schools were extending their intake to all those who would pay fees.

Political interventions in the 19th century came when the pressures within and without Parliament led to the setting up of Royal Commissions to consider all aspects of educational provision.

In their scrutiny of the Public Schools, the value of organised games in training character was emphasized:-

".......their capacity to govern others and control themselves, their aptitude for combining freedom with order, their public spirit, their vigour and manliness of character, their strong but not slavish respect for public opinion, their love of healthy sports and exercises......." (1)

(1) Report of Public Schools Commission (Clarendon) 1864 p. 56
In the eyes of the Commissioners it was more important to show courage and stamina, and an ability to withstand knocks without flinching, than to exhibit physical skills and proficiency in ball control — hence a psychological issue was established in the appraisal of Physical Education. Sports or games which did not exhibit such qualities, were counted of little value. Among these were the ancient game of fives, hare and hounds, and in particular, gymnastics. A similar inferior position was given to drill (1). These latter two were individual pursuits, therefore team spirit and group loyalty were not necessary, and their value could not be experienced. Swimming and athletics also took many years to become socially-acceptable sports.

"...increasing respectability (if not actual worship) of athleticism......."(2)

became, through the indulgence in team games, the educational ideology of the Public School system.

Games and sports were taught (as in many cases today) by professional coaches. Games masters were not so much appointed upon any known ability to teach either in the classroom or the playing fields, but on their personal prowess at one or more of the major sports. In an article in Contemporary Review 1900(3), an incident is described where a 'blue', on attaining his century in a University cricket

(1)Clarendon op.cit. p.4
(2)Honey J.R. de S. Tom Brown's Universe p.120
(3)Spenser H.J. 'The Athletic Master in Public Schools'
(Contemporary Review) 1900
match, received five telegrams from headmasters offering him a post at their schools. Thus the issue of 'who teaches' became important, and the status of what was taught, reflected the game and the teacher. The status of games was also enhanced by its contribution to patriotic militarism. From the pupils' point of view, the Clarendon Commission had stated that:

"...the importance which boys themselves attach to games is somewhat greater, perhaps than might reasonably be desired, but within moderate limits it is highly useful. .......(1)

Some of the Commissioners, however, voiced their fears that intellectual interests would suffer as a result of the growth of sports and athletics.

Schools outside the jurisdiction of the Clarendon Commission i.e. grammar schools, proprietary schools and schools for girls were examined under the Taunton Commission in 1864, and generally, it emerged that many schools throughout the country were ill-provided with facilities for games, thus revealing another issue - that those with greater financial backing and physical space were already elevating games to a lofty position. The cult of athleticism became almost a religion as the century progressed, and many schools relied on the generosity of old boys to provide facilities.

Games committees and selection panels were often composed of the pupils themselves, thereby granting a high degree of autonomy and further emphasising the social

(1) Clarendon op.cit. p.5
differences between public and elementary schools.

The initiative of Public School boys in the outside world, in their adult life, led to the establishment of the Football Association in 1863, and the Rugby Union in 1871. In the poorer districts of large towns, philanthropic efforts by former public school boys spread their games skills to young elementary school boys and working class adolescents.

Physical Education in Elementary Schools

In the early part of the 19th century, schools which existed for working class children under 12 were sponsored by a variety of organisations. Some were established for industrial or monetary gains, and others were provided by philanthropic or religious organisations who saw education as part of a plan for saving souls. The efficiency of numerous forms of private education, outside the Public School system, varied in general with the fees they charged, whilst Dame schools aimed to do no more than look after young children whilst their mothers were at work.

Apart from these private schools there were Charity Schools in most towns and many villages. These had been founded by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), as a means of restoring declining standards in morals and religion. They catered for boys and girls and were limited mostly to the education of a small number of poor pupils by the parish clergy for a small contribution from
their parents. The Sunday School movement had attempted to address the problem of illiteracy among young workers (most of whom were under the age of 12) by providing free teaching on the one day they were not working. The teaching however was largely in the hands of inefficient amateurs from their respective church congregations, and was invariably confined to reading and Religious Instruction.

Where education was provided for working class children, it was on the monitorial systems of Lancaster and Bell and supported by the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society of the Church of England. The education provided emphasised the 3Rs, with some music, movement and play, but used physical drill as a means of instilling a basic discipline in the schools. Such was the crying need, that the Religious Trusts had to think about the provision of day schools. At the very outset, social, financial and gender issues were evident in all areas of educational provision of which Physical Education was only a very small part.

At the same time as the organised games were gaining favour and popularity in Public Schools, Physical Education in Elementary Schools leaned more towards drill and gymnastics. These included such exercises as running, jumping, throwing, wrestling and balancing exercises, and such games as tennis, fives, and skittles. For the very youngest there were hoops, and see-saws. Even as early as 1839, the continental influence of these activities was evident, and it was not
unusual (although precise figures are not available) for pupil teachers to take classes of children in 'elementary movements' or 'more complex movements' (1), according to their ability, in spite of the fact that these early schools were very short of money. The first grant for Elementary Education in 1833, was £20,000. From 1839 a separate Committee of the Privy Council was set up to supervise the spending of these grants and from this time ecclesiastical power was gradually eroded as the State acquired more supervision of Elementary Education because it held the cash. This control was exercised in several ways in the provision of Physical Education in succeeding decades. The first inspectors were so impressed by pupil teachers taking classes of physical exercise that they recommended to promoters of elementary schools that:

"... in selecting their site, it is very important to provide a closed exercise ground for the children...." (2)

Of course this was not only to develop the muscular powers and render the scholars robust and vigorous, but because it was also thought that:

"................. the physical exercises of the playground extend the moral influence of the teacher..... " (3)

and shows the influence of the Public School on the thinking of the Inspectorate even at this early part of the century

(1) Minutes of Committee in Council in Education 1839-1840 p.19
(2) Minutes 1839-40 ibid. p.70
(3) Minutes 1839-40 ibid. p.19
and in many instances since that time. But however worthily they rated Physical Education, there were other more pressing needs, such as the poor physical condition of the school-rooms, the lack of books and equipment, poor quality teachers, and the abysmal ignorance of many children at the schools. Physical Education was not a priority!! Nor was the Government likely to provide any extra money! By 1861 in the Newcastle Commission, a commissioner wrote:

"...............I do not think that the encouragement of healthy athletic sports such as cricket, football etc. has yet found the legitimate place in the education of boys of this class which Public School men would desire, who vividly remember how much it contributed to their own........"(1)

Thus for financial reasons, opportunities in physical education depended on social class. The gender issue was addressed as follows:

".......as games of this kind are unsuitable for girls, they, or at any rate the older ones, might find a little wholesome physical exercise in cleaning out the school......."(2)!!

Mid-century pioneers - Roth and Maclaren

Although physical education did not, indeed could not, take off in elementary schools, private educational gymnasia were being established for public use by such pioneers as Archibald Maclaren on the German pattern, and by Matthias Roth (a doctor) on the Swedish pattern. Maclaren's

(1) Report of Newcastle Commission p.70
(2) Ibid. p.78
influence on future planning in education became all-important. Whilst devising his exercises, he concentrated on the development of personal physique and criticised the adherence only to sports and games of the public schools which had stressed team spirit and character building. He organised physical training in the army in 1860, and even attempted the first teacher training for physical education teachers in 1862. He contemplated training for all citizens rather than merely giving:

"... added strength to the strong, increased dexterity to the active, speed to the already fleet of foot...." (1)

MacLaren believed that exercise was a necessary antidote for the:

"... long hours of work, late hours of rest, jaded frames, weary brains, jarring nerves..." (2)

of daily life, whilst in the public schools, gymnastics never dislodged team games:

"............... because they were put in the hands of non-commissioned officers who held an inferior social status, therefore gymnastics tended to be regarded as inferior by association........" (3)

However perhaps MacLaren's greatest contribution to physical education was his influence on military drill,

(1) MacLaren A. A System of Physical Education. Theoretical and Practical (2nd Edition) p.22 quoted in Van Dalen & Bennett op.cit. p.289
(2) MacLaren A. op.cit. p.23
(3) McIntosh P.C. et al. Landmarks in the History of Physical Education p.133
whilst he condemned Ling's Swedish gymnastics as approved by Roth.

In the 1850s Mathias Roth approached the government for the inclusion of Physical Education in schools, but was told that school masters had too much to do and had no time for gymnastics. Robert Lowe also turned down a request on grounds of expense, from Lord Elcho, who stated in Parliament that:

"..... it is expedient for the increase of bodily as well as mental aptitudes of children for civil, industrial, as well as for military service that encouragement and aid should be given for the extension of the practice of systemised gymnastic training and for the teaching of military and naval drill..."(1)

However, as has been described, Lord Elcho did introduce military drill into the Public Schools through the Volunteer Movement.

**Early teacher 'training'**

The Physical Training Instructors who ran the Corps also organised the 'minor' sports such as boxing, swimming, fencing and gymnastics and created a precedent as future Physical Training teachers. None of this provision, however, could rival the status of the major sports in the Public Schools. Meanwhile, the teaching of Physical Education in the first 70 years of the 19th century for elementary children was haphazard, and tended to be localised, wherever

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(1) Hansard 8th July Vol.168 Col.22A
enthusiastic philanthropy abounded.

Wilderspin had hoped to include teacher training in his work with the Infant School Society. In the National Society's programme for the training of teachers Physical Education was not included as a subject, although drill may have been included in 'Collective and Individual Discipline of Children', which was accorded the status of a subject, and was developed in the model schools of the Teacher Training Colleges.

The introduction of military drill into elementary schools posed few problems as instructors were made available by the War Office. Only after the Education Act of 1870, however, was permissive legislation granted. But as early as 1860, many of the Training Colleges for men, had enrolled students in a volunteer corps, using the War Office's Field Exercise Book.

Apart from military drill the Training Colleges (unlike their continental counterparts) continued to make little or no provision for Physical Education. Like the pupils of the public schools, if the students found time for games they had to organise them themselves.

For women students, physical education consisted of a daily walk. Pupil teachers who never went to college had even less chance of receiving any training in Physical Education. Plans put forward by Maclaren and Roth had fallen on stony ground. As long as military drill seemed to serve the purpose of providing 'Physical Education', the issues of providing
trained Physical Education teachers was shelved, along with the provision of adequate facilities.

Parliament wanted to see value for money for its grants and as 'payment by results' was introduced, there was little hope for a non-measurable subject like Physical Education.

Social conditions which highlighted the need for Physical Education

At the same time, the rapid growth of industry over this period was changing the lives of a great mass of people who left their countryside and village life for crowded city slums and factories. They worked for 12-16 hours a day even in childhood, missed out on country recreational pursuits, and suffered extreme poverty. Living in over-crowded, insanitary conditions, drunkeness and physical and moral degradation was rife. In some cities children who were neither in school nor in jobs were becoming a nuisance on the streets. They often became involved in petty crime and posed a threat to law and order. Reforms were demanded on all sides and after 1867, the extended franchise revealed the fact that the working classes were a force to be reckoned with. In schools, far more children were in lower standards than higher, which strongly suggests a short period of education for the majority. Where Physical Education did exist in lower schools, it consisted principally of singing games and action songs, or drills with tambourines, hoops,
wand, dumbbells and clubs. Whatever could be done had to be done quickly.

Summary of provision in the early 19th century

Thus before the Education Act of 1870, Physical Education was not a priority in the elementary schools.

In both Public and Elementary Schools, there were enthusiastic protagonists working in their schools, whilst throughout the whole sphere of education there was agitation for action. There was never enough money, and always there was competition between the promoters of other subjects in the curriculum, and other social issues in society. After the Reform Act of 1867:—

"......it was now felt that, as far as possible, potential new voters were supplied with some basic education .......(1)

The election of a Liberal Government in 1868 made educational reform a possibility, and certainly paved the way for the Education Act of 1870, which was known as:—

"......The Magna Carta of National Education....."(2)

Yet in spite of the issues of politics, finance, social class, curriculum content, staffing and gender, it would only be a matter of time before all types of physical education would be available on equal terms for all – or would it?

(1) Dunford J. & Sharp P. The Education System in England and Wales p. 8
(2) Graves F. P. A History of Education in Modern Times p. 306
CHAPTER 2
Early legislation 1870-1902 and the subsequent provision for boys and girls

By 1870 it was evident that there was a need for Physical Education as part of the Elementary Curriculum, but at the same time, other subjects outside the 3Rs e.g. History, Geography and Science were also making a bid for recognition and financial backing. As the annual grants were paid on 'results', some subjects like Physical Education, were difficult to quantify and therefore to qualify for grant. Also, subjects which improved employment prospects were viewed more favourably, as the ability to read, write and reckon was paramount.

However there were prominent individuals who were promoting the benefits of Physical Education and using their influence in political circles, whilst the links between Physical Education and the Nation's Health, helped to keep it in the forefront of public and parliamentary opinion.

Likewise, the gender issue was beginning to be seriously considered, as girls' schools and female teacher training colleges were on the increase, although in Elementary schools drill was still the norm for girls. However, this progress was barely significant compared with the pressing needs of the wider social issues of this period of Victorian history.

Some statistical evidence

In order to get a clearer picture of the state of
education in the last years of the 19th century, statistical evidence from Census figures and Reports of the Board of Education, will explain the scale of the needs in educational and social provision.

The population of England grew from 18 million in 1851, to 32 ½ million in 1901, and revealed that:

".... for the first time, more people in the mainland of the United Kingdom lived in towns... than in the countryside...(1)

and because urbanisation was so rapid, all social facilities were stretched to the limit.

Up to 1870 voluntary schools provided for the majority of working class children but by 1893, 41% of elementary pupils were in Board Schools against 44% in voluntary schools. By the turn of the century the balance had tipped in favour of Board Schools to 49% versus 39%. The Board Schools made great headway in the towns and cities, but by 1895 there were still 11,000 small parishes without these Schools. However, out of these, 8,000 villages had C. of E. voluntary schools, as well as other denominational aided schools. The 1851 Census had been the only one ever to attempt to assess religious attendance, or lack of it, and Anglicanism was shown to have only a slight majority over Dissenters. (5 ½ million to 4 ½ million), with a further 5 ½ million who stayed at home. Non-Anglicans rejoiced in the fact that England was becoming:

(1) Morgan K.O. The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain p. 465
"...increasingly urban, perhaps increasingly secular, certainly increasingly non-Anglican in tone. Mid-Victorian politics reflected these tendencies, all of which pointed towards Liberalism....."(1)

This particular period therefore marks the beginning of the decline of ecclesiastical power in schools, leading on to more state provision.

In 1880 Elementary Education was made fully compulsory, and the minimum age of exemption was set at 11 years of age in 1893, and 12 years of age in 1899. However in working class families there was much ill-health and absenteeism due to overcrowding and malnutrition, so that many children did not get the full benefit of this opportunity.

Proposals and proposers

The last 30 years of the 19th century were years of some realism following the idealism of the early pioneers of physical education. During the 1850s and 1860s Herbert Spencer, John Ruskin and Matthew Arnold in their writings had promoted the cause of physical education. By participation, not only would there be physical improvements, but also moral and corporate benefits for the pupils and schools. The chief factors therefore affecting the development of Physical Education, were:-

a) the restricted physical conditions in schools, where only drill was possible,

b) the opinions of the great educators that Physical
education should complement instrumental education, and

c) the social reformers who were concerned about the health
of the community and particularly the children.

"... the school child has for a generation been under the
direct control of the State in one of his many relations. And
the school child, easily seen, easily examined, easily
described, has enabled us to crystallise the conception of
personal hygiene and to test the possibilities of remedial
measures." (1)

Like many strands in education at this time, however,
each had its own enthusiasts and each were pressing the
government to listen to their particular cause.

In 1870, W.E. Forster, (son-in-law of Thomas Arnold,
Quaker, Radical, prosperous woollen merchant and M.P. for
Bradford) as Vice-President of the Committee of Council on
Education prepared the Education Bill.

Mathias Roth tried to seize his opportunity by
publishing a pamphlet (2) which he addressed to Forster. His
main treatise was that a school should only be considered
for grant if it gave daily physical education.

As a doctor, he had gathered a wealth of statistics to
support his case, showing the rejection of Army and Navy
recruits on physical grounds. If these young men had had a
regular course of gymnastics they would have been fit for

(1) Mackenzie W.L. The Health of the School Child p. 51
(2) Roth M.D. "A plea for the Compulsory Teaching of the
Elements of Physical Education in our National Elementary
Schools, or the claims of Physical Education to rank with
Reading, Writing and Arithmetic" (1871)
He even asserted that gymnastics was superior to the games and sports of the public schools for the development of personal physique. Being the enthusiast he was, he laid out his proposals, giving the Committee no chance to default on lack of information. He wanted:

a) Physical Education and Health Education introduced into teacher-training courses with a final examination.
b) Vacation courses for practising teachers
c) Unattached teachers to visit schools to instruct those already in service.
d) Physical Education to be included in the 'payment by results' scheme.
e) Published manuals of Health Education and Physical Education.

Looking at these proposals, all but (d) are relevant today, and in fact all were eventually taken on board by administrative action or financial aid, although in some cases it took almost 50 years!

Roth was to be bitterly disappointed. The Committee were not looking for new initiatives in Education. There was no free education. The 1870 Act was to 'fill the gaps' for as yet:

"...... only two-fifths of the children of the working classes between the ages of six and ten years, are on the registers of Government Schools and only one third of those between the ages of ten and twelve......".

However there was also opposition to attempts to stimulate public concern for the ignorance, health and lack

(1) Roth M.D. op. cit. (1871)
(2) Hansard 17.2.1870 Vol.199, Col.44L
(3) McClure P.C. Educational Documents p.99
of opportunities for the children of the poor. Many felt that they should be aided by charitable agencies and by the Poor Law authorities, and this attitude is re-inforced by Sir John Gorst:

".... It is better to leave children to perish rather than to interfere with the moral dignity and independence of the parent...." (1)

But teachers, medical officers and social reformers all had high hopes in the new legislation. The Church of England, as providers, may not have been so sympathetic as is revealed in the autobiography of Flora Thompson:

"...God had placed them just where they were in the social order and given them their own special work to do; to envy others or to try to change their own lot in life was a sin of which he (the vicar) hoped they would never be guilty." (2)

The Education Act 1870

In order to provide more school accommodation, the 1870 Bill divided the country into 'school districts', usually municipal boroughs or civil parishes. London was a separate school district.

The Education Department was given power to investigate available places and to determine how many more were required. The voluntary denominational schools were given until the end of 1870 for building, enlarging and improving their schools, with the help of Parliamentary grants. No help

(1) Gorst Sir J. The Children of the Nation p. 52
(2) Thompson F. Lark Rise to Candelford p. 179
was to be given from local rates. If the 'gaps' could not be filled in this way, a School Board was set up elected by the ratepayers. Women were eligible for membership of the School Boards, even though they had no Parliamentary vote as yet. One of the earliest members of the Bradford School Board was Margaret McMillan, a pioneer of Nursery Education, who was very concerned about the health of all school children. The purpose of the Boards was to establish and finance public Elementary Schools from the rates, aided by Government grants and school fees, and to cater for children from five to twelve years of age.

Physical Education was not mentioned in the initial proposals, but when the Revised Code of regulations appeared, following the passing of the Act, it stated that:—

"........attendance at drill under a competent instructor for not more than two hours per week and twenty weeks in the year may be counted as school attendance........" (1)

i.e. for the purposes of financial grant. However this was specifically for boys, for although girls were being trained in drill in some areas, this was not yet 'recognised' nationally. Physical Education, therefore, was not valued by the Government for any improvement in child health, and the Model School, Bede College illustrates the national trend, and also the slowness of implementation compared with present-day legislation.

(1) McIntosh P.C. op.cit. p.108-9
Half an hour's drill per week was acceptable for grant purposes from 1871, but no mention of drill appears in the Model log books until 1887.

Although physical education through sports and games gained great approval in Public Schools during this period, physical education in Elementary Schools was not considered a priority, and a wedge dividing 'officers' from 'ranks' was legislated. Throughout the history of physical education this has been most difficult to eradicate.

It is also interesting to note that the legislation (such as it was) was permissive. No school was obliged to provide physical education (in comparison, the ethos of the Public Schools depended on superiority in sports or games). When financial restraints were tight, schools had to concentrate on the provision of the major grant-earning subjects. Also in this legislation physical education was for boys only, so the gender issue came to the fore-front and provoked a reaction leading to the growth of Physical Education for girls.

However, the physical education which was sanctioned, was military drill exercises taken from the War Officers' Field Exercise Book and its sole purpose was disciplinary, with a drill sergeant shouting 'Attention', 'Stand at ease', 'Stand Easy', 'Fall in', 'Fall out', 'Dress in line', 'Eyes right', 'Eyes left', 'Eyes front', 'Left turn', 'Right turn', 'About turn', 'Slow march', 'Quick march', 'Double march', 'Halt'.

(1) Groves L. The Model School, Bede College 1881-1933 p.40
'Right wheel', 'Left wheel', and such military commands as are still used on the parade ground today. The Army Handbook was to act as a manual for teachers into the early years of the 20th century, but in 1875, William Jolly H.M.I. was already complaining that:—

"......systematic physical education has been altogether ignored, until quite recently in our schools......"(1)

Physical Education for Girls

By 1872 the London School Board recommended to the Education Department that provision should be made for girls, only to be told that systematic military drill was unsuitable for girls. However by 1873, several girls' schools were already participating, and by 1876 the Board recommended that:—

".................Physical Education should be given in every girls' department and that girls should be inspected as well as the boys........."(2)

In other parts of England individual schools had introduced military drill with both boys and girls taking part.

Even as far back as the Taunton Commission in 1868, there had been pioneers in girls' public schools wanting physical education for girls to parallel the boys. Yet the

(1) Kekewich Sir G. The Education Department and after p. 307
(2) Minutes of the London School Board August 2nd. 1876
rough sports of the boys' public schools were considered unsuitable for girls. Two famous headteachers, Miss Frances Mary Buss, Head Mistress of the North London Collegiate School and Miss Dorothea Beale, Head Mistress of Cheltenham Ladies' College, each gave evidence to the Commissioners, although this was a plea for older girls.

Miss Buss made Callisthenics compulsory four times a week, and the younger girls were encouraged to take exercise in the playground. Miss Beale was far from satisfied with Physical Education in her school, wanting more exercises for girls.

However it was during the last years of the century that the great development of Physical Education took place in girls' schools, when new foundations joined the Girls' Public School Trust, and like many of the new boys' schools earlier in the century, showed the way forward for reforms. Roedean, founded in 1885, had two hours exercise in winter and three hours in summer per day. The school encouraged running, swimming, gymnastics, fencing, dancing, hockey, tennis and cricket, and the Head Mistress was convinced that the moral value of games for which the boys' schools were famous, must have a similar effect in girls' schools through character training.

Girls' Physical Education, therefore, in both Public and Elementary Schools took a great step forward during this period.
Pressures on Parliament

Mathias Roth continued to promote his own conception of the aims of Physical Education, recommending the Government to give grants for its teaching, and making physical training and hygiene necessary elements in the professional training of teachers.

Questions were asked in Parliament. There was a strong lobby for the introduction of Physical Education into Elementary Schools throughout the country. One member, Mr. Butler-Johnstone, saw a distinct parallel in Disraeli's 'Two Nations' theory in the forms of Physical Education, or lack of it, meted out to its children. Where there was affluence, there was athleticism and good physical development - where there was poverty, misery, wretchedness, there was disease, deformity and lack of opportunity for Physical Education. But the Education Department and Parliament could not see, and did not want to see its failings.

Political factors were very important in recasting the system. School Boards (because they 'filled the gaps') were often in urban areas and supported by Liberals, socialist and non-conformist groups. There was no Labour party as yet. (The Independent Labour Party was founded in Bradford in 1893). The Conservatives mainly supported the voluntary schools which were of long standing, and usually in rural areas. Some of the larger School Boards became very powerful. The London
and Birmingham School Boards led the way forward politically and financially. They were able to offer higher salaries, and could get the best teachers, and were also able to afford the best equipment.

The work of the London School Board

The London School Board took the initiative in Physical Education. Mrs. Westlake, a member of the London School Board was a friend of Matthias Roth, and on her recommendation in 1876, Miss Concordia Lofving of Sweden was appointed 'Lady Superintendent of Physical Education' (1). The London School Board was determined to promote Physical Education in its schools, and for many years following the 1870 Act recommendations appeared in their minutes. Their concept was still narrow, and in spite of Miss Lofving, was largely military drill, with a Drill Master who issued Drill Certificates to teachers who proved competent. Yet two forms of provision had evolved. Most of the military drill was for boys, although this was taught to some girls, whilst Miss Lofving's courses were supported by lady teachers and usually taught to girls.

The Board of Education held an annual competition in military drill and a banner was awarded by the Royal Society of Arts to the winners. However, support for military drill gradually faded as Swedish drill began to gain in

(1) Minutes of the London School Board August 8th 1876
popularity, but it was a long haul. Opposition from some Board members and from Peace Associations, St Pancras Working Men's Club, and other social institutions fell on deaf ears. Obviously those teachers with drill certificates were considered very suitable for work with children.

Nevertheless, in 1877, the London School Board agreed to equip eighteen playgrounds with gymnastic equipment - even though Miss Lofving's appointment was only initially for six months. Her work was greatly valued in the schools, but the London School Board continued to oppose a permanent appointment, though many female teachers flocked to her courses. When she resigned in 1881, she was replaced by Miss Martina Bergman. Although it was gradually becoming obvious that the Swedish system had a great deal to recommend it for both boys and girls, the Board would only allow boys to take the course if it did not interfere with Military Drill. Outside the schools there were individuals who were very much in favour of Swedish gymnastics, and in 1884, a Swedish army officer, Captain Haasum was appointed (paid for by Lord Brabazon) to instruct the boys, and to work in parallel with Miss Bergman. However it was with the girls that the system made greatest progress. Miss Bergman (who later became Mrs. Osterberg) set up her own training college for teachers at Hampstead in 1885 whilst still working for the London School Board. Hundreds of teachers in public and elementary schools passed through her courses, with benefits to thousands of pupils, and when she parted company with the
London School Board, (who were still unwilling to accept her professional standards or the level of her fees) in 1888, the Swedish system was firmly established for girls.

1888 also proved a turning point for physical education for boys, for on the death of the Regimental Drill Major Sheffield, two appointments were made by the London School Board. Dr. Allan Broman, a Swede, became Organising Master of Physical Education - on a two-year contract - and Thomas Chesterton became Superintendent of Physical Exercises with the task of promoting the 'English System'. When Dr. Broman departed in 1890, his post was abolished because, according to Chesterton, more teachers had chosen the English System which was drawn from various continental systems and combined with drill. He published a manual, but no table of exercises, because he feared that the physical training lessons might be repeated day after day and the children would become bored. Was he conscious of some shortcomings in his system?....

However neither 'system' made much contribution to the systematic development of children's physical education, although from the descriptions of annual displays and exhibitions each organiser had made great claims for success. This is borne out in a report on the London Schools:-

".....It is to be feared that many teachers carry out this part of their duties in a rather unsympathetic spirit. Some, especially teachers of the old school, begrudge the time taken from ordinary studies; others feel the hopelessness of accomplishing anything useful in the way of physical
development in the very short time at their disposal: others again are obsessed by the display idea and waste time on trivial matters......which would be much better spent in getting a little vigorous work out of the children....."(1)

During the 1870s and 1880s, most of the larger school boards e.g. Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Bristol appointed supervisory instructors, often from the army, who were therefore inclined to military drill, although Swedish drill was introduced in Leeds in 1883.

The London School Board also promoted swimming, and 3 out of 25 public swimming baths offered special terms for children, when the Board could not afford to build its own pools or pay for tuition. After 1890 when grants became available, 2 baths were built. By also using the Borough Councils' pools, 50,000 children were taught swimming during the summer months and about 14,000-15,000 children learned to swim each year. Championships were arranged and Proficiency Certificates were awarded by the London Schools' Swimming Association.(2)

Further legislation for Physical Education

In 1886, the Cross Commission was set up to review the state of Elementary Education since 1870. Madame Bergman was one of the people to give evidence. She spoke out:-

".....against.....elaborate apparatus for gymnastics....."(and

(1)Philpott H.B. London at School p.119
(2)Ibid. p.122ff.
was)...looking to the training college for a 'safe and scientific system of physical training..."(1)

The Commission reported in 1888 and was impressed by the enthusiasm for physical training from teachers and military authorities. The Commissioners therefore recommended that:

"...the system already put into operation by the War Office, the Birmingham School Board and the London School Board through Miss Osterberg, might be more widely adopted."(2)

In 1890, the Education Department, realising that both systems were in operation:

"...recognised physical exercises as well as drill..(3)

and the Code of 1894 went further, stating that the rate of grant for Discipline and Organisation would not be paid unless provision were made for:

"...Swedish or other drill, or suitable exercises."(4)

Grants under this heading were allowed at 1s. or 1s. 6d. per pupil according to the Inspector's Report.

In 1895, Physical Education became eligible for grant as a subject of instruction.

(2) Final Report on the Cross Commission (1888) P.145
(3) Annual Report of Education Department (1889-1900) p.40
(4) Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Vol. II (1898) p.40
'Payment by Results', as set up by Robert Lowe, was still in operation so how could the results of Physical Education be measured in comparison with subjects like the 3Rs? The Education Department deftly fielded this issue by making the statement that:

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

This gave a great deal of scope to schools, because Swedish drill and physical exercises were free-standing, and no equipment or apparatus was required.

The importance of the playground and adequate space for games and sports

Early reference has been made to legislation advising on the provision of playgrounds and halls of certain dimensions to be used as gymasia. Such legislation was published by the Education Department in 'Rules to be Observed in Planning and Fitting up Schools' and was issued periodically in 1871, 1885, 1889 and 1899. However, by the end of the century, the emphasis was still on discipline, and grants were given as an inducement to maintain this, revealing that the official attitude to the subject was

(1) Board of Education Rules... 1902
that Physical Education was primarily for disciplinary purposes. Although Physical Educationalists would have liked to introduce games and sport into Elementary Schools, there were difficulties which were almost insurmountable. In all the large cities of England at the time, there were huge areas of squalid housing, with illiteracy, disease and high mortality. Where children attended school, classes were large, and drill was used as a means of mass instruction and control. Schools situated within high density building areas had no facilities for expansion of playgrounds, let alone playing fields. The voluntary schools were particularly handicapped, because they were founded earlier than the Board Schools, and had missed out on advice on the suitability of sites and had not received financial support for playgrounds or fields. With reference to the Blue Coat School in Durham, the site, (now redeveloped) was always short of playground space, and never had a playing field until it moved to its new site at Newton Hall in 1950s. A similar situation pertained at St. Margaret's School, Durham, where children did not enjoy the luxury (necessity!) of a playing field until they were re-sited in 1973! At St. Hild's Demonstration School the lack of a playing field restricted the provision of games to netball on the school yard. In a girls' school this did not seem so acute, as the pupils were also allowed to use the facilities of the adjacent teacher-training college, but the playground, now a parking lot for the Durham University School of Education was on three
different levels! This school, now mixed, has also been re-sited in recent years, on the edge of the city, where there was land for a playing field. One hundred years ago there seemed no possibility of bridging the gap between the privileged rich and the under-privileged poor, and judging by the time it has taken to redress the inequalities of provision, one becomes conscious of the very slow movement of bureaucracy. In country districts the playground was usually the village green, although in her autobiography Flora Thompson describes the playground of her village school in Juniper Hill, Oxfordshire, as:

"...a playground with birch trees and turf, bald in places, the whole being enclosed within pointed, white-painted railings..." (1)

However not all children were so fortunate, although the inventiveness of children could often surmount the most appalling conditions.

**Other reforms**

Reforming Societies such as the Fabian Society, and the political parties, all voiced their concerns about poverty, ill-health and social inequalities. Their platform included the provision of school meals (an attempt had been made at Rousden in Devon as early as 1876), whilst the London School Board were providing clothes, boots, shoes and free or cheap

(1) Thompson F. *op. cit.* p.176-7
meals to the most destitute. A survey in 1889 revealed that 44,000 out of 341,000 children in the Board's School were short of food i.e. 12.8% (1) and 11,000 in voluntary schools.

Charles Booth when describing the poverty of the masses says:

"... pimpy, pale-faced, scantily clad and badly shod, these small and feeble folk may be found sitting limp and chill on the school benches in all the poorer parts of London. They swell the bills of mortality as want and sickness thin them off, or survive to be the needy and enfeebled adults whose burden of helplessness the next generation will have to bear...." (1)

A London School Dinners Association was formed, and opened 145 feeding centres. Similar groups were operating in Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Manchester, but all stated that voluntary provision was not enough. However, any policy to make financial provision from the rates was not acceptable, as it was feared it would lead to increased degradation and demoralisation of the parents of the neglected children.

Margaret McMillan, as a Socialist member of the Bradford School Board pointed out that a national system of Physical Education would be useless unless malnutrition and disease were remedied first. The first school clinic was set up in Bradford Town Hall in 1894 under Dr. Kerr, the Medical officer for the Bradford School Board, who was one of the pioneers of

(1) Booth C. Poverty p. 207
health in schools. School baths were also established in 1897.

Games in the curriculum

In 1896, the Inspectorate made recommendations for the inclusion of games in the curriculum, and medical examinations for school children were suggested as a means of picking up early disease and deformities. It was only the enthusiasm of individual teachers and social reformers at local levels, which sparked off the provision of games for school children, by arranging friendly matches with colleagues in parks and sports fields out of school hours.

In 1885, the South London Schools' Football Association was set up which was the forerunner of the Elementary Schools' Football Association, and it was claimed:

"... has done more for the real physical well-being of the boys of this country, than all the drill and callisthenic exercises yet introduced...." (1)

By the end of the century there were similar groups in Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Huddersfield, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham and Sunderland who were arranging inter-school competitions in football, cricket, athletics and swimming.

End-of-term athletic sports were held every year from 1895 onwards for the pupils of the Model School, Bede College, Durham. The Headmaster also congratulated himself on

(1) Special Reports II pp. 160-161
using the following tactic to keep the boys in school. Later he noted:

".....We usually choose our football team for the match the following day. I believe the interest in Football is a valuable means of bringing our laggards to school."......(1)

Physical Education had its uses!!

In its Annual Report 1897-8, the Education Department praised the efforts of teachers who:

".....secure for the scholars in elementary schools some of the advantages of that side of school discipline and comradeship which has become a feature of higher grades of English education."...... (2)

but there was still no recommendation of a grant for games or any encouragement for school boards to provide facilities. In 1899, when the Education Department became the Board of Education, games did receive recognition as a suitable alternative to Swedish drill, but it is interesting to note that games were to be supervised by a member of staff:

".....who should teach the most skilful method of play and should encourage orderly behaviour and stop quarrelling." (3)

Of course there was a shortage of teachers with the relevant games skills, but many with the ability to effect discipline, so it is interesting to speculate which predominated.

(1) Groves L. op. cit. p. 41
(2) Report of the Board of Education 1897-1898
(3) Report of the Board of Education 1899-1900 p. 633
The training of Physical Education teachers

The issue of the training of teachers for Physical Education began to assume importance towards the end of the century.

In the early years of the monitorial schools, the 'training' was such that information was poured into senior monitors who became proficient purveyors of information. The method was to learn the content of the teaching material, pass it on to the children, and then to test them. The teachers themselves were tested on their knowledge. In this 'structure', Physical Education had no place, although with many conscientious and interested teachers, gymnastics and drill were used for recreational purposes.

For several decades this system continued, but it soon became imperative that trained teachers were needed. The British and Foreign Schools Society had established a college in Borough Road, London, but tended to perpetuate the monitorial methods of its founder. A scheme under Kay Shuttleworth was finally established in the Battersea College in 1840 and included gymnastics in its curriculum. It became a model for other foundations, including St. Mark's Chelsea (1841) and Whitelands, its sister college for women students.:

".............By 1845 there were no less than twenty two church training colleges in England and Wales. For nearly fifty years to come, the training of elementary-school teachers was carried out entirely in residential colleges"
run by voluntary societies, on the lines laid down by Kay at Battersea, and subsidised by the State.....(1)

In 1843 Battersea College was transferred to the National Society who along with the British and Foreign Schools Society, the Congregational Board of Education and the Roman Catholic Poor School Committee were the providing bodies.

As salaries for teachers were so low potential teachers with high academic attainment were few, so the emphasis was on training as a) pupil teachers and b) assistant teachers. Among the subjects taught to these trainees was:

"... gymnastics, according to the most approved methods...(2)

However, this early system was not entirely successful as the training did not meet the demands on teachers in city schools where concentrations of professional and mercantile families wanted rudimentary Latin and Greek for their children (especially boys) for entry into the public schools, and graduate teachers to teach them. At the Model School, Bede College, Durham (opened in 1858):-

"..... a succession of graduate masters........offered a consistently higher standard of education than most other schools in the city....."(3)

As the century progressed, and more children came into

(1) Barnard H.C.A History of English Education p.102
(2) Birchenough C.op.cita p.430 from Kay Shuttleworth 'Four periods of Public Education' pp.293-431
(3) Batkinson C.D.Bow School, Durham 1885-1985 A Centenary Record p.6
schools, demand for trained teachers outstripped supply, and the brightest scholars became 'apprenticed' as pupil teachers, prior to entering College as Queen's Scholars. Most of the energies of this period were concentrated on the quality and quantity of general teacher training. The curriculum was limited to written subjects:—

"......College authorities made practically no provision for physical exercise or games......"(1)

—or even for student physical recreation!

McLaren and Roth both tried to institute some form of teacher training. Only however, when Physical Education became recognised as a subject for instruction for grant in 1895 did most teachers seek some formal training in the subject.

Meanwhile in Girls' Public Schools where Physical Education had been established there grew a need for competency to teach gymnastics. Several schools had even appointed teachers trained in the Central Gymnastics Institute in Stockholm emphasising the need for reliable teacher-training in Physical Education in England.

Madame Osterberg, who had begun training of teachers under the London School Board, opened her own College at Dartford in Kent, and thus indicated a career for middle class girls as teachers of physical education and games — usually in girls' public schools.

When the Cross Commission reported in 1888 it only named two colleges where teachers in training had any course in physical training. These were Edge Hill, Liverpool, and Whitelands, London. Students of the former attended the Liverpool gymnasium once a week for instruction in simple gymnastics from the Director, whilst Madam Osterberg had introduced Ling's gymnastics at Whitelands. Unfortunately, Physical Education in Elementary Schools could not shake off its disciplinary role, and this was further enhanced when the physical conditions of recruits for the Boer War (1899-1902) became apparent. Government action was now to be stimulated by military needs, rather than by educational priorities.

**Public Schools**

Mention must be made about the restructuring of the public school system during the period, which impinges on this study. During the early part of the 19th century, young boys of 8 or 9 years of age were boarded out in families in towns where public schools were situated and attended school for lessons and games. (In 1840 nearly two thirds of boys admitted to Durham School were under the age of 12.) So up to this time, when discussing Physical Education in Public Schools, one could assume that children under the age of 12 years were included. Boarding School facilities were available at 13 or 14, and Public School masters, who felt more at home with the younger boys, established Preparatory
Schools as separate units. In 1855, the Reverend Julius Conran Lowe, a Minor Canon of Durham Cathedral, opened the 'Durham Elementary School Preparatory to the Grammar and Public Schools'. Later, in 1859, it was known as Durham Classical School, and took boys between the ages of 6 and 12, concentrating on the classical languages required for admission to the public schools.

In 1892, a group of masters from Preparatory Schools all over the country met in London to discuss the correct size of a cricket ball and length of pitch for small boys, and formed the Independent Association of Preparatory Schools. They continued to meet regularly and their schools became subject to inspection by H.M. Inspectors. Like the public schools, their main aim was the building of character through three things, religion, the classics and team spirit. The latter was developed through cricket and football, where a boy learned:

"..........to take hard knocks and to think of others rather than himself.........." (1)

Bow School, Durham (founded in 1885) was in the vanguard of provision for Physical Education. Not only were cricket and rugby part of the curriculum but in the basement of their new premises, occupied in 1889, was a gymnasium and a swimming bath.:

(1) Allen E.H. & Dealtry L.P. The Preparatory Schoolboy and His Education p.2
....A survey of 108 English preparatory schools in 1900 revealed that only 10 had their own baths...."(1)

The pool was unheated and bearded over during the winter, but from the outset the school had its own grading of proficiency from, Testers, Backers, Rounders, Strokers, Lengthers, Tiers, and Howlers, the most skilled being the Testers. In 1938, however, the pool was filled in when it failed to meet the regulations of the City Health Inspector.(2)

The training of teachers for Independent Education and the welfare of the staffs were discussed as early as 1895, although there was no separate procedure set up. However, when considering children under the age of 12 in Public Schools in the 20th century references in this study will be made to concerns in Preparatory Schools or Preparatory Departments of the Public Schools.

Summary of the first period of legislation

In summarizing the developments in Physical Education in the period 1870-1902 the gender issue had begun to be addressed. It was now considered that girls needed physical education as much as boys, although there were still sexist attitudes to various sports, and unequal opportunities in provision between the Public and Elementary Schools, and between boys and girls. Reformers looked forward to the

(1)Watkinson C.D. op.cit. p.16
(2)Ibid. p.17
"........ all the best parts of the physical education of the great public schools will be available to every young Britisher. .."(1)

Physical Education had reached Parliamentary prominence and emerged with approval, but as always there was never enough money, and the subject was peripheral to the great rivalry between Church and State for control, although there was:—

"........ a unique relationship between the two........"(2)

Inroads were beginning to be made into staffing for Physical Education with the beginnings of new career structures, but the diversity of the quality leaned heavily in favour of the Public Schools. Many of the Elementary schools still relied on the voluntary goodwill of their teachers.

The importance of the content of the curriculum was recognised, but it was locked into the system by social prejudices, so that opportunities in the Public and Elementary Schools were still poles apart:—

"........ while the children of the rich play too much, the children of the poor do not play at all. They do not know how to play; they have no place to play if they did...."(3)

(1) Martin J.W. State Education at Home and Abroad Fabian Tract no. 52(1894) p.13
(2) Gordon P. Aldrich & Dean D. Education and Policy in England in the Twentieth Century p.9
(3) Gerst Sir John op.cit p.212
For those unfortunate enough not to be able to partake in either form of education, there were the beginnings of provision for Blind and Deaf children (1893), and institutions for mentally defectives in some of the large towns, but the focus for these children was on their disability and not on a curriculum suitable for them.

Provision and practice varied between the 'haves' and the 'have nots.'
CHAPTER 3

The issue of the health of the Nation's children in the
development of Physical Education in schools.

The 20th century began with England at war in South
Africa (Boer War 1899-1902). An alien climate, a far-off battle
field, and poor physique, meant that many troops were
physically under par, if and when they arrived at the battle
fronts. Thousands were rejected at initial medicals. In
Manchester out of 10,000 volunteers:

"....3,000 were rejected outright and only 1,200 were
accepted as fit in all respects."(1)

Also there was a distinct difference between the fitness of
the officers, usually from the Public Schools, and the ranks,
who had been to Elementary Schools. War focussed public
opinion on the fitness of the Nation's youth.

However there had been a growing movement away from
military drill in the schools in the 1890s, and largely
through the efforts of women teachers and lecturers, the
Swedish system was becoming universally popular and
increasingly desirable. The military drill, still taught in
most Elementary Schools, had not delivered the fitness for
the troops, but it had delivered control and discipline. So
the initial issue of the 20th century in Physical Education
was a move towards physical fitness and healthy children.

(1)Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical
Deterioration pp.13-14 & App.I
Legislation in the 1902 Act for Elementary Education affecting Physical Training

In 1899 the Education Department had become the Board of Education. Yet the value placed on education at this time can be illustrated by the fact that the Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was also responsible for the importation and movement of cattle throughout the country. It can only be left to the imagination as to which half of his job he would consider the priority! There was obviously a need for a massive overhaul of the existing system, in line with other social issues:

"The early twentieth-century reorganization of education was profoundly affected by considerations of the scale and complexity of social institutions and problems. Changes in social attitudes and the clash of political ideals were to be highlighted most clearly in relation to questions of welfare." (1)

During the last decade of the 19th century, the Bryce Commission (1895) had given evidence showing that education administered by School Boards (some very small, and some almost unmanageable) was no longer satisfactory, whilst the provision of secondary education was inadequate and unequally distributed. By 1902, 70% of children, especially those in large towns, were being educated in Board Schools, and the annual expenditure was now £8 million. Money was obtained by direct taxation:

(1) Lawson J. & Silver R. A Social History of Education in England p. 366
"......the wealth of the State must educate the children of the State....."(1).

After the Education Act of 1902, the new Board of Education's first aim was to unify into one Department the functions of the Education Department of the Privy Council, the Department of Science and Art, and the educational functions of the Charity Commissioners, for:-

"......The elementary system had produced what seemed to some people anomalous pseudo-secondary features in its higher grade schools......"(2)

and these needed to be administered separately.

Under the direction of (Sir) Michael Sadler, assisted by Robert Morant, School Boards were abolished and replaced by Local Education Authorities (L.E.A.s), who were County and County Borough Councils (established in 1888), and certain Part III authorities, responsible only for Elementary Education. Durham City was a Part III authority within the Durham Local Education Authority. This reorganisation brought Education into the main stream of public finance, but the 'dual' system was retained, and the financing of voluntary schools was a problem with wide repercussions, not least for the provision of physical education as voluntary schools had to make provision for extensions to premises themselves, when they needed gymnasiums and playing fields:-

"......This extension of civil influence in education was

(1) Cubberley E.P. The History of Education p. 645
bitterly opposed by the established church...."(1)

It was the solution to the problem of the voluntary schools that provoked the most fierce and lasting resistance, inside and outside Parliament. Labour opposition was intense, although Sidney Webb (Fabian Society) (2) advocated the demise of School Boards in favour of L.E.A.s whilst preserving the variety of church schools. The Non-conformists and Liberals fought the measure. Kekevich who preceded Morant at the Board of Education said:

"..........I pointed out that Non-conformists would naturally object to being compelled to pay for teaching the Anglican creed........"(3)

and during the debate one member of Parliament said:

"If you could eliminate the religious difficulty, your Education Bill would pass the Second Reading in a single night and the Committee stage would not take a week...."(4)

From 1870, there were both Board Schools and Charity Schools for young children. With the new financial arrangements L.E.A. schools were provided i.e. financial backing was given for buildings, resources, staffing etc., but in the non-provided, denominational schools, the cost of capital expenditure on buildings as well as of structural repairs and alterations became the responsibility of the providing religious bodies, who felt they merited

(1) Graves F.P. A History of Education in Modern Times p. 307
(2) Webb S. The Education Muddle and the Way Out (1901)
(3) Kekevich Sir G. op. cit., p. 228
(4) Lowndes G. A. N. op. cit. p. 82
assistance:

"...as a due recognition of the magnificent work they have done, not for a quarter of a century, but for many centuries, in training up the people in godliness and honesty..."(1)

but A. J. Mundella, the former Vice-President of Council felt that the new Act eliminated democracy:

"...by destroying the directly elected School Boards and substituting nominated committees..."(2)

He maintained that the School Boards are:

"...the most democratic education authorities we possess."(3)

This new organisation of administration dealt a body blow to physical education and games in non-provided schools, for they often found it difficult to finance the daily running of their schools, and strongly opposed measures for the compulsory improvement of buildings and playgrounds. In 1912 for example, in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Playgrounds, legislation was recommended for playground space of 15 square feet per child, which the church schools could not meet, and this was strongly opposed by the the Church Schools Emergency League(4) because they feared closure. So although the new organisation appeared to strengthen finance for education, there were serious issues in some sectors. However the most far-reaching effect of the

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(1) Reynolds B. 'Church Schools and Religious Education' in Magnus, (ed.) National Education pp. 50-51
(2) Mundella A. J. Democracy and Education p. 12
(3) Ibid. p. 14
(4) Mum Rev. Canon, Church Schools Emergency League Leaflet, CKVIII 1913, p. 13
1902 Act was its influence on the structure of Elementary Schools, for it:-

"... helped to contain, to repel, and in some respects destroy the upward striving of the elementary schools..." (1)

especially when the more able pupils went on to Higher Elementary or Secondary Schools.

The value of Physical Education for healthy bodies and minds

Robert Morant became Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education in 1904. He had supported the 1902 Act saying that what was required was:-

"... a really expert Central Authority for the whole of our National Education, a localised "guidance of brains", which will watch, consider and advise upon all our national arrangements of all grades, of every type, as one whole..." (2)

As an ex-public school boy (Winchester) he was convinced of the value of physical education for healthy bodies and minds. In the preface to the New Codes of Regulations for Elementary Schools he said:-

"... The School must offer them (the children) every opportunity for the development of their bodies, not only by training them in appropriate physical exercises and encouraging them in organised games, but also by instructing them in the working of some of the simpler laws of health... The corporate life of the school, especially in the playground, should develop that instinct for fair play and

(2) Allen B.H. Sir Robert Morant p.125-6
for loyalty to one another which is the germ of a wider sense of honour in later life"(1)... 

He was so eager to implement the social welfare aspects of education contained in parliamentary legislation and recommended by commissions, that he assisted Margaret McMillan in establishing nursery schools:—

"...The broad requirements of a healthy life are comparatively few and elementary, but they are essential, and should not be regarded as applicable only to the case of the rich..."(2)

It is significant that although Morant was inspired, even pressured, by the need for healthy bodies of school children, he wanted to infuse his public school ethos of fair play and group loyalty to children in elementary schools, who were still within the strangle-hold of military drill. The Board of Education had envisaged the development of games but had not included them in the Code of Regulations.

However the focus was on welfare rather than physical training and to that end, regulations covering school meals, the employment of children, and continuation classes aimed at making improvements in educational welfare. Perhaps Morant's greatest achievement was in the creation of a special medical department at the Board (School Medical Service) with George Newman as the first medical officer. He selected his medical staff and physical training inspectors, (women as

(2) Circular 576
well as men) and arranged everything with personal care, based on growing concern for the personal health of the population at large, and aiming to eliminate malnutrition, dirt, disease, and physical defects, by taking responsibility for the vigorous sponsorship of therapeutic physical training.

In order to effect its policies the Board set up advisory bodies and inter-departmental committees whilst:

"...Educational policy-making within the Board of Education was tempered, and in many cases influenced, by the advice and findings of Consultative Committees...

These had two functions: a) to advise the Board on any matters referred to it and b) to frame regulations for a teachers' register, (the latter was dropped after 1907).

**A universal course in Physical Education**

In 1902 the Board of Education, after consultation with the War office, issued a 'Model Course for Physical Training' which was based entirely upon the drill and exercises of army recruits advising that:

"...All movements in free gymnastics must be performed by word of command. The squad will be formed in two ranks and numbered from right to left..." (2)

There was no attempt to make the course suitable for

(1) Gordon P., Aldrich R., & Dean D., Education and Policy in the twentieth century p.31
(2) Board of Education, Model Course of Physical Training for use in the Upper Departments of Public Elementary Schools (1902) p.52
young children and some of the movements were physiologically unsound. However it was cheap!!

The authors of the 'Model Course' considered the physical defects of children in schools had been grossly exaggerated by the social reformers and estimated that only 1% were delicate or weak but claimed that:

".....for many weakly children, regular physical training is highly desirable.....(1)

The 'Model Course', however, was condemned by progressive thinkers, by the N.U.T., and by the advocates of Ling's Swedish Gymnastics who as students of Madame Osterberg had formed an old students' association in 1897 called the Ling Association which aimed to protect and improve the status of teachers. All made strong objections to the Board of Education and lobbied their M.P.s. As a result, an Inter-Departmental Committee was set up under General Sir Frederick Maurice:-

".....to render a Model Course, or Courses, adaptable for the different ages and sexes of the children in public elementary schools.....(2)

As well as the low fitness rates in the army, the general level of efficiency of factory workers compared with the 'German model' was also attributed to poor physique, whilst reference was made by Maurice to contemporary

(1)Board of Education op. cit. p. 73
(2)Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Model Course of Physical Exercises (1904) (Code 2032) p. 3
research into poverty and malnutrition by Booth and Rowntree. (1) This committee also made use of the enquiry of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland) set up in 1902, and was able to make suggestions for physical training which would be conducive to the welfare of the pupils. In fact, the Scottish Commission had great influence on the development of physical education in Britain, for it revealed physical training as inadequate in quantity and quality. This was usually limited to ¼ hr. per week, teaching was unsystematic, and teachers were not trained. There was a chronic lack of facilities in schools and teacher training colleges, and military drill was only good for discipline. The Commission called for 'a new conception of education', but was convinced of the necessity of a National System (2). The Committee therefore stated that the scheme should be rejected because it was not based upon:

"....physical exercise as a necessary element in a well-ordered course of general education for children...." (3)

They drew up a 'syllabus' suitable for children, and encouraged teachers to choose from the material presented, mentioning the need for indoor working space and games facilities.

The Syllabus (1904) included a selection of exercises

/ advice in the construction of progressive programmes of

(2) Report (1902) intro.
(3) Ibid., p. 5
work and recommended medical examination of children in all doubtful cases. The programme was still based on a military system of grading and selection of exercises (1), but there were 10 groups of exercises:—

1) play, running or marching
2) preliminary positions and movements
3) arm flexions and extensions
4) balance exercises
5) shoulder exercises/lunges
6) trunk forward and back bending
7) trunk turning and sideways bending
8) marching
9) jumping
10) breathing exercise

The syllabus was, in effect, a compromise in its retention of military organisation, but the exercises were based on the Swedish system and it became the official basis of Physical training in schools from 1904 to 1909.

Schools were encouraged to appoint army instructors, and Colonel Fox became the first Inspector of Physical Training. He introduced a system of military drill similar to that of McLaren (1861), to be taken by N.C.O. instructors who went from school to school. This type of drill instructor had contributed to the rejection of drill by the Public schools. As they were usually people of low intellectual status, their subject was rated low accordingly, so that drill could never supplant the games of the Public Schools. To put these people into schools alongside trained teachers in the Elementary Schools, gave the death knell to the credibility of Physical Education, or, at the very least, stifled progress. The N.C.O.s

(1) Circular 515
became firmly entrenched, as was Colonel Fox. They could not easily be dismissed or replaced. In fact, many remained in post until well into the 1920s. In 1904, the President of the Board of Education was Lord Londonderry, whose wife was extremely interested in Physical Education. She suggested that A.P. Graves, R.M.I., wrote an article on Physical Education for Contemporary Review (1). In it, he urged the introduction of games into the Elementary School Curriculum, and evidently succeeded in converting Augustine Birrell (Lord Londonderry's successor) to introducing an article into the New Code (1906). This was permissive, not compulsory, and provided for properly organised games under competent supervision and instruction:—

"...... From that date organised games of cricket, hockey, football for boys, and similar suitable games for girls were officially allowed in school hours...." (2)

Birrell claimed that games had played a great part in building up the physique, and moulding the character of children in Public Schools, and Grammar Schools modelled on Public Schools, and that even in Elementary Schools where there was provision for games outside school hours (as seen in the minutes of The Model School, Bede College and the Blue Coat School, Durham) there were the beginnings of corporate discipline and school loyalty.

The issue which now emerged was, that Physical Education

(1) Graves A.P. 'Physical Education in Primary Schools' in Contemporary Review 1904
(2) Code of Regulations 1906 p. 289
was to play a great part in the development of character and social living.

Social legislation which led to the demise of Military Drill and the growth of Swedish Drill

Military Drill continued to have its supporters who claimed that: -

"...without recourse being had to any suggestion of compulsory military service, the male adolescent population might undergo a species of training that would befit them to bear arms with very little supplementary discipline....."(1)

Teachers strongly resisted this, and the Swedish system began to gather momentum as being considered superior to English military drill. Other social factors such as inadequate housing, feeding, medical treatment, etc., were considered of equal importance to the improvement of physical fitness.

In 1902 Swedish drill had been introduced into the Navy under Commander W.C. Palmer and Lieutenant F.H. Grenfell to replace the physical activity needed on sailing ships. (The last sailing ship was withdrawn from the Navy in 1902.) When the latter left the Navy, he introduced Swedish Drill into Preparatory Schools. As the system in the Navy was different from the army, instruction was given by officers. If the Navy had had to assist in the Elementary schools, the outcome for physical education might have been quite different i.e.

(1) Report of Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904), Minute 2430
Swedish drill established earlier, and more trained teachers instead of M.C.0.s.

The general philosophy of the educationalists was:-

a) that physical education should be regarded as of equal importance with mental training,
b) that during school life physical training is quite as important for girls as for boys,
c) that systematic physical training is necessary for both country and town children.

Thus it would appear that the issues of gender, status, social position and curriculum were about to be addressed. From 1904 onwards, Swedish drill grew at the expense of military drill:-

"...In a country without military service the period of school life offers the State its only opportunity for taking stock of the whole population and securing to its profit the conditions most suitable to healthy development....."(1)

In 1906 a Liberal Government was returned, which passed the Education (Provision of Meals) Act based on a ½d. rate by Local Authorities, and in 1907 by the Education (Administrative Provision) Act the Medical Department of the Board of Education was established under Sir George Newman. It became the duty of the 328 local authorities to provide for the medical inspection of children. The active

(1) Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration p.66
development of Physical Training as an adjunct of the School Medical Service was based on the acceptance of the official Syllabus and the better training of teachers in training Colleges. In 1907, Colonel Fox, the first P.E. Inspector, was sent to Sweden - presumably for re-training, whilst in 1908, the first woman Inspector, Miss L.H. Rendell, who had trained at Chelsea College, was appointed.

The Physical Education Syllabus of 1909 and subsequent plans for teacher training

In 1909 three further inspectors were appointed, Lieutenant Commander F.H. Grenfell, Mr. Veysey and Miss Koetter and a new 'Syllabus of Physical Education' was issued.

This contained 71 tables of exercises based on the Swedish system, with some games and recreational activities. Although the Syllabus promoted the value of games in a scheme of physical education:

"......it did not add much weight to its statement when the only games it discussed were of the 'Cat and Mouse' and 'Leap Frog' variety...."(1)

It was more definitely Swedish in character and included:

"............. step marches, dancing and skipping steps, and gymnastic games to relieve the dullness, tedium and monotony of former lessons....(2)"

(1) Selleck R.J.W. The New Education p.159
(2) Report of Chief Medical Officer (1909) p.175
Nevertheless, over 100,000 copies were sold within a year of its publication. Although the purists objected to even minor departures, this now became the official policy of the Government for P.E.

Meanwhile in 1907, Physical Training became a compulsory subject for examination in the Teacher Training Colleges, which meant that there was a policy to get Physical Education teachers with the same educational background and qualifications as teachers of other subjects.

Objections to this rapid progress in Physical Education came from The British College of Physical Education founded in 1891, the Gymnastic Teachers Institute (1897), and the National Society for Physical Education (1897), who had all tried to promote a British System, as advocated by Chesterton, but this had not gained support. They tried to join up with the Ling Association in 1905 to gain formal recognition from the Board of Education, but could not meet the demands of the Ling Association in educational qualifications. Meanwhile the women's colleges and members of the Ling Association, insisting on high standards, were able to provide a basis of trained personnel for Dr. Newman and Commander Grenfell to fulfill the requirements of the new syllabus, but there was almost a complete absence of male teachers with any specialist training.

The Health Aspect

The supervision of physical training by the Medical
Department gave it the publicity to enable it to push forward, with reports on Physical Training appearing regularly in annual reports of 'The Health of the School Child'. The 1904 Syllabus:-

"....had proved to be dull, tedious and monotonous...." (1)

but the 1909 syllabus had dancing, skipping and gymnastic games included. It very much resembled a Handbook of the Ling Association (The Handbook of Free-Standing Exercises by Miss E.A. Roberts) but was a move in the right direction. Probably the chief criticism of the 1909 syllabus was the lack of promotion of organised games. In an appendix there is a comment on the value of games towards encouraging initiative and co-operation, and their educational effect on mind and character all contributing towards national performance in sports. There is no guidance to teachers on team games, nor is there any encouragement for organised games in Elementary Schools. In 1909 therefore, the real drive was for therapeutic exercises - health and fitness - and the fact that a scientific basis was given for the prescribed exercises, gave them even more credibility. However, many established teachers resented the move to make the syllabus more enjoyable.

Swedish drill in its own particular way, was as narrow and rigid as military drill. Indeed, it was said that:-

"......stress on the recreative side is always at the expense of due emphasis on the education effect of

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer (1909) p.174
There was a real fear that Physical Education and Recreation could be incompatible, and this idea unfortunately, inhibited the acceptance of physical education, other than as a therapeutic agency. For many years Dr. Newman's department cited instances where physical training raised a child's resistance to disease, and where postural defects had improved through remedial exercises.

The educational limitations of this system of Physical exercises were not remedied by the 1909 Syllabus, and Circular 779 (1911) and the Report (C.M.O.) of 1912 repeated the Board's advice for gymnastic games and dancing to relieve the tedium of work. In 1912 Physical Training officially became Physical Education and a new name suggested a new concept.

In 1911, the National League for Physical Education and Improvement had reported on the contrasting opportunities for games between State-aided and private schools. It appeared to the writer R.E. Roper, that it was not enough to provide facilities and specialised training for games in elementary school. What was needed was a new mental attitude. He claimed that the teacher of Physical Education:

"...must above all be an educational expert, able to conceive of the training of mind and body as a whole, possessing the wide general knowledge demanded of specialists in other school subjects; then, and then only,

(1) Journal of Scientific Physical Training Nov. 1909 Vol. II No. 1
will the children of the nation have a fair chance of a full education....."(1)

The provision of playgrounds and playing fields

Following the publication of this pamphlet a departmental Committee was set up to enquire into the playgrounds of Elementary Schools. Many Local Education Authorities and individual teachers had shown great initiative on behalf of their children, but there was still an appalling lack of playing space. In Birmingham, games were organised on summer evenings in the city's recreation areas run by six volunteer teachers. Other large towns had similar schemes and many had to rely not only on voluntary teachers, but also on voluntary subscriptions to cover expenses. Even then only a very small fraction of the numbers of children could be accommodated – facilities were appalling. The Reports of the H.M.I.s showed that 600 elementary schools had no playgrounds at all and in the 2,836 which had, most were quite inadequate for recreation.

The social contrast between the Preparatory Schools and the Elementary Schools was enormous, and temporary measures such as further co-operation between the Education Committees and the Parks Committees was recommended. Also legislation to ensure there were adequate playgrounds and playing fields in new schools and a fixed limit for existing schools to be brought up to standard, was passed. Mention has

(1) Journal of Scientific Physical Training 1912 Vol. IV No. 12 'Organised play at Home and Abroad'
been made earlier of the response from the voluntary schools who had not the financial backing to be able to carry this out, and who feared that closure might be their ultimate outcome.

Certainly there was general agreement that games should be taken out of doors although there were the disadvantages of lack of privacy, bad weather and unsuitable playground surfaces. Captain Grenfell had experimented with classes of various sizes and had recommended the following requirements:

1) 30 children: 58 ft. x 26 ft. = 1508 sq. ft. or 50 sq. ft. per child
2) 40 children: 66 ft. x 30 ft. = 1980 sq. ft. or 49 1/2 sq. ft. per child
3) 50 children: 75 ft. x 33 ft. = 2475 sq. ft. or 49 3/4 sq. ft. per child
4) 60 children: 80 ft. x 37 ft. = 2960 sq. ft. or 49 1/4 sq. ft. per child

Other recommendations included careful planning of the shape of playgrounds, separate playgrounds for Boys, Girls and Infants although the latter two could double-up if necessary. If the site was expensive a smaller playground could be used and roof playgrounds were acceptable providing they met all other criteria of safety.

Official support for games

Following the Report, the Board recommended that field games should supplement the physical training lessons. Although the Syllabus suggested 15 games, only the first

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer 1912 p.167.
four were found to be regularly used. These were 'Fill the gap', 'Cat and Mouse', 'Tues and Threes' and 'Fox and Geese', and they were repeated monotonously so that the children became bored. Newman offered three criteria to be observed in the teaching of games:

1) Games were to be coached by the teacher even if they were already well known to the class.
2) Care was to be taken in the choice of games so that they were appropriate to weather conditions, size of class, age and sex of children.
3) Games were to be interesting and pleasurable so that the children would continue to play them out of school hours.

Newman found that many teachers did not realise that children had to be taught their games and he found too much evidence of free play, where children lacked supervision and could see no aim or purpose in the games activity.

With the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, many of the recommendations were put 'on hold'. Nevertheless there was great concern among eminent people for the health and fitness of children, which in time of war superseded all other issues. As soon as hostilities started the remnant of supporters of Military Drill came to the fore, but by this time, the status and effects of a good physical education syllabus were irreversible.

Among the physical evidences of military drill were the over-developed biceps and the 'pouter-pigeon' chest due to excessive use of the dumb-bell. The latter had contributed to heavy mortality from pneumonia among the N.C.O.'s prior to

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer 1912 p.292
(2) Report of Chief Medical Officer 1916 p.128
the Boer War, and after the adoption of the Swedish system:

"...the millions of 1914-1918 were spared both dumbbell and pneumonia..."(1)

Teachers and organisers

In response to public concern, Dr. Newman put forward further new measures, one being the appointment of Organisers of Physical Education. Many L.E.A.s had made appointments of this nature before the outbreak of war. In 1909 there were 49 organisers in 328 administrative areas, but there was no grant for training. By 1917 the Board was enabled to make payments to Local Authorities in aid of expenditure for the appointments. 40 new organisers were appointed within 12 months, and the standards of teaching in schools showed a corresponding improvement.

At the same time as the new Syllabus was inaugurated, the Board of Education again began to address the training of teachers to implement its proposals. Up to this time the training of teachers had been varied and haphazard. There were independent colleges — e.g. Madame Osterberg's College at Dartford, voluntary organisations, such as the Birmingham Athletic Institute, the Amateur Gymnastic Association, and some local training by Local Authorities and School Boards. The London School Board had introduced Madame Osterberg to England when they employed her on a temporary basis in

(1) Loades G.A.N. The Silent Social Revolution p. 34
She ran courses for teachers which really only
scratched the surface of the problem. The only solution was
full-time teacher-training for physical education.

By 1909 the need for non-specialist teachers in
Elementary Schools had become the priority of the Board and
its inspectors. In 1909 and 1910 vacation courses were held
in hygiene and physical training to illustrate the urgency
to the L.E.A.s and Training Colleges, and to try to cater for
teachers already in service. But this was not enough,
although in 1909 Physical Education had become a compulsory
examinable subject in all Training Colleges, of which there
were now 80, with an annual output of 4,000-5,000 teachers.
However there was no examination for the 5,000 non-
collegiate teachers, or for the 120,000 certificated and
uncertificated already in posts.

Three organisations which attempted to join the Ling
Association of Teachers, i.e. the British College of Physical
Education, the Gymnastic Teachers' Institute and the National
Society of Physical Education, amalgamated in 1916, too late
to be able to make any contribution to teacher-training.

Some people who already held certificates validated by
these three Physical Education Associations found they were
not recognised by the Board of Education, and when they tried
to convene a Joint Board of Gymnastic Teachers to secure
recognition, the British College of Physical Education
withdrew, and they lost support. There was too much in-
fighting, and the lack of educational background of many of
the gymnastic teachers impeded their progress.

Following the 1902 Act, the Board of Education had hoped to raise the educational and social status of all teachers, including Physical Education, by forming a Teachers' Registration Council, but objections were made by the teachers themselves who would not accept the two-fold standards. After much consultation, and even bitterness, registration was permitted to all teachers of gymnastics who had 5 years teaching experience and were over the age of 25. By the time war broke out, the requirements of training and attainment were postponed.

In 1912 R.E. Roper convened a meeting to form a Physical Education Society for men teachers, and one of the objects was:

"............to ensure that the general and special training of a gymnastic master should be such as to enable him to be a member of the educational staff of a school." .....(1)

With Roper as Secretary, Swedish Drill was gradually incorporated into all schools. Progress in Physical Education Teacher-Training however, was slow, and because it was mostly in-service and vocational, the training was not yet having much impact. The supply of women specialist teachers for P.E. continued to grow, but for men it was almost non-existent. In 1908 a course had been set up at the S.W. Polytechnic, Chiswick, mainly to provide applicants for posts in training colleges, now that P.E. was compulsory. In his Report of 1910,

(1) Journal of Scientific Physical Training Vol. IV p. 41
Kewman found that most teacher training colleges only gave one lesson per week to practical physical education and there was even less attempt to provide theoretical training. (1)In 1911 he issued Circular 763 laying out suggestions for teaching Physical Education in training colleges, to include:-

Theory

1) the aims and objectives of physical training, its place in school life and as a factor in education.
2) the physiological basis of Swedish exercises.
3) the general principles of the physical training lesson
4) the methods of teaching

Practice

1) practice in performing individual exercises
2) practice and instruction in playing games, dancing and skipping.
3) instruction and practice in the methods of teaching physical exercises(2)

Inspectors were sent to Stockholm or to the Central Gymnastic Institute in Copenhagen and in 1910 H.G. Jenker started a course for English students at Silkeborg in Denmark. In 1911, Allan Broman, (also formerly employed by the London School Board), opened the Central Institute for Swedish Gymnastics for men students in Paddington Street, London. A physical training college for women opened in Scotland at Dunfermline in 1905, now opened its doors to men, but before 1914 these were the only opportunities

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer 1910 para. 14
(2) Circular 763 (1911)
available.

Between 1902 and 1914 therefore, P.E. in Elementary Schools had seen the abandonment of military drill and the adoption of therapeutic physical education, and:

".........in addition to organising systematic physical exercises, steps had been taken to introduce games, to feed children whose parents had not met their obligations, and to ensure that all children had a regular medical inspection. To the intellectual and moral training of the instrumental education had been added the training of the body......(1)

Curtailment of progress due to the outbreak of World War I and subsequent emergency measures

With the outbreak of the Great War, the School Medical Service and Physical Education suffered setbacks along with all other services. Had it not been for public concern over fitness of the troops, little would have been accomplished. Various schemes were implemented e.g. in Manchester opportunities were given for teachers to receive special coaching in games (2) and to the agitators for Military Drill, the Board of Education replied:

".........Physical training in elementary schools should not be less and cannot well be more than a preparation for the more specialised forms of Physical Training which may properly be undertaken at a later age......"(3)

So throughout the war the official syllabus of 1909, supplemented by organised games and swimming, remained

(1) Selleck R.J.W. op. cit., p.161
(2) Report of the Chief Medical Officer 1915, p.96
(3) Annual Report of Board of Education 1913-1914, p.64
the policy for the Elementary Schools, in spite of the fact that there was a demand for some training to parallel the Cadet Corps and O.T.C.'s in the Secondary and Public Schools. The National Union of Teachers in 1916 strongly opposed any hint of militarism and were backed by Sir George Newman who stressed the aims of physical fitness as the Country's initial concern. Throughout the war however, there were insidious attempts to change matters by the pro-militarists. In 1916 for example, Lord Haldane suggested that the Boy Scout movement in Elementary Schools might precede the Cadet Corps in the Secondary Schools. When H.A.L. Fisher introduced his Education Bill in February 1918, Clause 17, which made financial provision for school camps, was seen by some members as an opportunity for putting the physical education of young boys in elementary Schools once more into the hands of the War Office. Most of those pupils concerned would be over the age of 12 years, but this was a period where ages were falsified in pursuit of military glory.

Opposition to military training came from the National Council for Civil Liberties, the London Trades Council, and many working class organisations (e.g. Unions and Workingmen's Clubs) and not least from women Physical Education teachers. However it was the positive policy of Sir George Newman and the Medical Department of the Board of Education which provided a vigorous therapeutic alternative and this was supported by teachers and organisers up and down the country. When war broke out on August 4th 1914, there was an
almost euphoric urgency to enlist. Students left Colleges and Universities in large numbers, but teachers were in the middle of their summer holidays and contracted to return to school. However very soon many of them were in uniform. The two men P.E. Inspectors, Commander P.E. Grenfell and Dr C. Brehmer Heald joined the forces. Training of men P.E. teachers came to a halt. The College first opened by Allan Broman in Paddington Street, London for training men P.E. teachers was requisitioned for a hospital, and Mr. Broman devoted his energies to training recruits. Men who had had any P.E. training were asked to join up and were promised immediate promotion to N.C.O., and those who stayed in post were asked to train recruits in their home districts. Demand far exceeded supply, but offers from women P.E. teachers to train recruits were firmly rebuffed!

Physical Education in boys' schools suffered as a consequence. Furthermore when a Massage Corps was set up by Mr. Almeric Paget M.P. in 1914, many women teachers who had qualified in gymnastics, games and massage, left their schools to join the services, so that there was an overall depletion of school staffs. Where women inspectors and women teachers remained in post throughout the war, inspections were only made in Infants' and Girls' Departments.

Although in the early years of the war children appeared to be better fed and clothed, due a) to full employment in munitions, and b) to army allowances, Sir George Newman was not to be diverted from his aims for improving
the School Medical Service and extending opportunities in Physical Education. Plans were continually made for adoption as soon as hostilities ceased. Money and personnel were made available, and delinquent Authorities were brought into line. The London County Council had clung to the old ideals of Thomas Chesterton's English System, and the Swedish System had never really taken off. On the threat of withdrawal of grant from the Board, the L.C.C. appointed a new organiser, Major A.H. Gem, who served for 40 years, and they purchased the Central Institute of Swedish Gymnastics from Allan Brøman, renaming it the L.C.C. College of Physical Education. The policy for Physical Education under the L.C.C. continued to flourish from this time.

The appointment of additional organisers again illustrated the differences between the quality of men and women. Many of the men did not possess the same professional qualifications as the women, but emergency war-time measures often resulted in a relaxation of standards — and jealousy from the women! The organisers held vacation courses at Barry and University College Reading, (1) and this continuous promotion of therapeutic gymnastics kept the militarists at bay.

The 'play centre' movement which had begun in 1897 under Mrs. Humphrey Ward, had 21 centres when war broke out. These evening games classes offered traditional games, dancing and physical training and were seen by the Medical Department as

(1) Circular 910 H.M.S.O. (1915)
contributory to health and fitness. In 1915 it urged all L.E.A.s to consider what might be done by official and voluntary effort to set up play centres, and by 1917 grants were made to cover half the cost of maintenance. By the end of the war there were 256 centres. (2)

The importance of the play centres cannot be underestimated, for it showed the Board of Education's views were changing. They were now thinking about the child outside the classroom, the child whose parents were absent from the home on various war-time activities, and the growth of juvenile crime.

This growing social conscience had a profound effect on post war provision.

In spite of all the challenges of the militarists and the remnant of supporters of the English system of Physical Education i.e., the British College of Physical Education, the Gymnastic Teachers Institute, and the National Society of Physical Education, the Swedish system emerged as the most suited to basic requirements. There were numerous accusations that it was dull routine, and the remedy proposed was in better teaching techniques, with greater attention to games and other physical activities which gave immediate appeal to children. In 1916 it was stated that:-

"...The position of play in a scheme of physical education has not yet received adequate attention in this country."

(1) Annual Report of Board of Education 1915-1916 pp. 4-5
(2) Report of Chief Medical Officer 1915 p. 97 & 1918 p. 165
(3) Report of Chief Medical Officer 1916 p. 86
Thus by the end of the war,'systems' were ceasing to be viable, as physical education had widened its scope to embrace the best of all systems.

Summary of Physical Education and Health 1902-1918

In the 20th century, three great Education Acts have succeeded a major war. Issues which now needed to be addressed by the Education Act, 1918 in Physical Education, were those which initially appeared in 1870, as well as new concerns emanating from the new legislation. Politics had played an important part in establishing the place of physical education in the national system in 1902. Whilst the Conservatives were in power, arrangements were made in their favour, and although the School Boards were replaced by L.R.A. administration, care was taken to maintain religious control in voluntary schools which, as has been shown, had interesting repercussions in relation to physical education. Probably the religious issue was at its most vulnerable at this period. The controversy of course, revolved around finance, and the best solution was provided by allowing the voluntary schools to retain some degree of independence.

The real purpose of the 1902 Act was the separation of Secondary Education from Elementary Education, and for the purposes of this study, it must be made clear that Elementary Schools continued to provide for a large proportion of older pupils in the higher standards.
However, up to 1918 (when the leaving age was raised to 14) most children in Elementary Schools were under the age of 12. Elementary Schools along with Voluntary Schools continued to provide for the working classes, whilst Preparatory Schools, established in 1895 from the lower forms of the public school system (8-13 years) catered for those who could afford the fees.

The gender issue was becoming clearer. Girls' P.E. and games were accepted and well catered for, but the specialist women P.E. teachers tended to be employed in Girls' Schools (Public, Preparatory and Secondary). The Elementary P.E. teachers were more likely to be those who had taken P.E. as part of a general teacher-training course. On the whole, both men and women P.E. teachers were in short supply during the war, in spite of Government measures to increase the numbers of trained persons.

However the greatest issue of this period was the linking of Physical Education with Health Education. A movement towards a welfare state began to gather momentum, taking the form of free meals, school medical inspections, improved school buildings and positive teaching in Health Education and Hygiene. An improved infrastructure of cheap housing, food hygiene and waste disposal drew attention of the newly-franchised. From now on, Physical Education could not fail to gain approval, and with the needs of children high-lighted by war-time conditions, the 1918 Act was eagerly awaited.
CHAPTER 4

The changing face of Physical Education - from Therapy to Recreation (1918-1939)

The Great War, like the Boer War, had revealed huge discrepancies in the provision and practice of Physical Education.

There was still constant argument over the merits of various systems, even though the Swedish system reigned supreme. The Chief Medical Officer's Report in 1916, admitted that no system or practice was perfect, but rejected out of hand the possibility of an amalgamation of systems because most were fundamentally different. Criticisms could be met by supplementing or modifying whatever was in use. (1) The Board of Education was strongly in favour of the Swedish (Ling) system, but during the War there were movements to widen the scope of Physical Education because, basically, the Swedish system was so dull. These recommended a move away from formal exercises, and the introduction of 'enjoyable' games. The health factor, and therapeutic value was neither calculable nor obvious, yet over half a century earlier, the public schools had claimed the value of character building, social training and recreational enjoyment which were immeasureable but had immediate appeal for children.

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer (1916)
Post-war Recommendations

Organised games in the open air, holiday camps, and, for younger children, physical education through play, had been advocated by the Board of Education as a vigorous alternative policy to those wanting military drill during the War. Few children knew how to enjoy recreational activities as was seen when attempts were made to introduce team games for the troops in France. Many young men, and women (in factories and the services) simply did not know how to enjoy any form of games. They had been conditioned in Swedish gymnastics and military drill. It could not be denied that specific defects in children could benefit from remedial exercises, but by 1916, the Chief Medical Officer stated that Physical Education should include;-

1) formal exercises
2) play, games and sports and
3) training in rhythm

and this was reinforced in the Education Act 1918, (Clause 17) and in an identical clause (para 84) in the Education Act 1921.

The Education Act 1918

In his statement to the House of Commons, H.A.L. Fisher gave his first reason for introducing an Education Bill as:-
"...the need to improve the physical conditions of the young...." (1).

All L.E.A.s were encouraged to provide holiday and school camps, Physical Education centres, playing fields, and school swimming baths, although it must be emphasised that these were mostly for the use of children in Secondary Schools or Higher Standards in Elementary schools. The school leaving age was raised to 14.

Compared with previous legislation this was :-

".....a Children's Charter....." (2)

and Local Authorities who took up the challenge, were, in Lloyd George's words, recognising that:-

"...an Al Empire could not be built up on a C3 population. (3)

As in previous Education Acts, this legislation for Physical Education was merely permissive, in spite of the fact that new ideas were gaining great momentum abroad. Medical treatment for school children was now obligatory, and the driving force of the Medical Department remained unimpaired.

In 1919, the Board of Education issued a new 'Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools', which by its very title suggested a wider scope for Physical Education. The syllabus was published on similar lines to its predecessor with 72 tables of exercises, but was much less formal, and it was

(1) Smith W. D. op. cit., p. 125
(2) & (3) Birchenough C. op. cit., p. 194
recommended that not less than half the lesson should be devoted to:—

"...active free movements, including games and dancing.... (1)"

The exercises were the same as those of the 1909 Syllabus, and a small recreative section was now replaced by 'general activity exercises'. These included:—

"..........recreative exercises of various kinds which demand agility, speed, skill and co-operation with others. The purpose of the exercises is to provide vigorous, active, enjoyable movement, to encourage bodily skill and aptitude which give zest to play and create the desire to keep fit in order to do well. To the children this will be the most enjoyable part of the lesson. (2)"

A new chapter (published separately) dealt specifically with the Physical Education of children under seven. This was probably as a result of the pressures of the MacMillans, and the example of Madame Montessori's work in Rome.

At this time the 'Play Way' system was gaining momentum in Infants' Schools, and although the new syllabus still emphasised therapeutic exercises rather than free activity methods for Infants, the new ideas began to spill over into Physical Education, even though inadequate space, large numbers and untrained teachers still predominated.

For the older children another separate publication was 'Suggestions in regard to Games' (3), which gave ideas for

(1) Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools (1919)
(2) Ibid. p. 67
(3) Board of Education (1920)
introductory games and activities leading up to the national team games, and was used extensively with older children.

Although much emphasis was placed on the value of games, it was the exception rather than the rule for elementary schools to be able to use playing fields for their games period, but stress was laid on the development of team instinct, playing for the side, co-operation with fellow players, losing in good spirit and other forms of character training which it was deemed games could give provided they were organised along the right lines.(1)

The need for teachers and organisers

On the staffing side, the release of Captain Grenfell from the Navy, and the appointment of additional men and women inspectors, led to a short boom in the expansion of Physical Education. But there was an immediate and urgent demand for trained men teachers.

One source of supply was the Army Physical Training Staff who had done:

".....some training in Swedish Drill, but only superficially, and then without experience of handling children or training teachers..."(2)

Physical Education teachers fell into two broad categories and for the purposes of this study, Elementary

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer (1920) p.159
(2) Report of Chief Medical Officer (1918) p.160
Schools, i.e., the schools catering for all children under 12 years of age, (outside the private sector) were staffed by general class teachers who had some idea of teaching Physical Education but no advanced training, because since 1909 they had taken physical training as a compulsory subject as part of their general teacher training. Specialist P.E. teachers worked in Secondary and Continuation schools, (where these existed) whilst a third group of personnel were the P.E. Organisers who advised and helped to train the non-specialists.

During the War, the non-specialists had attended vacation courses, and the men's colleges, although depleted in numbers had, in many cases, reverted to military type training. There was no training of men specialist teachers during the War; all courses came to a halt! After hostilities ceased, those men who had been trained by the Army Physical Training staff, were offered, first, a three month's course, and then a one year's certificate course, set up by the Board of Education at the City of Sheffield Training College and trained by Henry Cole, Organiser in Physical Education for the city of Sheffield. The emphasis was on the widening and deepening of the men's knowledge of the Physical Training which they had gained during War Service(1). Special attention was given to teaching practice, organisation of school games, playgrounds and athletics meetings, and the organisation of the team system.

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer (1918) p.164
All the specialist Women's Training Colleges had continued during the War, but these were still private institutions, and their high fees ensured a middle-class clientele.

Madame Osterberg had offered the Board of Education her College at Dartford as a gift, but this was declined for fear of creating a precedent. In 1915, however, just before her death, she handed the College over to a board of trustees, which included Sir George Newham (Chief Medical Officer) thereby ensuring its certain survival. The great irony is, that the sound basis of teacher training for Physical Education owed most to the women, and not least to Madame Osterberg. She had begun teacher training in 1885, and continued, in spite of political and economic setbacks and for 35 years without Government help. Yet the administrative superstructure now lay in the hands of Sir George Newham and Captain Grenfell, who used the foundation laid by trained women Physical Education teachers (usually members of the Ling Association) to build up post-war provision.

Women Physical Education teachers continued to support therapeutic gymnastics, chiefly because training in massage provided an alternative career to teaching. In fact in 1922, the Ling Association made arrangements with the Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics, for all students at Physical Education Colleges to be recognised by the Association. At the same time, the 'medical' aspect was thought to have too much control over an 'educational' service, and the
opportunity to play and teach more games was welcomed as a break away from gymnastics. This break-through for women had social and political parallels in the movements for the emancipation of women, and Women's Suffrage.

As soon as the War finished, links were re-established with the Scandinavian countries, and the new developments in their 'systems'. New innovations were emphasising the psychological as well as the physiological importance of Physical Education. An interaction between mental and physical activity was seen as a preparation for life. As a result, the promotion of games, outdoor pursuits and camping i.e. Physical Recreation, became the focus of the post-war years, with better health as a very desirable by-product.

The Public Schools

There were no parallel movements in the Public Schools, in spite of Roper's efforts at Eton and Bedales to establish gymnastics. The traditional Public/Preparatory Schools continued with games and athletics, without experiencing the difficulties of the state Schools for:

"...Independent Schools, many of which were built when land was readily available, often have better sports grounds than State Schools...."(1).

Efforts to establish Swedish Gymnastics even for their

(1) Van Dalen B.B. & Bennett B.L. op.cit. p.194
therapeutic gains were only acceptable in the progressive public schools. The playing fields, where character building and physical courage were learned, were still regarded as of the utmost importance - especially for young officer training, and for winning a war. However, a novel 'The Loom of Youth', written in 1917 by Alec Waugh, did much to dispel the cult of athleticism among public school boys. His criticism was that:

"...Games don't win battles, but brains do, and brains aren't trained in the football field...." (1)

Criticisms that athleticism was linked to sexual irregularities, should perhaps have encouraged the growth of therapeutic exercise after the War, but no general development of such systematic Physical Education took place. The Public/Preparatory Schools continued their traditional attitude to games whilst in the state system, a broader concept of Physical Education was gaining ground.

This was not to the detriment of the Public Schools. In 1922, the Independent Association of Preparatory Schools had increased its membership to such an extent that it obtained a certificate of Incorporation under licence by the Board of Trade. The successors to those who originally met in 1895 to discuss the size of a cricket ball, now had their own bureaucratic structure which, among countless other recommendations, issued regular Curriculum Reports.

(1) Waugh A. The Loom of Youth (1917) p. 47
In a presidential address to the Workers Education Association in 1915, Archbishop William Temple had said:—

"......What is the principle of our traditional education?......Games immediately become the pre-dominant interest. That is quite right, because it is in games that the boys can really manage their own concerns. It is healthy and right that games should come first......"(1)

In the early years of the 20th century therefore, the Preparatory Schools Physical Education included physical exercises, swimming, athletics and team games under professional coaches, as well as general supervision by the form masters. Pupils were grouped by age and physique, and with younger children there was a special emphasis on alertness and quickness of apprehension, rather than on mere muscular strength. The subject was, and is, taken seriously, to afford maximum enjoyment. The difference is, that in the twentieth century, the worship of Physical Education has gone:—

"......Brain and body must develop side by side...."(2)

The Preparatory School therefore aimed at instilling the virtues of leadership, loyalty, courage, discipline and endurance (as in the traditional Public Schools) which were regarded as essential to a nation in peace as in war. Care was taken that demands were made on boys according to age, build and temperament, lest their confidence was destroyed for:—

(1) quoted in Allen B.H. & Dealtry L.P. op. cit. p. 43
(2) Ibid. p. 43
"...The modern schoolmaster has a far clearer idea than his predecessors of the place of games and physical exercises in a boy's total growth........."(1)

The effects of the recession on social provision and Physical Education

The post-war 'boom' was soon over. Again, Education in the State sector and in particular, Physical Education, was among the first to feel the pinch. There were enormous problems. In 1918-1919:-

"......more than 150,000 people died of influenza...Inflation was rampant..............Between 1920 and 1921 the value of Britain's overseas trade declined by nearly one half...."(2)

Towards the end of 1920, the 'Land fit for Heroes' had over 2,000,000 unemployed. There were strikes in the mines and railways. Unemployment brought physical deterioration due to poverty and malnutrition, for large sections of the population particularly in the areas of heavy industry like Wales and the North of England. The clock was put back fifty years. Industrial unrest and economic slumps were tackled by Sir Eric Geddes in 1922, who 'axed' a large portion of the financial provision to social services and all branches of education. It was proposed to raise the school entry age from 5 to 6, and to establish a teacher ratio of 1 to 50 children. All new building proposals were to be shelved. Teachers' salaries were cut, and courses in Physical Education

(1)Allen E.H. & Dealtry L.P. op.cit. p.43
(2)Gordon P., Aldrich R. & Dean D. op.cit p.51
established by the Board of Education at Sheffield and University College Reading, were closed down in 1923. Capital expenditure on gymasia, swimming baths and playing fields was put 'on hold'. Until 1933 there was nowhere in England where men could train to teach Physical Education.

As the recommendations of the Education Acts of 1918 and 1921 had been largely permissive, rather than obligatory, this was an easy administrative manoeuvre. The Board feared that Organisers of Physical Education might be considered an unnecessary luxury. There were 79 Authorities employing Physical Education Organisers in 1920, 78 in 1921, and 83 in 1923, (1) but due to political and social priorities, physical education was now thrown back on its therapeutic image, because:

"...An efficient system of physical training is a potent auxiliary in the prevention of debility and disease amongst children and is relatively inexpensive to maintain...." (2)

The Board therefore asked the Local Education Authorities to explore every other avenue of economy in order to retain the Organisers of Physical Education. The close (historic) connection between Physical Education and Medicine helped it to survive the period of recession which may otherwise have proved impossible.

(1) Reports of the Chief Medical officer 1920, 1921, & 1923
(2) McIntosh P.C. op.cit. p.210
Measures taken to maintain standards

The buoyancy of the immediate post-war years was dampened, and although the Board of Education continued to encourage a broad approach, many teachers still saw no more in Physical Education than drill. 'Book' education offered more job prospects than P.E., when unemployment was rife.

Games and swimming were officially encouraged, but progress was uneven up and down the country, and especially in the large urban areas where space for the provision of playing fields was at a premium. Provision was always handicapped through lack of money.

Local schemes for bussing children to playing fields operated in Sheffield and Birmingham, and many other large towns but most of the promotion of games was done by enthusiastic teachers out of school hours and at weekends (and still is). However only a small proportion of elementary school children in towns experienced games, and the lack of playing fields was also aggravated by the fact that few children in the problem areas could afford the boots and shoes for sport.

However Physical exercise through sport was becoming popular in the community at large, and especially in the more affluent areas, where social as well as physical benefits could be appreciated.

"...As physical culture becomes more fully recognised as an integral part of a liberal education, the less shall we need
formal corrective work in physical training....."(1).

Swimming was in some ways easier to provide. Municipal Swimming Baths (provided by City and Town Councils and therefore not directly part of the Education Budget) could be hired by schools and clubs. Unlike the playing fields, they could be erected on comparatively small sites and in urban centres.

By 1930 it was claimed that:--

".....Whatever else may be absent from the schemes for physical training in an area, swimming usually finds a place where facilities are available......."(2)

Junior swimming clubs existed, and if swimming was not part of the P.E. curriculum, children were taught (often by their own teachers) in the Swimming Clubs.

However, even swimming was assessed by the Chief Medical Officer of the Board on its therapeutic, rather than recreational, value. "Crawl" was discouraged for beginners because it was:--

"....'not so correct physiologically as the Breast Stroke"(3)

Conflicting pressures and foreign influences

The Hadow Reports of the 20s and 30s recommended a break at 11 for all children, identifying Primary Education as a distinct entity, where the curriculum should aim:--

(1) Report of the Chief Medical Officer (1928) p.36
(2) Report of the Chief Medical Officer (1930) p.78
(3) Ibid. p.79
"...to supply children between the ages of seven and eleven with what is essential to their healthy growth - physical, intellectual and moral - during that particular stage of their development..." (1)

and the Consultative Committee gave Physical Training a very important place stating their:

"...appreciation of the advance which has been brought about in the conception and practice of Physical training..." (2)

Throughout this period there was constant disagreement between 'scientific' physical training and 'recreative' games. Progress was made with Infants - again because the demands on space were less and because freeplay was acceptable in Infant schools. The formal command control exercises of drill gave way to 'exploration' physical education, using attractive large and small apparatus, such as the junglegym and brightly coloured hoops and balls. Influenced by the work of Dalcroze and Ann Driver, natural movement with music became popular. This was usually dependent on a pianist, but with the advent of school radio, Ann Driver 'entered' many classrooms and halls in Infants' schools, throughout the land in the 1930s.

Official encouragement was for non-gymnastic activities, but the assumption was, that P.E. was a form of cheap preventative medicine (after all, that had been its flagship since the Boer War), and so the emphasis on the therapeutic side of P.T. continued. The reports of the Chief

(1) Hadow Report (1931) p. 92
(2) Ibid., p. 94
Medical Officer continued to evaluate sport and games, and teachers were conditioned along these lines.

Social attitudes influenced the support of single sex games.:

".....It is the usual practice in 'mixed' classes, where numbers permit, for boys and girls to organise separate games, when the usual field games, football, netball, etc. are taken up. This separation of the sexes is generally complete..." (1)

This too was to become a controversial issue.

It was at this period in the development of provision for Physical Education that positive inroads were beginning to be made for children with Special Needs. Not only were remedial or corrective exercises used to tackle postural defects, but special activities for blind and deaf children were introduced, marking the beginning of a positive concern for all children, and attempting to match individual needs.

The continued alliance with Scandinavian gymnasts helped to maintain therapeutic values, and gymnastic displays by the teams of Niels Buch and Elli Bjorksten made great impact on the British public and P.T. teachers. Some of the routines of simple rhythmic exercises were also used in junior schools.

The physiological emphasis on good posture became a crusade and the Board of Education reported that:

".....the ultimate criterion of the success of any scheme or system of physical training is the carriage, mobility and

(1) Hadow Report (1931) p.201
equilibrium of the human body.....Good posture indicates health and soundness, bad posture the reverse....."(1)

The Syllabus of Physical Training 1933

The new 'Syllabus of Physical Training' 1933, contained a section on posture, as the assessment of gymnastics. This syllabus had been prompted by the Hadow Reports 1926 & 1931 and primarily dealt with 'The Education of the Adolescent'. Previously, all children who had not gained Grammar School admission at 11, had remained in the Higher Standards of Elementary Schools. It was now proposed that in the re-organisation, all children proceeded at 11 plus to post-primary schools or classes with a revised curriculum. The 1919 Syllabus of Physical Training was therefore unsuitable. Its successor (1933) was divided into two parts, one for Juniors (under 12 years of age), and one for Seniors.

This was indeed a revised syllabus and provided an invaluable practical working aid for teachers, with new exercises and methods of teaching:—

".....with a view to the special encouragement of posture and flexibility of muscles and joints...."(2)

In the 1933 syllabus the programme of 18 lessons and tables followed the formal pattern of gymnastics, but also included 'activity' exercises with lots of free movement and reflected the trends of the period. These methods were also

(1)Report of the Chief Medical Officer 1932 p. 81
(2)Ibid. p. 79
publicised by Dr. L.P. Jacks(1) when he called for a new spirit in education involving the education of the whole man.

A daily period of Physical Exercise was advocated where

"...The object of Physical Education and Training is to help in the introduction and maintenance of health in body and mind.......not only gymnastics, games, swimming, and dancing, but sports, free play, walking tours, school journeys, camps, and all forms of occupation and exercise likely to create a love of the open air and a healthy way of living..."(2)

Such was the popularity of the new Syllabus, that supplies quickly ran out. Organisers distributed free copies to their teachers, many of whom regarded it as the complete answer to their children's physical deficiencies. When, as the syllabus recommended, these children were stripped for P.T., the extent became obvious.

However recovery was not that easy for many:-

"...Junior Schools lacked the apparatus on which children could hang and swing, and little could be done to repair the omission of suspension exercises....."(3)

There were problems on all sides.

**Philanthropic Support**

During the 1920s and 1930s, some of the discrepancies in provision were addressed by philanthropic movements such as

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(1) Jacks Dr. L.P. *Education through Recreation*
(2) Syllabus 1933 p.9
(3) Smith W.D. *op.cit.* p.139
the National Playing Fields Association, the Youth Hostels Association and the Lucas Tooth Institute. However, the problem was tackled at the top with school leavers and adolescents, but the benefits obviously filtered down to the under 12s. In a letter to the press in 1925, attention had been drawn to the lack of playing fields, and the encroachment of towns and cities on to available land. Under the Presidency of the Duke of York, and supported by the Carnegie Trust and countless private individuals, 800 playing fields (1) became available to boys and girls in Britain.

The Youth Hostels Association was established on the German pattern - the Jugendherberger - and initially provided cheap accommodation for young people over the age of 9, (later over the age of 5 - although some Youth Hostels provide family accommodation) who wished to hike or cycle in the countryside. This period marks the beginning of the acceptance that outdoor activities were part of a broader scope of 'Physical Education'. Sir Lucas Tooth had given £50,000 in 1913 towards training in physical education for boys' clubs and youth organisations. By the 1920s, a new gymnasium was opened and courses to train physical education instructors were provided. What the Government had advocated by permissive legislation was dependent on philanthropic hand-outs for action. Government financial support was restricted by the economic recession of the early 30s, when

(1) Hess H.A. Voluntary Special Services since 1918 p.177
in 1931 it was proposed that:

"......budget expenditure should be cut by some £100,000, with £25,000 coming from education...."(1)

and, as ever, physical education was not a priority, even within the educational budget. However two additional male inspectors were appointed in 1931. Although one of these was an army officer, the other was an organiser from Leicester. The fact that a civilian had been appointed marked the beginning of the end of the inter-dependence between military training and Physical Education. From this time Physical Education became increasingly a constituent factor of the teaching process and practice.

**Issues in teacher training and qualifications**

Towards the end of the Great War, Dame Janet Campbell of the Board of Education had met with representatives of the Women's P.E. Colleges now established at Dartford, Bradford, Chelsea, Anstey (Liverpool), and Dunfermline to advise on a common syllabus, examination and diploma. The Ling Association, however, feared a dilution of standards and refused to co-operate. In 1918 the University of London was approached to make an award. Finally a Diploma course was established but not until 1930, which the first successful students completed in 1932. Of course the teaching and training for the Diploma was still undertaken in the

(1) Gordon P., Aldrich R. & Dean D. *op. cit* p.56
individual colleges, the University being the examining body. However there was still no place for the training of men. This was rectified in the 1930s by the establishment of training courses at Leeds (Carnegie College), Loughborough, and Goldsmiths College, London. Nevertheless in the general Teacher Training Colleges, students were being trained to teach Physical Education in the Elementary Schools. The Log Book of the Model School, Bede College, Durham reads:

"..... Students are requiring classes for Physical Training on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday afternoons. These are taken in the Drill Hall..." (Army)(1)

The 1930s also represented a further popularisation of physical education through the reports of the British Medical Association, and by the writings of such individuals as R.E. Roper and Dr. Cyril Norwood, whose promotion of games helped to stimulate new practices and reverse old ideas.

Voluntary efforts during the Great Depression of the 1930s

The economic crisis and financial crash of 1931, had added to the unemployment figures, and provided a stimulus for further philanthropic efforts from persons outside the Government. Yet the Board of Education boasted that:

"..... The scope and quality of physical education have in general been transformed during the last thirty years from a narrow system of school drill into a balanced scheme for the physical development of children throughout their school

(1) Groves L. op. cit p.11 from School Log Book (1927) p.331
However the writer goes on to underline the fact that much of the credibility was due to the voluntary time and effort of teachers organising swimming galas and sports days, and ensuring that:

".....22,000 London boys shall get a weekly cricket match in the summer and 900 football, hockey and lacrosse teams shall play regularly throughout the winter on pitches in the parks. ....." (2)

In Secondary and Further Education, provision was enhanced by 'Keep Fit' classes (established by Miss Norah Reed, a teacher in Sunderland) in the early thirties, in collaboration with the National Council of Girls' Clubs and the National Council of Social Services. A similar movement among men is described by the Warden of the Carnegie P.T. College in 1932.

Dance was developed by the Margaret Morris Movement, and the Women's League of Health and Beauty under Mrs. Bagot Slack. These different organisations commanded a forceful following and are mentioned because many of the members who were young mothers, were anxious that physical training should play an important role in the lives of their children at school.

".....The almost feverish devotion to health was in a sense, an escape from some of the grim realities of the industrial depression. ....." (3)

(1) quoted in Lowndes G.A.N. op. cit. p. 178
(2) The Times Educational Supplement 16th May 1936
(3) Report of the Chief Medical Officer (1932)
The National Association of Organisers of Physical Education and the Ling organisation collaborated to form the Central Council of Recreational Training under Royal Patronage. Its initial role was to co-ordinate and stimulate a national campaign for more and better physical recreation and to survey available facilities. Again the shortage of male teachers was high-lighted. Carnegie College in Leeds only became a reality through a philanthropic offer from the Carnegie Trust to build on a site provided by Leeds Education Committee. The College opened in 1933, offering one year courses for teachers already holding a Degree of a British University or a general Teacher's certificate. The course focussed mostly on an approach to Physical Education through gymnastics, by personal performance, theory and teaching practice. Similar courses were set up at Loughborough College in 1935, and Goldsmith's College in 1937. These became centres of excellence studying the techniques of games and sports, and working out systematic ways of teaching them in schools and clubs.

The development of media communications in the 1930s (one example already referred to being the school radio lessons of Anne Driver) spread the news of the benefits of Physical Education with a swiftness never anticipated by previous generations, and also brought the deficiencies in provision before the general public. Two other Trusts assisted the Physical Recreation Movement. These were the King George's Jubilee Trust, and the King George Memorial.
Fund - the latter being set up after the death of King George V, specifically for the provision of playing fields, which were still badly needed. In fact by the end of 1935 only about 2 million people (less than 5% of the population) were able to benefit from playing field provision. (1) The work of these Trusts was aimed at the Secondary Schools, adolescents and unemployed, but the under-twelves could also benefit from the provision.

**Official Recommendations**

During the 1930s the impressive growth of voluntary provision in Physical Recreation prompted the Board of Education to act, and therefore Circular 1445 'Physical Education' was published in 1936, because of:

"... a growing concern for all that affects the welfare of the nation...." (2)

and probably influenced by the intensive training of young people in Germany and Italy.

Elementary Schools were urged to have a daily period of Physical Education (which compares very closely to 1992). This was to include 3 periods of physical exercises, one period of swimming and one of organised games, or dance for girls!! Local Authorities were reminded that they had the legal

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(1) *Journal of Physical Education* XXVIII p.57
(2) *Circular 1445 (1936) Intro.*
power to provide playing fields for all children, and were encouraged to do so. The duties and qualifications of Organisers of Physical Training engaged by L.E.A.s were laid down, although they were still to be employed, for the most part, in Elementary Schools, and:—

"..... should in fact be the recognised guide and adviser for the community as a whole in matters relating to physical exercises and recreation. ....... His services should be freely available to voluntary organisations, and for co-ordinating their schemes with those of the Authority...." (1)

As a consequence there were 338 organisers by the end of 1938, and by 1939 only 63 Authorities had no organisers at all. In a further circular, L.E.A.s were enabled to provide clothing and shoes for P.T., at public expense (2). Spurred on by the example of the National Playing Fields Association, L.E.A.s increased provision for playing fields, and had proposals for 199 gymasia and a further 8,450 acres of playing fields for Elementary Schools (3). The aim in London was for every child from the ages of 10 to 15 to play games on a grass field at least once a week. In some areas, classrooms were built at the playing fields so that on the days scheduled for games, children could have their other lessons on site (4). Advanced courses were initiated at ten men's colleges and 17 women's colleges to meet the demands of increased provision.

(1) Circular 1450 (1936) p.15
(2) Report of Board of Education (1938-1939) p.47
(3) Ibid. p.47
(4) Ibid. p.49
Public concern and interest was aroused by the publication of handbooks and pamphlets, and the establishment of the National Advisory Council for Physical Training and Recreation. During 1939 it was officially stated that:

"...Physical Education... is now an established part of the curriculum of all the schools within the purview of the Board. Every child in these schools, unless medically exempt, receives regular instruction in gymnastics and in one or more branches of physical education. There has been built up in the elementary schools a physical training, which, in scope and quality, need not fear comparison with that which can be produced in any other country...."(1)

However the dichotomy persisted, and many people thought that too much effort was being put into Physical Recreation and Fitness, instead of tackling the problem of malnutrition.

Among politicians, Aneurin Bevan thought the Government was pushing P.T.on to the masses rather than providing playing fields as enjoyed by the upper and middle classes in their public schools:

"...a miserable substitute for giving them sufficient playgrounds in which they can play their own games in their own ways...."(2)

Aneurin Bevan would have abolished P.T. in favour of Physical Recreation, but most people were ready to welcome additional financial help whether from voluntary or Government sources. Suggestions were made from M.P.s that no grants should be given to new schools unless they made adequate provision for sports and games, underlining not

(1) Report of Chief Medical Officer 1938 p.28
(2) Hansard Vol.CCCCX cols....116-117
the therapeutic advantages but also the great pleasure that children gained from participation in physical activities. When the Physical Training and Recreation Act was passed, £2,000,000 was allocated over three years, by the National Fitness Council for improving facilities in schools. £1\frac{1}{2}M was taken up by March 1939, but only £\frac{3}{4}M had been spent by the time War broke out on 3rd September 1939. Many projects were left unfulfilled.

Summary of the development of Physical Education 1918–1939

The issues affecting the provision of Physical Education, as always, were rooted in social and economic conditions. Even in the good times, there were financial restraints. However there was also a corresponding decline in the number of pupils in elementary schools from almost 6 million in 1920 to just over 5 million in 1938, but most historians and educationalists regard the period as one of 'stagnation rather than progress' (1). The pioneering enthusiasts never had enough money to carry out their plans. Progress during this period in the history of Physical Education was hampered in the first instance by the cost of post-war reparations and unfulfilled promises made to returning troops. Economic depression/recession was rife throughout most of the 1920s and 1930s. When economies had to be made it was always non-essential parts of the education

(1) Gordon P., Aldrich R. & Dean D. op. cit., p. 59
plan which were the first cuts. In 1918 there was a backlog of things to be done, and among the issues which needed immediate attention, was the provision of adequate teacher-training for Physical Education. Training for Specialist teachers was still largely in private hands, and was therefore confined to a middle class clientele in its candidates, and their subsequent placements, and of course, due to the pioneering efforts of Madame Osterberg and the Ling Association, was exclusively female. Girls' Physical Education was considered acceptable but there were differences in the programmes of the gymnasium and the sports field. Due to public attitudes to the acceptance of ex-army personnel as Physical Education teachers, and the lack of finance, provision for the training of men did not begin until 1932.

Society approved of the benefits of the provision of Physical Education, especially when confronted with concrete statistics of poor physique from the Great War (and the Boer War). It was probably this physiological issue which helped Physical Education survive. Because it was linked with the School Medical Service, basic concerns were aroused when children were shown to be suffering from postural defects, chest infections, stunted growth etc., which could be rectified by more Physical Education. There was a strong lobby in Parliament. Recommendations in three Hadow Reports 1926, 1931, and 1933, helped towards positive legislation but without financial backing, provision was dependent on philanthropic organisations and enthusiastic individuals.
right up to the outbreak of World War II in 1939.

The issues affecting the 'practice' were similarly restricted by the available finance. The crying need throughout the period was for playing fields, because the promotion of games and recreational Physical Education was the crusade of the 1920s and 1930s. Where the Preparatory Schools gained, was in the fact that they usually already had land, either from their links with the Public Schools, or because they had been established in extensive premises, with the initial aim of continuing the practice of games and athletics, prevalent in the Public Schools in the 19th century. For this reason, they had a head-start on the state Schools in a more comprehensive programme of provision eagerly sought by the parents. Also their staffing recruitment enabled them to establish good practice, with very generous pupil-teacher ratios, earlier than the state schools.

That the content of Physical Education was changing, was due to the fact that military drill ceased to be valid. The masses did not need to be disciplined in this way. Swedish Gymnastics also were seen to be dull and repetitive, so that the 1919 and 1933 Syllabuses marked one of the most important steps forward in the provision of Physical Education, because the message was that it could be enjoyed.

Influenced by more liberal attitudes at home and abroad, which were percolating through Nursery and Infants Schools, provision was made for new approaches in practical
teaching. The Madow Reports, along with the Physical Education Syllabus of 1933, prepared the way for children to be considered as individuals rather than part of a 'drill' machine, whilst the values of social training and character building on the sports field, long advocated by the Public Schools, were seen to have some valuable contribution in the training of all children.

Provision also was being offered to children with special needs. Again this emerged from links with the School Medical Service, but these children were now recognised as individuals, with differing individual needs, and so Physical Education became part of the curriculum practice for blind, deaf, epileptics and children with learning difficulties.

However in spite of the financial stringencies, the period 1918-1939 marked a considerable step forward in provision and practice of Physical Education, helped along by positive public attitudes and philanthropic handouts. Influenced by inventions in media communications, Physical Education was on its way, in spite of the gathering clouds of war.
Chapter 5

World War II, the Butler Education Act of 1944 and the implications for Physical Education.

The greatest difference between the state of affairs in 1914 and 1939, was that this time there was the threat of imminent danger from air attack:

"...The Second World War placed particular strains on school systems because it was, to a far greater degree than any previous conflict, a technological war..."(1)

Evacuation and its significance as a catalyst for change

Plans had already been formulated throughout the country for evacuating an estimated 80% of all children from the danger zones, i.e. heavily populated industrial conurbations. In actual fact, about 49% responded. In London, G.A.N. Lowndes, an assistant education officer, had already supervised the mass movements of children in the Silver Jubilee (1935) and Coronation (1937) celebrations. The biggest evacuation was carried out on September 1st 1939. All children taking part were labelled, and, carrying their own luggage and cardboard gas-mask boxes, were sent from the densely populated cities to safe havens in the countryside, along with pregnant mothers and mothers with young babies.

Historians have viewed evacuation as a watershed in politics and education:

"...the domestic evacuation of some three million British children in the autumn of 1939 marked the end of an old Britain and the beginning of a new one..." (1)

In a matter of months the 'stagnation' of the 1930s was replaced by vigorous activity. Richard Titmuss writing in 1950 (2) spoke of the impact in arousing the conscience of the nation, whilst Travis Crosby viewed evacuation as a catalyst, precipitating a Labour victory, with sweeping social legislation (3). Whatever the analysis, there has been no single movement before, or since, which affected the course of Education, and peripherally, of Physical Education, promoting an ideological climate favourable to welfare legislation and liberalism in schools.

Initially all inner city schools were closed and speedily requisitioned by other services, but because the response to evacuation was not as high as had been expected, a skeleton education service had to be provided, and a shift system was recommended in the overcrowded reception areas. Children from Elementary Schools were not, like the Secondary Schools, linked to specific schools:

"...they had to act on the principle of every man for himself and improvise as best they could..." (4)

with the result that by the end of 1939, about ¼ of evacuees

(1) Jackson C. Who Will Take Our Children: The Story of Evacuation in Britain 1939-1945 pp. 26-7
(2) Titmuss R. Problems of Social Policy
(3) Crosby T. L. The Impact of Civilian Education in the Second World War
(4) Maclure S. One Hundred Years of London Education 1870-1970 p. 134
were receiving no provision at all, although the Board of Education was quite firm, that to maintain individuality, schools should 'function as independent units'. The London School Inspectors did not wish to transfer any responsibility for their children to the host authorities.

There were great delays in making adequate arrangements:

"...because the Board of Education and local education authorities could not move until they had learned from the Ministry of Health the billeting arrangements made by local health authorities..."(1)

The impact on individual children was not always harmonious and research by the Fabian Evacuation Society showed that:

"...a middle-class home is a stranger to the close-packed share-and-share everything, of the working class, so that a poor child is apt to feel cold and lonely in a middle-class home and his hosts find him a nuisance...."(2)

As there was no immediate bombing, by Christmas 1939, 80% of London mothers had returned home, and within a few weeks many children were back in their home towns, where provision had been closed down, only to be running the streets. One returning evacuee states:

"...There were no schools open, but the local vicar arranged a class in his house, using local retired people with some teaching experience to help out. I joined this class which at least kept us off the streets..."(3)

Several teachers who had been evacuated with their

(1) Dent H.C. Education in England and Wales p.17
(2) Padley R. & Cole M. Evacuation Survey p.74
(3) Westall R. Children of the Blitz p.55
children, returned to operate a skeleton service. Overall, evacuation was described as an 'educational mess' (1). Gymnasia and swimming pools had been requisitioned by welfare services and the War office, and were not available for use.

**Social and welfare provision**

Also, due to better communications, mobilisation was very rapid and all 'fit' younger male teachers were called up immediately, as well as many women. Events moved at a brisk pace. Rationing of food, clothing, furniture, and petrol led to a chronic shortage of basic equipment in schools but one great benefit was the introduction of a national School Meals Service in 1941. By the end of the War, 2,000,000 children were having School meals, and 70%, daily school milk. The Chief Medical Officer reported that there was:

"....... no positive evidence of a decline in the health and physique of children during the war years...." (2)

At least if the children were well fed there should be no deterioration of child health, but this was the first time in history that the physical care of children became a national concern. Many children had arrived in their reception centres poorly clothed and fed, and even verminous:

(1) Padley R. & Cole M. op. cit. p. 7
(2) Report of the Chief Medical Officer 1939-1945 p. 7
".....It was the revelation of evacuation in 1939 and the profound stirrings of national unity in the crisis of 1940 that finally brought the two Englands".....(town and country)........"together and caused even the least discerning to appreciate the worst of which social neglect was capable......."(1)

Not only were poor social conditions revealed, but the effects of mental stress were traumatic. As one historian has pointed out, less than half the population of England had left home for a single night in the year in the 1930s.(2) Now children were separated from their families after:-

"....long train journeys to unknown destinations, arriving tired hungry and frightened...."(3)

Co-operation and collectivism in wartime, however, promoted a sense of shared identity and acted as a catalyst for change. The whole system of elementary schooling soon began to show the inadequacies that educationalists had been pointing out for the past decades. There were:-

"....many gaps to be filled if the service was to be established on positive educational principles and no longer depend on what wealthy communities were willing to spend and what poor communities could afford...."(4)

Provision for children with special needs

Evacuation was even more difficult for the under 12s in Special Schools, because the pupils, (due to their handicap)

(1) Bruce M. The coming of the Welfare State p.5
(2) MacNichol J. 'The Evacuation of School Children' in War and Social Change in British Society in the Second World War p.2
(3) Lowe R. op. cit. p.4
(4) Lowndes G.A. op. cit. p.226
could not be billeted on ordinary householders, and had to be evacuated in parties to camps, large country houses or vacant hotels. There they remained, fairly self-contained, and supported by their own teachers and ancillaries. For special boarding schools, it was merely a change of address, and like the Preparatory Schools, life went on in comparative peace. Most of these boarding schools stayed in their evacuation zones until 1945. The children in the Day Special Schools, however, suffered the same as the children in normal schools and:

"...there occurred the same drift back to the home area...(1)

The same emergency provision had to be made for re-opening schools in the home areas, which suffered from shortage of staff, premises and resources. In safe zones, where evacuation was not necessary, the schools carried on as near normal as possible with the help of married women returners, but on the whole, children in Special Schools suffered deprivation like the rest. Initially there was a chronic shortage of staff:

"...The dearth of young men teachers had caused a set back in games and physical education. The need to be near air-raid shelters on school premises prevented visits to swimming baths for several years in places open to attack. Playgrounds used for P.T. were encroached on by surface shelters....(2)

Teachers in Wartime

(1) Report of the Chief Medical Officer 1939-1945 p. 82
(2) Ibid. p. 88
To add to this, supply teachers were not always suitably qualified and overall standards were lowered. Physical Education which was just beginning to be considered an important part of the curriculum for Special Schools, was seriously undermined. In fact, during the course of the War, all Physical Education, in the words of the C.M.O., suffered 'a severe regression'. The training of male specialists in Physical Education closed down, and many general training colleges were taken over by the forces. For example the remnant of students at Bede College, Durham, doubled up with those of St. John's College, York, whilst their premises were requisitioned by the Military.

Often older teachers and married women returners took on the work of younger male colleagues. Although helped by vacation courses for training, standards inevitably fell. In the early years:-

"...The use of the quota system and the aid of retired teachers enabled the schools to struggle along without a major breakdown through shortage of staff......"(1)

Most of the Physical Education and Recreation groups outside the schools closed on the outbreak of war although the War Office was prevailed upon, to release qualified Physical Education Specialists in 1940, to help in Youth Service, during a drive for systematic provision for young people.

From December 1941, all sixteen year olds had to

(1) Gosden P.H.J.H. Education in the Second World War p.102
register and all were encouraged to join some 'pre-service' youth organisation giving training in 'Fitness for Service' under the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training. The C.C.R.P.T. had been told to close down along with the National Fitness Council on the outbreak of War, but the personnel refused, and continued provision for youth, thereby underlining the importance of retaining Physical Education for all ages. Facilities built up during the 1930s were lost and swimming became virtually non-existent. Hygiene standards were lowered and there was a chronic shortage of equipment.

**Planning and subsequent legislation for Physical Education**

As conditions in the schools were in a state of turmoil which could not easily be resolved, plans were set afoot for 'after the war':

"...A scheme for putting these rather vague aspirations into practice was outlined in a tentative document issued in June 1941......usually known as the 'Green Book'....."(1)

The document was marked 'confidential' but:

".....it was distributed in such a blaze of secrecy that it achieved an unusual degree of publicity..."(2)

A summary appeared in October 1941 and amongst the many proposals was a recommendation for the promotion of the physical well-being of children and young people. After the

(1) Barnard H.C., A History of English Education p.293
(2) Smith W. Lester, To Whom do the Schools Belong p.202
relevant bodies had debated the proposals, a 'White Paper' was published which claimed to be:-

".....the greatest and grandest educational advance since 1870....."(1)

However, the Second World War was a war of competing ideologies, and the struggle was either to preserve the existing world order or to establish a new one. Some historians suggest that evacuation and wartime conditions in general, led to a new educational ideology especially with younger children. Education in all subjects became more child centred and laid less emphasis on rote learning, and more on 'discovery':-

".....the conditions of War, of emergency measures, revealed new, unexpected potentialities among, for instance, the previously neglected. Primary school teachers, thrown back on their resources in the chaos of evacuation, learnt how much young children could gain from work with improvised apparatus, pioneering group and informal methods of working, and forays into the countryside. Many of the more advanced techniques in our primary schools were worked out at this time....."(2)

Meanwhile, the provision of Physical Education during the War was in many cases fragmented and haphazard, due to the separation of children and teachers (in circumstances already outlined). The Board of Education tried to keep 'business as usual' and issued a Memorandum to advise on

(1) Simon B. Education and the Social Order 1940-1990 p. 35
(2) Simon B. Ibid. p. 35
the continuation of provision according to the 1933 Syllabus, into the 1940s, wherever possible, stressing regular periods of Physical Education, games, dancing and, (where facilities were available) swimming (1). There was, however, a considerable overall loss of facilities and supplies:—

"....A complicated system of allocating sports goods, footballs, cricket bats etc., was worked out by the Board of Trade and allocations for schools and youth clubs were negotiated by the Board of Education. One fact of the Japanese War was to create such a shortage of rubber as to make it necessary to prohibit the manufacture of plimsolls. Stocks in manufacturers' hands were frozen, and it was arranged that the first call on them should be for educational purposes...." (2)

A second memorandum was issued in September 1940, which dealt with teachers and emergency training programmes. Temporary staff could be retrained by attending short courses. But, it is interesting to note that right through the Memorandum there is emphasis on the dangers of injury to pupils, in the hands of untrained teachers - still the therapeutic and medical concerns!!

"....Teachers who have not been trained to take exercises on apparatus, and who have no real understanding in the technique of these exercises should not attempt to teach them. If incorrectly taught and performed they tend to develop faulty posture, or, where this is already present to increase its ill effects; more seriously still they may cause undue strain and possible injury.........." and ".....To avoid the possibility of strain special care must be taken to adapt exercises from these groups (dorsal, abdominal, and lateral exercises) to the capabilities of the class....." (3)

(1) 'The Schools in Wartime' Memorandum No. 23 'Physical Education' No. 2 Board of Education 1940
(2) Gosden P.H.J.H. op.cit., p. 462
(3) 'The Schools in Wartime'; Memorandum No. 25 'Physical Education No. 2 Board of Education 1940
Also 'standing by' was to be strictly enforced to avoid accidents.

The introduction of Commando training into Physical Education

A further effect of the pressures of war was seen in what is now known as Commando Training. This devolved from the army where logs, ropes, nets, rocks, fences and all manner of natural and invented obstacles were used. The aim was to build up a mental attitude to overcome obstacles as well as training in the physical skills.

In 1943 a meeting of H.M.I.s at York visited the P.E.H.Q. of Northern Command, and were impressed by a demonstration of their Commando Training and its possible use in Primary Schools. This was taken up first in Bristol, where, by 1944, Physical Education Organiser Miss C. Cooke, had an experimental scrambling net over an eight foot pole in an Infant School playground (1), and marked the beginning of the appearance of climbing apparatus in Primary Schools throughout the Country in order to promote hanging, heaving, and balancing skills. The variety of apparatus depended on local preferences and teachers were observing their pupils' discovery learning rather than teaching specific techniques. Gone were the formal commands of

(1) Cooke C. 'Experimental Work in Physical Education at Bristol' in 'Childhood and Youth' Jul.-Sep. 1950 Vol.4 No.93 1950
Physical Training, and in their place came direction and suggestions.

There was still concern about the risk of accidents, but these did not often occur. Where children were committed, interested and responsible for their own learning, they were usually aware of safety.

The introduction of Dance into the P.E. Curriculum

The other new aspect of Physical Education was Dance, where all 'movements' could be mimed creatively, instead of being performed in real situations, with accompanying apparatus or props, which was a distinct advantage in view of the wartime shortages.

Like the introduction of Swedish Gymnastics a century earlier, dance was not indigenous. From America came the Isadora Duncan School which had translated classical dance into a modern form which:

".....affords an excellent physical and functional training of the whole body with an immediate goal and purpose for such training........(1)

However, more important was the Central European influence demonstrated by the Ling Physical Education Association, whose inspiration came from Rudolf von Laban and Lisa Ullman, both by now resident in England. The Ling Organisation requested that the Board of Education should promote this

(1) Journal of Physical Education Vol. XXXI No. 94 1939 p. 15
Modern Dance in schools. (1)

Dance was explained as a specific form of movement where the functions of the human body and whole personality could be expressed through creative activity. Laban and Ullman had arrived in England in the mid 1930s as fugitives from Hitler's Europe. They had been connected, initially, with the Ballet Joos, but from 1940 onwards, their Modern Dance began to be taken seriously by the Physical Education profession, attracting a considerable following, and being featured at courses and conferences.

In 1944 an article indicated the wide claims being made by enthusiasts for Modern Dance, but apart from Laban himself, male Physical Education specialists were sceptical and obstructive. (2)

Laban's personal insertion of the word 'educational' between 'modern' and 'dance', was an attempt to clarify its purpose, but nevertheless during the war, 'movement' through dance had made its debut.

Sport and games throughout the war

Games and sports continued throughout the war when conscientious teachers tried to provide pleasurable activities as an antidote to wartime pressures. The Preparatory Schools continued their obeisance to this cult

(1) Ling Association Leaflet Vol. 39 No. 5 May 1940
(2) Journal of Physical Education Vol. XXXIV no. 108 1944
of athleticism as nurseries for future officers. Canoeing, climbing, sailing and outdoor activities were introduced into state schools for character building as well as for pleasure. Even in some Elementary Schools, public spirited teachers introduced fell-walking, cycling and camping to offset the pressures of war.

In 1944, the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training became the Central Council of Physical Recreation, and carried on the provision of opportunities for youth and adults which found a rub-off in primary schools.

Schemes for awards e.g. the 'County Badge' scheme, were adopted, based on the famous achievements scheme used by Kurt Hahn at Gordonstoun, and Outward Bound Schools were opened in Wales and the Lake District to reinforce rock climbing and mountaineering.

Whereas football and cricket had been promoted by the Public Schools a century earlier, for training character, now it was the 'Outward Bound', commando and combat training which would develop courage, initiative, co-operation and leadership.

The Education Act (Butler Act) 1944

Each of the great wars of the 20th century has been followed by an Education Act, where wrongs were redressed. This time it was the Butler Act of 1944 which has been described as:
"... a very great Act which makes - and in fact has made - as important and substantial advance in public education as this country has ever known..."(1)

Thousands of young men had been called up for service in the prime of their lives, and the concern for the future of the Nation's children became paramount. Evacuation had revealed the poor standards in many homes and schools, and the Act:-

"... provided a legal and administrative framework for significant developments in physical education as in education generally....."(2)

Basically the Act introduced three progressive stages of Education for all: Primary (from 5 to 11 plus), Secondary, (from 11 plus to 18), and Further Education:-

"... Section 8(1) of the Education Act 1944 defines primary education baldly as "education suitable to the requirements of junior pupils", and Section 114 explains that a 'junior pupil' is a "child who has not yet attained the age of twelve years."

'Elementary Education' which had been the backbone of the whole Education system was now abolished and the new parameters indicated the age limits in this study.

The school leaving age was raised to 15, and from the point of view of Physical Education this was intended to give equal provision for boys and girls in the former senior standards of Elementary Schools with those in Grammar

(1) Dent H.C. op. cit. p.1
(2) McIntosh P.C. op. cit. p.231
(3) Dent H.C. ibid, p.65
Schools. Administratively, Section 53 of the Butler Act replaced the permissive clause 8b of the 1921 Act, and now it became a duty for all L.E.A.s to provide adequate facilities for Recreation and Physical Training, which would:

".... contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout those stages shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area..." (1)

Further physical care was to be provided through meals and milk, though administrative links with the School Health Service were severed.

Also the Board of Education (now 42 years old) became the Ministry of Education, and grant regulations made under section 118 of the Education Act 1921, were taken on by the Education Act 1944 (Section 121) (2). The National Fitness Council and Grants Committee which were set up by the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, were now financed by the Ministry of Education with obvious controls.

Physical Education and the Education Act 1944

There were further regulations affecting provision in Physical Education specifying that playing fields should consist of half an acre for every 50 pupils in a Primary School (as the new schools for under 12s were called), five acres for a one-form entry Secondary School, and 14 acres.

(1) Education Act 1944 Part 2, Section 7
for a three-form entry(1)

Just before the outbreak of War, the Board of Education had made recommendations that gymnasiums previously designated at 60 feet by 30 feet should now meet new regulations and be 70 feet by 40 feet, but a backlog of building in all areas of post-war reconstruction meant that this issue was not likely to be speedily adhered to.

There was to be a great drive to continue the provision of Nursery Education (which had expanded greatly during the War), where movement and dance were to be introduced, but in general, the period in school from five to twelve was to be divided into the two stages Infant and Junior Education. In the Infant stage, the child would discover its physical potential through movement, dance and games and in enlightened Junior school practice:

".....The physical education .....should provide opportunities for throwing, climbing, building, dancing etc., so the new skills can be learnt and old ones perfected....."(2)

On the personnel side, however, Physical Education Inspectors became absorbed into the General Inspectorate, and instead of bearing allegiance to the School Health Service, were now responsible to the Senior Chief Inspector rather than the Chief Medical Officer.

At last Physical Education had become a curriculum

(1) Regulations and prescribing standards for school premises H.M.S.O. 1944
(2) Dent H.C.op.cit. (Letter from R.T. Smith, Headteacher Carterknowle Primary School, Sheffield) p.78
subject in the educational provision for all children, with a corresponding decline in interest in therapy, and the medical value of Physical Education, (a feature which has recently been revived in the 'Healthy Heart' programme and other promotional activities).

The provision for special needs was also tackled. Formerly the L.E.A.'s duty of ascertainment had been for:

".....children who by reason of mental or physical defect are incapable of receiving proper benefit from the instruction in the ordinary public elementary schools.."(1)

This now applied to children of five years and over, appropriate to their handicap:

".....Since 1944, handicapped children have no longer been regarded as a class apart and provision for them ........is part of the general duty laid upon L.E.A.s to provide educational facilities for school children, suitable to their ages, abilities and aptitudes........"(2)

The training of teachers was also addressed by the new administration and is outlined in the McNair Report 1944. A White Paper in 1937 had proposed a National College of Physical Training, but the McNair Report(3)sought to integrate Physical Education rather than to give it 'special status', and therefore recommended that the training of Physical Education teachers should be part of the overall training of teachers, and that special Physical Education Colleges should not be segregated from the main stream

(1)Education Act 1921, Section 35(1)
(2)Dent H.C. op.cit. p.90
(3)McNair Report 1944
provision of general teacher-training. There was also to be no special status recommended for Physical Education teachers in promotion, salary, or other career prospects (1). In time all the Women's Colleges came under the University Institutes of Education, and additional specialist one-year courses in Physical Education were offered at York, Exeter, Cheltenham and Cardiff, in addition to those started in the 1930s at Leeds and Loughborough.

The 1944 Act therefore laid new foundations in extending the years of schooling, legalising further provision of personnel and providing greater opportunities in Physical Education.

Wartime provision and subsequent legislation in the preparatory schools

Most of the Preparatory Schools whether evacuated or not seemed, like the Elementary Schools, to make their own contingency plans for survival.

In the 'Centenary Record' of Bow School we read:-

"...... "Male teachers were gradually called up for service" ....and "..Mr. X.. came out of retirement for a time to teach and help with cricket coaching...."(2)

and the day to day running on the domestic side is described:-

(1) McNair Report 1944
(2) Watkinson C.D. op.cit. p.44
"The virtual disappearance of young domestic servants, especially resident maids, threw an additional burden on the remaining staff and on the boys, who helped with household duties. The traditional preparatory school diet was rendered even more spartan by food rationing. The monotony of wartime life, with the strict nightly blackout and the imposition of double summertime.....etc."(1)

Organised games in the preparatory school tradition had to be abandoned temporarily at Bow School, Durham in 1940, but were substituted by early morning runs and cold baths. Not only were wartime shortages limited to food, clothes, books and paper, but cricket balls were also in short supply. On the humorous side Miss Lodge, the headmistress:--

"....was determined that the one ball owned by the school would last the war out. To that end she kept the ball hidden in a chest of drawers in her bedroom. Although it was safe from small hands, it led to regular scenes of pre-match panic whilst Miss Lodge rummaged through her 'smalls' at the last moment to discover exactly where she had last put the treasured roundel....."(2)

Despite these war time difficulties Bow School flourished and there was great pressure on places and a waiting list was set up. The section of the 1944 Act (Part III) was concerned with the 'Independent' schools which included Preparatory and Private Schools for boys and girls from the age of 7 or 8. If these schools were regarded unsatisfactory, they could be refused registration and removed from the register. The Headteacher was to be given due notice of any complaint and had the right of appeal to an Independent Schools Tribunal. As most schools in the State and Private

(1) Watkinson C.D. op.cit p.44
(2) Ibid. p.45
Sectors were filled to capacity, survival was very likely; the only reason for failure would be lack of finance. On the whole, the Preparatory Schools continued to perpetuate their own ethos.

Meanwhile in State provision, the prospect of 'new beginnings' in post-war Britain provided fresh hopes.

The accumulated deficit of provision

The task however was formidable. It was estimated that four out of every five elementary schools were so out-of-date that they should be pulled down and rebuilt. Places for 200,000 children had been destroyed by the bombing, and the raising of the school-leaving age demanded 400,000 new places and 70,000 extra teachers. 'Emergency' training schemes were launched for a one-year training course giving qualified teacher status. The content of the school curriculum and an anticipated democratization of the public schools were issues which for want of money and resources had to be postponed. Even to put the proposed recommendations of the Act into operation:-

"...will be the more difficult in that it will have to be carried out during a period of economic and social dislocation and simultaneously with other massive schemes of reconstruction........."(1)

Summary of provision of Physical Education 1939-1945

In summarising the issues in provision and practice

(1) Dent H.C. op. cit. p.3
during the period of wartime, the on-going saga of lack of finance, or lack of priority for money for Physical Education, continued with such interesting exceptions as the release from war service in the early years of the War, of trained teachers to carry out youth training. The continuing responsibility to the Chief Medical Officer kept Physical Education in the forefront of the public's mind.

The predominant issue however was the problem of the initial evacuation and subsequent smaller 'waves' at later periods of the War. Provision of physical and human resources were in the wrong place at the wrong time, due to the fickleness of the families, and of course, military provision took precedence.

In the practice of Physical Education, the War contributed to the establishment of commando-type Physical Education for all ages, with exciting prospects for the under 12s in normal and Special schools.

Dance also owed its support to wartime conditions in a surge of popularity in ballroom dancing as a socialiser for troops, whilst Dance in Physical Education, like Swedish Drill one hundred years previously, did not require a huge financial input.

The gender issue however revealed the scepticism of male Physical Education teachers who refused to accept Dance into their curriculum for boys. This was a period when 'men were men' who were fighting for their country's survival. However attitudes were to change as the popularity of the
subject caught on.

Parliamentary concern for the health of the nation's children, seen also in the Boer and Great Wars, meant that Physical Education got all the support possible within the stringencies of rationing and the financial drain of a major war. However in spite of the disruption and destruction of schooling and standards, and the appearance of new ideologies, there was still:-

"...a widespread will to return to the tried, the familiar, the well-known, once the national crisis was over. The 'New Deal' for most English children was to be a return to the staffing levels, the educational methods and the curriculum of the pre-War years....." (1)

The 1944 Act marked another turning point in the provision and practice of Physical Education. Probably of prime importance was the fact that after half a century, Physical Education was free from the control of the School Health Service and was about to establish itself as a subject in its own right. However it must be remembered that without the support of the School Health Service, it may not have survived in the early days. By the end of the war there were changes in attitudes and priorities, but without action in provision and direction in practice, it was not enough to herald the dawn of a new age. R.A. Butler himself commented that the Act was:-

".....really codifying existing practice, which always seems

(1) Lowe R. op. cit., p.15
to me the hallmark of good legislation...."(1)

and was therefore, sufficient for the statute books; but an uphill task lay ahead.

(1) Jeffreys K. 'R.A. Butler, the Board of Education and the 1944 Education Act' History 69, 227 p.430
Chapter 6

From the Butler Education Act 1944 to the Plowden Report 1967

In spite of the recession the 1930s had proved to be a period of rapid expansion in Recreation facilities. In fact opportunities in 'Keeping Fit' had reached the man in the street, the unemployed and the housewife. Because of the vast numbers of unemployed there was an increase in the provision of facilities by philanthropic bodies such as the Youth Hostels Association, the National Playing Fields Association, and the Central Council of Physical Recreation. Through individual pioneers and groups, the enthusiasm was carried on during the War years wherever opportunities were available. At least by World War II army sports teams knew how to play each other at football and cricket. In the 1914-1918 War few recruits had enough experience for this, so progress had been made.

Dance, gymnastics, the art of movement and movement training had rapidly expanded, and under the umbrella of 'Physical Education' there were between 30 and 40 activities, and a blurring of boundaries between education and recreation.

The Political Scene

However, the post-war period has been regarded by both politicians and historians as a period of moderation and
consensus, where both of the major political parties seemed to be seeking a middle way, not least in their policies for education. There were two conflicting ideologies which can be described very simply as - 1) wanting to restore pre-war conditions and 2) wanting to use the post-war surge of activity to break new ground. In education there was the huge back-log of building as well as repairs, hampered by the increased numbers of children in schools due to the raising of the school leaving age, and the bulge in the post-war birth rate, which had to work its way through the schools.

By 1958 however, it was reported that:

"......A survey of the resources show that 'the battle of the bulge' is well on the way to being won and this makes it possible to plan ahead with complete confidence...."(1)

but coping with the rising school population diverted successive Education Ministers from other urgent matters, as they were almost totally preoccupied:

"......matching demand with resources....(2)

Consequently the standing of the Ministry among the political parties was not very high. There seemed to be little evidence of a search for new ideas and new initiatives.

(1) Ministry of Education Report 1958 p.1
(2) Gordon P., Aldrich R. & Dean D. op. cit. p.66
The Primary School after 1944

The needs for provision for under fives had long been recognised. Owen had provided Physical Education for the youngest children of his workers in the early part of the 19th century. However, although the 1944 Education Act encouraged L.E.A.s to continue to make provision, nursery education suffered badly, as priority was given to the pressures by raising the school-leaving age. Again self-help in the form of the Pre-School Playgroups Association filled some of the gaps.

In Infant Schools research work undertaken by Susan Issacs at the Department of Child Development during the 1930s and carried on by Dorothy Gardner, concentrated on the emotional, social, intellectual and physical development of children, yet in the 1944 Act the Infant stage of education was not specifically mentioned. After World War II the emphasis was on organisational considerations, and one of the more enlightened examples was the Evelyn Loise School in South London, catering for children from 3 1/2 to 9, with family grouping of the 4 to 6, and 7 to 9 year olds.

Two separate administrative actions helped to determine the age range of the Junior School. Early Regulations of the Board of Education in 1905 strengthened the position of Infants, and with practical courses offered in some Secondary and Central Schools for older children, the break tended to come at about 11 years of age. When the 1918 Act introduced a
school-leaving age of 16, emphasis was put on the reorganisation of arrangements for the under 12s. However, more directly, it was pointed out that this age was:

"... the most suitable dividing line between what may be called 'Junior' and 'Senior' Education....."(1)

This was adopted by Hadow in 1926 with the famous quotation:

"... There is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence..."(2)

and briefly recommended that Primary Education should be regarded as ending at 11+ when pupils pass on to the secondary stage.

The 1944 Education Act legislated the three stages of education, but reorganisation was not completed until well after the Second World War.

The philosophy of enlightenment however was expressed in the successive 'Handbooks of Suggestions for Teachers' where:

"... the curriculum is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience rather than knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored...."(3)

Physical Education had already adopted this philosophy. However progress was impeded by the 11+ examination and the

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(1) Circular 1350 (1925)
(2) Hadow Report 1926 p.3
(3) Board of Education 1931 p.93
problems already outlined stemming from the growing school population when :-

"...Circular 30/45 regretted that it was not yet possible to prescribe a lower maximum than 40 for Junior and Infant classes, and underlined the considerable difficulty involved in achieving classes smaller in size until staffing and accommodation could be improved...."(1)

The initiatives for change came from individual practitioners and forward-looking L.E.A.s e.g. John Newson, Director of Education for Hertfordshire, where new building designs encouraged the use of progressive teaching methods.

Post-war aims in Physical Education

Following the 1944 Act, the Local Authorities had to take on the provision and training for day and evening classes in recreation and sports in schools, colleges, swimming baths and parks. Now the C.C.P.R. and other bodies drew an increasing revenue from the Ministry of Education, so that the history of provision of Physical Education in schools, became part of a wider policy of sporting opportunities for all.

Physical Education in post-war England aimed to:-

"(a) Secure and maintain high standards of bodily health, physique, and vigour;
(b) develop qualities of character, high social ideals and the team spirit e.g. hardihood, courage, perseverance, fair play and friendliness.
(c) foster an appreciation of the joy of physical fitness;
(d) cultivate quick and accurate co-ordination of thought and action;

(1) Gordon P., Aldrich R. & Dean D. op. cit. p.164
(e) develop easy, graceful bodily movement and poise;
(f) develop general motor skill and specialised recreational and occupational skills;
(g) help to correct bodily distortions due either to heredity or environment;
(h) provide opportunities for self-expression and self-testing;
(i) encourage the pursuit of wholesome leisure-time activities"(1)

With the exception of Religious Education, the 1944 Education Act made few recommendations on the curriculum. However, within Physical Education changes were taking place.

**Movement in Physical Education**

Initially, the 1940s and early 1950s received the full impact of movement training, especially among women teachers and inspectors. But what exactly was meant by movement training? Surely all Physical Education involved movement. Laban's early work was related to the theatre and ballet, but he was interested in all human movement, and the influence of his Modern Educational Dance was initially felt in Girls' Secondary Schools, but gradually, with the help of the Ling Association, spread right across the field of Physical Education. The idea of training for functional efficiency, emotional stability, social adjustment and leisure skills, may not have developed from the art of movement alone. Also emerging were new teaching techniques like discovery learning, and although the art of movement was identified

(1) National Association of Organisers of Physical Education, 'Physical Education: Its Aims, Scope and Organisation' p.5
with Laban's themes of dance, there were nevertheless, other areas of the curriculum where effective learning (as opposed to teaching) of Physical Education, could be demonstrated.

As many of the male P.E. teachers had not initially responded to Laban's Dance, two male P.E. Organisers from Lancashire, (A. Bilborough and P. Jones), were developing a more free approach to Physical Education with less direction and more freedom for individual interpretation by the children. Their methods were eventually published (1) and were popular with teachers in schools, and so experiment began with the new initiatives in movement.

Another move forward was demonstrated by Ruth Morison of I.M. Marsh Physical Education College, in 1946.

She abandoned Swedish Gymnastics, because she recognised that:—

"....The dominance of the Swedish system was finally broken by the Education Act of 1944, and post war conditions...." (2)

She attempted to adapt Laban's principles of movement and published a guide to gymnastics without apparatus (3) which demonstrated Laban's basic concepts of space, time, weight and flow:—

"....The movement approach thereby obtained a foothold, gaining stimulus from the newly-devised forms of apparatus based upon wartime obstacle pieces, the ideas of Laban, and the desire of various women physical educators to explore

(1) Bilborough A. & Jones P. Physical Education in the Primary School
(2) Van Dalem D. B. & Bennett B. L. op. cit p. 292
(3) Morison Ruth Educational Gymnastics (1956)
new principles of movement......."(1)

By the 1960s differentiation within the concept of movement was illustrated thus:--

"...There is no set method of progression in this form of gymnastics, no definite starting point or step by step progress to the goal as there is in learning to swim or to play a game........Everyone works in her own time and as all are doing different things no one is conspicuous...Each can learn to assess her own powers and launch out to her own limits but no one will be pressed beyond her limit or be compared disparagingly with others........(2)

For Infants, the publication by women inspectors of Physical Education in London, of a booklet entitled "Movement Education for Infants" showed that there was no need to differentiate.

In Primary Schools, movement training was (and still is) separated from swimming, football, netball, cricket, and minor games.

Also, there evolved a difference between expressive movement using percussion and music, and educational gymnastics often called 'modern educational gymnastics'. Ruth Morison regarded educational dance and educational gymnastics as separate areas, but felt that they complement each other, and that both should be in the school curriculum (3). The London County Council (so many times in the past a pioneer of new innovations), again produced a guide for Juniors (as well as Secondary children)

(2) Morison Ruth *Educational Gymnastics for Secondary Schools* p. 6
(3) Morison Ruth *Educational Gymnastics—Movement Approach* p. 3
One of the most debatable issues concerning practice at this period was that of the definition of 'movement'. The purists could not accept that movement was synonymous with Physical Education in name and content. Was it an 'art' or a 'science'? Was it the same for boys as for girls? This was a journey into deep water for teacher training because it pointed to the need for a comprehensive understanding of the Physiology and Psychology of movement, and basic Physics to understand the laws of motion, thus indicating a need for the revision of entry qualifications and course requirements in teacher training.

The Art of Movement protagonists under Laban and Ullman continued to promote their courses in movement as a creative art, and after Laban's death in 1958, Ullman set up a trust for a joint general education/creative movement course which gave qualified teacher status. As an integral part of the Physical Education programme for Primary Schools conducted by both men and women, gymnastics was to include:

1. Compensatory movements: leg, trunk, and arm and shoulder girdle.
2. General activities: walking, running, skipping, jumping, leap-frog, through-vault, crouch jumps, catsprings, rolls, handstands, cartwheels, balancing, hitting, kicking, heading and aiming.
3. Games: chasing, and dodging, races and group.

Ruth Morison included in her educational gymnastics the following type of programme:
A. General management of the body in:

1. Actions emphasizing locomotion:
   a. transference of weight
   b. travelling
   c. flight

2. Actions emphasizing balance:
   a. weight bearing
   b. balancing skills
   c. actions of 'arriving'
   d. on and off balance

B. Specific control of movement in:

1. Bodily aspects of action
2. Dynamic aspects of action
3. Spatial aspects of action

C. Handling (of apparatus)

D. Relationships (partner and group work(1))

All types of equipment would be needed to implement these activities including bats, hoops, beanbags, poles, planks, ladders and ropes. The McNair Report also recommended that training for Physical Education should not be isolated in separate colleges, and there followed the establishment of one-year specialist courses for men at three general colleges. Along with the women's colleges, these were brought into the Institutes of Education. In 1960 the normal two-year training was increased to three years, and in order to provide the additional one-year supplementary courses, a number of selected Colleges set up 'Wing' Courses, some specialising in Physical Education (e.g. Neville's Cross College, Durham). As well as the graduate Physical Education courses already on offer, e.g. University of Birmingham,

(1) Van Dalen D.B. & Bennett B.L. op. cit. pp. 301-302
Physical Education eventually became a subject for the Bachelor of Education degree, and the first students graduated in 1968. The significance of these various forms of provision was that Physical Education gained credibility as a serious course of study, needing brains as well as brawn to be taught effectively.

**Further contributory factors**

Other forces were at work which were to play an equally important role in moulding the type of provision and practice for Physical Education in Primary Schools:

"...The interplay between new concepts of primary education and a reappraisal of the purpose and nature of physical education brought about innovations corresponding to those to be found in other aspects of the curriculum...." (1)

The pre-war traditions of the therapeutic physical educators were almost forgotten, with the surge of emphasis on sports and creative movement. However in 1966, a manual was produced with a bias towards Health Education (2), showing how circuit training, a unique English contribution to Physical Education (3) and weight training could be used to help children with postural defects, poor physique and physical handicaps. In order to promote the development of physical health.

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(1) *Children and their Primary Schools* (Plowden) 699. p. 256
(2) Murray G. W. & Hunter T. A. A. *Physical Education and Health*
skills in adolescents, the Duke of Edinburgh's Award was introduced in 1956, which led to the assimilation of outdoor pursuits into the Physical Education and training of older Primary School (one local Primary School in County Durham, known to me, was systematically walking stretches of the Pennine Way over a period of time, using Youth Hostel accommodation).

A series of Committees reporting on the status quo during the 1950s and 1960s helped to establish better facilities for young adults. Money for Physical Education had formerly been channelled via the Physical Training and Recreation Act (1937) and was now in the hands of the Ministry of Education. There appeared to be too little positive action, so the Wolfenden Committee was established which recommended that a Sports Development Council be set up:

"..........to advise the Government on matters relating to the development of amateur sport and physical recreation services and to foster co-operation amongst the statutory authorities and the voluntary organisations concerned. . . . (1) and also to distribute the annual £5 million grant. This was finally set up in 1965. Financial help was extended to individuals and teams representing their country in sports and extended to school children. A recommendation of joint use of facilities for school and community was not so easily carried out. Another supporting Committee under Lady

(1) Central Office of Information The Sports Council (H.M.S.O. 1966) p. 8
Albemarle was unanimous in supporting the provision of physical education for youth:

"...There are powerful reasons why provision for physical recreation should be improved. First, because sports and physical activities generally are a major leisure time interest in the lives of adolescent boys and girls. Secondly, because the interest is unrelated to academic ability or manual skill; it cuts across the stratification of society, the incidental effects of which we have deplored. Thirdly, because there is evidence that work and their present leisure activities fail to satisfy the increased physical energies of many young people. Physical Education at school has become much more challenging and more comprehensive in scope than it used to be, yet planned physical education stops as soon as young people leave school..." (1)

The Newsom Report 'Half our Future' (2), although dealing with the 13 to 16 age range, recommended the expansion of facilities for Physical Education, and the Robbins Report on Higher Education recommended the inclusion of Physical Education as a subject for the B.Ed. Degree, which by 1968 had been accepted by most of the University Institutes of Education.

All of these measures proved that what was needed was the development of a positive attitude to Sports and Physical Education from early Primary School onwards. In other words work should begin with the foundations, instead of patching up the superstructure.

The increasing use of apparatus and extended facilities

Already in Primary (Elementary Schools) climbing

(1) The Youth Service of England and Wales Cmd. 929 1960
(2) Half our Future (Newsom Report), 1963
apparatus had appeared before 1939 in the Jungle Gym and similar equipment. The commando type scrambling nets were introduced during the war and were quickly adapted in post war primary schools.

After 1945 there was a rapid increase in the use of all kinds of apparatus, including climbing frames, ladders, bars and ropes. Children were encouraged to explore their possibilities rather than practise specific exercises. This type of learning had been typical of Nursery and Infant schools and now spread upwards into Junior Schools.

Also the provision of playing fields increased. As new schools were built, it was incumbent on Local Authorities to provide the regulation-sized playing fields, although a survey in the 1960s showed that only 13% of the schools in problem areas of England had good outdoor space, and 77% had less than the prescribed acreage. Some Primary schools were even provided with learner swimming pools for their own use, or for the use of a cluster group of schools. Furthermore the use of the Cave-Southampton apparatus which could be swung out from the wall to permit hanging, climbing, vaulting, heaving, balancing, jumping, and other fundamental movements was usually incorporated into all new building and reconstruction schemes. These extra facilities contributed towards the abandonment of formal teaching methods in favour of discovery learning.

(1) Clegg Sir A. 'Physical Education: Who is against?' Education 126 (30th July 1965) 252
Probably one of the permanent effects of the evacuation experience was that the nation's children became the major concern of politicians, churchmen and the general public. The Victorian maxim of children being 'seen and not heard' was reversed, and children were to be heard. Formal commands and formal teaching began to give way to informal, conversational teaching, allowing individual children to work at their own rate and at their own level of ability. Scope was to be given for:

".....building up a child's resources in movement and their extension into many different situations...."(1)

The Curriculum

From the curriculum point of view a series of observations were published in 1959. For Infants it was suggested that they:

".....should be using their physical powers with confidence and their bodies and limbs with increasing dexterity and continued satisfaction...."(2)

When planning the curriculum for Primary children it was suggested that several issues needed consideration:

a) children are extremely mobile; b) they have a high energy output; c) their physiological characteristics are changing rapidly over short periods of time; d) hand and eye coordination improves steadily as they progress through

(1) Plowden Report op.cit. 703 p.257
(2) Primary Education(H.M.S.O.) p.55
Primary schools, and e) boys and girls have different attitudes and aptitudes:

"....The education of children, in terms of movement, is becoming similar in process to their education in terms of language."(1)

and Physical Education, already well-advanced in such techniques became a channel for all-round educational development. Through the interpretation of music, and dance and drama, movement was found to enhance speech, language, literature, art and history, and to lead to uninhibited expression in both normal children, and those with special needs.

By 1952, all the post-war strands in Physical Education practice were in evidence. The 1933 Syllabus was replaced by the Ministry of Education's 'Moving and Growing' (Part I of Physical Education in the Primary School) and in 1953 'Planning the Programme' (Part II), the latter dealing more specifically with organising and planning lessons. These publications became the handbook for Physical Education for the next 40 years, and were endorsed in the Plowden Report.

The Physical Education lesson now became known as the movement lesson and was used very broadly to include:

"....agility, on the ground or on apparatus, with ball or athletic skill, or (with) expressive movement of dramatic or dance-like quality. In such work, exercises or techniques are unlikely to be taught: the aim is rather to develop each child's resources as fully as possible through exploratory stages and actions which will not be the same for any two

(1) Primary Education p. 134
children...(1)

With these publications a new era began in Physical Education revealing a different relationship between the pupil and teacher who was now concerned with each child growing as an individual:-

"There is no single way of learning; each process may be useful according to the nature of the individual concerned and the stage through which he is passing.....(2)

'Planning the Programme' identified clearly the importance of dress, facilities, apparatus and the amount of time allocated to physical education on the timetable. By providing the general framework the children could make their own discoveries in their own time.

Of course there was not only the movement lesson. In the balanced programme, a child could experience and explore games, swimming, drama and dance, so that by the time the child left Primary School:-

".........the work and teaching will be more clearly related to specific ends....(3)

This was achieved by early play and free practice with balls, bats, and sticks in the Infants School leading to experiences in the Junior School of the rudiments of the main national games(4)- netball, hockey and tennis for

(1) Plowden Report 705 p.257
(2) Moving and Growing(H.M.S.O.) p.52
(3) Plowden Report 706 p.258
(4) Van Dalen D.B. & Bennett B.L. op.cit. 302
girls, and football and cricket for boys. The age of the feminists had not yet dawned. What was also emphasized in this context, however, was the concept of 'readiness' of the performers, and the need to relate teaching and coaching to ability, recognizing that some primary children already understand the complexities of a full team game, whilst others need a much simpler form of practice. In the publication of 'Primary Education' in 1959, the Inspectorate attempted to:

"....suggest in general terms the kind of Physical Education which is likely to meet the children's needs, their physical and mental make up...."(1)

They stressed the need for children to explore their own capabilities as well as their own environment because at this stage they invent, or create easily and confidently. In the nine fields of learning identified, Physical Education appears as second behind religion.

The Plowden Report and Physical Education

However in the spirit of the Public (rather than the State) Schools, Plowden (1967) placed an emphasis on the:

".........essential nature of the game and the true spirit of play. The establishment of sound attitudes is important from the start........"(2)

(1) Primary Education p.130
(2) Plowden op.cit. 708 p.258
Swimming and athletics were also found in the Primary Curriculum and even some Infants were fortunate enough to have access to learner pools. The Amateur Swimming Association, Royal Life Saving Society, and the Swimming Teachers' Association, among others, all offered badges for achievement in swimming and diving, but the drive was to get as many children as possible to gain confidence in water and to be able to swim sufficiently well to reach safety if they found themselves in a dangerous situation. Competition among peers and against the clock stimulated many Primary School children.

Outdoor pursuits, already seen in Elementary Schools during the War, found a place in the post-war Primary Schools' Curriculum and could be linked to Cub Scouting and Brownies which were (are) very popular leisure activities with the under 12s. Towards the end of Primary Schooling, emphasis was seen to progress from exploratory and experimental Physical Education to skill and mastery. The training in techniques by specialists became important and developed along with display and performance. However at this stage there was some anxiety that competitive Physical Education could be introduced too early:

"........Competition clearly had a place, but it can be overdone and we think it sometimes is, in the form of inter-school leagues and championships........"(1)

The Plowden Report, named 'Children and their Primary

(1) Plowden Report 712 p.259
Schools' was crucial to the whole range of Primary Education. It drew attention to the poor state of Primary School buildings and facilities and made a number of proposals for reforms and aid. With increasing numbers of children in schools, all facilities were stretched, but the aid to Primary Schools was verbal. Teachers were expected to make changes in attitudes, understanding and knowledge of individual teaching methods (not much financial input required here).

However already teaching styles had changed in Physical Education as a result of the emphasis on movement. Whereas 'finding out' became the watchword to replace 'being told' in all subjects of the curriculum, Physical Education was already well on its way, and, as reported in the Plowden Committee, underlined the changes in the concept of Physical Education since the early days of the Swedish system under the medical Department of the Board of Education. Post-Plowden, therefore, offered new horizons.

The Preparatory Schools

Meanwhile in the Independent Sector, field games were still the major and almost only form of Physical Exercise. These continued to be coached by Oxbridge Blues under the Head of Department of Physical Education. Athletics played a minor role, but in the gymnasium things were rather different, where in many cases, P.E. was taught by part-time ex-service N.C.O.s. Some of these held part-time positions in
several Preparatory Schools at the same time to eke out a living and usually :-

"...........had no teaching qualifications, were not members of the Master's Common Room, and, like the butler, were known by their surnames....."(1)

In fact progress had not been as marked in the Preparatory schools as in the Primary Schools. As there was such low status accorded to work in the gym, attendance was on a voluntary basis and usually involved pupils who were not prominent on the games field. This vast divide between Physical Education (as in a centre), and games, (i.e. Physical Education which happened elsewhere), did not have its parallels in the State schools:-

".....But the accent will always be on taking part and enjoyment. For many, enjoyment will mean excellence and winning their share. That's fine, but, in the end, it doesn't matter...."(2)

However for many it does matter and for this reason the Independent Sector continues to flourish, offering rugby, soccer, hockey, cricket, tennis, swimming and rowing as major sports, with fives, badminton, fencing, wrestling, squash, athletics and cross-country running as minor sports. Primary Schools in the State Sector do not usually have such a choice menu, and therefore the preparatory schools continue to flourish because there are parents who are willing to pay

(1) Braund R. "Issues in Physical Education : 'The Winchester Experience'" p.279
(2) Ibid p.45
for such privileges.

Summary of issues which emerged 1945-1967

The issues which emerged during this period, therefore, were again largely dependent on finance and whether successive governments were supportive of Physical Education. Along with the euphoria of victory, there was a massive injection of money in school buildings, gymnasiums, swimming pools and all types of Physical Education equipment for Primary Schools (along with all Educational expansion). However this was more thinly spread because of the backlog which had accrued during the war from bomb damage in the cities.

By 1951, there was a post-war 'bulge' of children in Infants Schools who were the products of parental reunions after the separations of war service. The issue arising out of this demographic impact was, that these children worked their way through the schools for the rest of the decade making even more demands on resources. Finance was mostly in the hands of the Ministry of Education, but several independent bodies, like the Y.H.A. continued to make provision, and membership boomed during the fifties.

The shortage of teachers throughout the system led to the setting up of Emergency Training Schemes where mature students could be trained in one year, yet class numbers remained persistently high and problem areas/schools had
great difficulty in recruiting staff.

The practice of Physical Education however was injected with the emphasis on movement and the consequent issues of gender involvement. A restructuring by men and women Physical Education lecturers and organisers of the content of Primary Education was synonymous with the pedagogical ideas of children learning by experience rather than by being taught, and several 'classics' in Physical Education literature were produced. The issues of differentiation were tackled and children were catered for as individuals, whose performance in Physical Education was personal to them without being too demanding.

After the Education Act 1944, Physical Education became an integral subject in the curriculum of the Primary School, without dependence on the Chief Medical Officer. Structured programmes were advocated, and although training was merged into general teacher training, Physical Education also became part of a graduate course in the Universities. The overall picture of the expansion of physical and recreational programmes for youth, illustrates the wholesale impact and the projected rub-off on to younger children.

Post-war affluence opened doors to all types of activities. Thousands of people began swimming, skating, skiing, and jogging and the sports' industry generated distinctive clothing and footwear often prized as status symbols by their wearers. Along with access to the countryside and to more varied sporting activities, public
approval was reflected in sporting achievements and promoted by the media.

The Plowden Report of 1967 recognised profound changes in provision and practice for all children, and especially for those with special needs whilst the wider community was becoming more educated and more caring towards their needs.

Socially, conditions in Primary Schools had changed. Provision was improving whenever money was available, and practice was in line with the current pedagogic ideology and the culture of post-war reconstruction. Progressive teaching styles accentuated the personal worth of each child, and the days of grading children according to overall ability were superceded by provision of facilities based on individual needs. Ideally sporting, musical, and artistic talents were identified early, and opportunities afforded for their development, irrespective of the parents' ability to pay.

The Public Schools however seemed to stick to their Victorian values and to be able to afford a vast variety of opportunities, which high fees paid by parents could provide.

The management of changes which were becoming obvious in post-war education seemed to by-pass the independent schools. However outcomes were becoming more complex as:

"...school physical education was, like the rest of post-war society, reconstructed and transformed in ways that marked a distinctive break with what had gone before, but at the same time it carried forward older ideas into new and quite different political and social circumstances...."(1)

(1) Kirk D. Defining Physical Education: The Social Construction of a School Subject in Post War Britain.
Chapter 7
Managing the outcomes of change following the Plowden Report to the Education Reform Act 1988

Since Plowden, educational change has been one of the major social trends of the last three decades, with debates about theory and policy, provision and practice, reflecting sharp differences in values and objectives.

The rapidity of 'change' influenced the setting up of management units, not only in industry but also in Health, Social Services and Education. Sir Allen Sheppard, Chairman of Grand Metropolitan and a governor of the London School of Economics, believes that management is 'about never being satisfied with success, and not accepting reasons for failure', and this probably summarizes the governing principle in educational thinking to date. (1)

The social and economic background of the period

Improving standards of living, high wages and increased demand for leisure facilities stimulated the expansion of educational facilities. MacMillan's 'You've never had it so good' was believed and enjoyed by large sections of the population. With the return of Labour Governments in 1964 and 1966, the aims and objectives of the Welfare State were reinforced, but in British Society the general patterns and

(1) Guardian article 5.4.93
standards were set by consumer-led affluence. Even 30 years ago economists talked about slow growth and falling production, whilst sociologists pointed to deep inequalities and class divisions as the reason for a stagnant society. Really the fault lay in British complacency. Life was getting better, the birth rate was falling (due to the introduction of additional contraceptive techniques) and therefore households had less mouths to feed, and more money to spend on cars, home ownership, foreign holidays and modern household appliances. In the 1960s Pop Culture made its debut through the Beatles. Other social changes followed in quick succession including the condoning of homosexual practices, abortion, and one-parent families. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, protest groups against foreign regimes and wars, pollution, racial discrimination and the I.R.A., reflected the changing views of society as a whole. (1)

After devaluation in 1967 however, inflation began to rise significantly with ensuing unemployment. By 1973 there were severe economic problems. Britain was in decline as a trading nation in comparison with other developed countries, and government measures led to strikes and further disruption of industry. World price rises of oil finally led to inflation at 20% and over 2 million unemployed at the beginning of the 1980s. The power of the trade Unions was seriously undermined following the 'winter of discontent', and in 1979 a Conservative Government was returned, and has

(1) Morgan K.O. The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain
remained in power ever since. (1)

The ethos of equality of opportunity, the 'Hallmark' of the Labour party, was now being replaced by a cult of consumerism and accountability.

Forces of disruption spread to the sphere of personal relationships in society, and this was nowhere more revealing than in the attitudes of the young towards their parents, 'feminist' wives to husbands, students to lecturers and children to their teachers. Yet Britain as a whole still clung to the great traditions of Church, Monarchy and State. (although the Church and Monarchy at the moment, 1993–4, are themselves under scrutiny).

**Changes in Education**

Against this background of rapid economic and social change, education has inevitably changed. Since World War II issues in Physical Education have been inextricably bound up with politics and cultural aspirations. The great issue of recent years has centred round the content and meaning of Education, and Physical Education has also been under review by educationalists and politicians right up to the publication of the National Curriculum in 1988. Looking at sporting personalities today, there seems, (with the exception of soccer), to be a disproportionate number of public school successes to those of state school pupils (recent examples

(1) Briggs A. A Social History of England
are the Underwood brothers in Rugby, and the strokes of the Oxford and Cambridge crews). The rise in mass secondary education, on a scale never previously envisaged, showed that the race was on for opportunities to be given, and to be seen to be given, for all children over 12 years of age.

Whereas the 1950s and 1960s had signalled great advances in the restructuring of Primary Education as a whole, the following decades saw some setbacks which paralleled the changes brought about by high inflation and unemployment.

From the early 1970s, a group of sociologists — among them Michael Young(1) — began to debunk the content value of subjects, and to show how control of them was socially constructed by the dominant classes, so that the working classes, females, handicapped and ethnic minorities had little chance of equality of opportunity.

Within Physical Education there were also conflicting struggles between the three separate traditions, which were attempting to merge into a single subject. Up to World War II there were broadly, the competitive team games favoured by the boys' public schools, Swedish gymnastics and the games of the girls' private schools, and the physical drill of the elementary schools, each of which promoted different ideologies. When educationalists talked about 'traditional physical education' nobody knew quite what was meant, and the sociologists took the issue on board with a view to managing

(1) Young M. The Rise of the Meritocracy
and accommodating the process of change for contemporary projects.

Financial priorities were first given to raising the school leaving age to 16, and then to the establishment of a national system of Comprehensive Education. Primary Education had the smallest slice of the cake, and as Plowden had recommended a large increase in Nursery provision, this resulted in 10,000 extra places largely in Educational Priority Areas in 1970, and 5,000 in the following year. (1) By the beginning of the 1980s, 42% of under-fives were receiving some form of nursery education where simple programmes of movement and dance were included in the daily routine. Physical Education was now an important part of the pre-school curriculum.

A period of disenchantment

The progressivism in teaching methods after World War II, (highly commended by the Plowden Committee and implemented by such innovators as Sir Alec Clegg, Sybil Marshall, L.G. Sealley, and V. Gibbon) however, was alleged to have contributed to a decline in standards in all schools, especially in 3Rs, and led to the publication of the 'Black Papers' in 1969, with contributions by well-known Conservatives such as Angus Maude, Rhodes Boyson and Professor C.B. Cox.

This criticism of the Plowden philosophy by academics

(1) Whitbread N. The Evolution of the Nursery-Infant School 1800-1972 p. 113
and politicians was articulated by Professor Richard Peters (London University), R.F. Dearden and others in 'Perspectives on Plowden' (1). They said it was lacking in aims, overstressed personal autonomy, and laid too little emphasis on standards. Their claim was, that if the purpose of teaching was to expedite learning, then a person who is taught, is more likely to learn more effectively than one who is not. In fact their common aim and purpose was:—

"...to show that progressive methods in both Primary and Secondary schools were 'selling the children short' and so contributing to the general permissiveness which (they said) was undermining the traditions of British Society...." (2)

With the shift in political and parental thinking some of the more enlightened aspects of Primary Education (and I include here Physical Education) were subject to attack.

The 'back to basics' debate coincided with the economic recession of the early 1970s, and led to cutbacks in educational expenditure, and the slowing down of change. The traditionalists who feared change, or who questioned the wisdom of moving too far or too quickly, breathed a sigh of relief. The publication of the Green Paper 'Education in Schools' (1977) mentioned the beneficial effects in recent years of the much wider curriculum and 'child-centred' approaches, but stated:—

"...There are some skills for which Primary Schools have a central and indeed over-riding responsibility. Literacy and numeracy are the most important of these: no other curricular

(1) Pluckrose H. What is happening in our Primary Schools? p. 29
aims should deflect teachers from them...(1)

At the same time excuses were made for declining standards because, it was noted that:

"...in the hands of less experienced teachers, this approach had not been carefully organised and monitored; as a result the basic subjects had suffered...."(2)

Thus the brakes were put on the provision and development of all subjects, including Physical Education. The enquiry into the William Tyndale scandal added fuel to the fire. However the Labour response was:

".........The challenge now is to restore the vigour without damaging the real benefits of child-centred development..(3)

The broader curriculum which included Physical Education was under scrutiny, and this became a forceful political issue throughout the 1980s, when there was a universal call for a 'core of learning', which meant emphasis on the 3Rs, and specific curriculum topics in science, R.E., history and geography. In 1982 the publication of 'Education from 5 to 9' (4), showed that over-emphasis on basic skills limited the time available for extending the range of activities. Like other subjects outside the 'core', Physical Education was competing for time. The Secretaries of State, however, were determined to achieve such a core in:-

(1) D.E.S. Education in Schools (1977) p.9
(2) Gordon P., Aldrich R. & Dean D. op. cit. p.166
(3) D.E.S. Education in Schools p.9
(4) H.M.I. Education 5 to 9 (1982)
".........a bidden curriculum.......(1)

and the 1979 report criticised the L.E.A.s for not having

".....a clear view of the school curriculum, especially its
core elements......."(2)

Action from the D.E.S. and H.M.I.

Change was rapidly taking place, with the Inspectorate
and the D.E.S. now taking a very close look at the
curriculum. From the mid 1970s onwards, the D.E.S. adopted an
interventionist policy aimed at determining the curriculum
content. After the 'Great Debate' the D.E.S. published 'A view
of the Curriculum'. James Callaghan, the Labour Prime
minister, speaking at Ruskin College, Oxford, articulated
feelings which had been running high for some time when he
implied that schools were no longer equipping children to
meet the needs of the 20th century, and his address sparked
off numerous debates throughout the country, marking a
significant turning point. A D.E.S. Report entitled 'Primary
Education in England' (1978) criticised teachers for under­
estimating children's abilities, and noted the lack of
specialist teachers who could draw up schemes of work and
give guidance to colleagues. They indicated their own
ministerial intent by publishing 'A Framework for the School
Curriculum' (1980), where the core primary curriculum was

(1) H.M.I. Education 5 to 9 (1982)
(2) D.E.S. Local Authority Arrangements for the School
Curriculum p. 8
defined:-

"...with science, R.E. and Physical Education being added to the 3Rs..." (1)

After much criticism, the other foundation curriculum subjects were added in the following year, and the 'framework' ended up as a description of subject areas rather than a narrow core of basics. However it is interesting to note that either by intent or accident, Physical Education was in the first choice.

The Inspectorate's response in 'A view of the Curriculum' (1980) pressed for a broader-based curriculum, with less emphasis on subject definitions. A common policy for the curriculum they said:-

"...cannot be a prescription for uniformity. Enabling all children to achieve a comparable quality of education and potentially a comparable quality of adult life, is a more subtle and skilled task than taking them through identical syllabuses or teaching them by the same method." (2)

The division between the D.E.S. and the Inspectorate was conspicuously widened at this time; the former had argued in favour of subject divisions and the latter were stressing the importance of skills, attitudes and areas of learning.

Crucial to the curriculum overhaul, came a series on 'Curriculum Matters'. Initially, a discussion document 'The Curriculum from 5-16' (Curriculum Matters 2) published in 1985, was followed by individual subject 'matters' among them 'Physical Education from 5 to 16' (1989), number 16 in the

(1) Stewart J. op. cit. p.108
(2) H.M.I. A view of the Curriculum p.2
series. In the introduction to the former it acknowledges that it is published as a result of publications already mentioned and the global aim was that children should acquire knowledge, skills and understanding, and also be helped to:

"......develop lively, enquiring minds, the ability to question and argue rationally, and to apply themselves to tasks, and physical skills." (1)

However the Inspectorate specifically warned of the:

"......limitations of a curriculum which is no more than a list of subjects....." (2)

General Curriculum Objectives

The scope of the Primary Curriculum was intended to be broad, with carefully planned activities working on a topic basis. Teaching styles were to match the abilities, attainments, interests and experience of the children and to lead to the development of concepts, skills and attitudes with different groups according to task requirements.

In designing the curriculum, it was recommended that the framework should include two essential and complementary perspectives. The first were to be the areas of learning and experience - in this study, Physical Education. The second were the elements of learning or the knowledge, skills, concepts and attitudes to be developed. Overall, it was

(1) D.E.S. The Curriculum from 5 to 16 (Curriculum Matters 2) p.3
(2) Ibid. p.4
stressed that there must be equal opportunities for boys and girls, for children with special needs and for ethnic minority groups. Gradually teacher autonomy so far as it existed, was being replaced by teacher accountability.

**Specific Curriculum Objectives**

The specific recommendations for the curriculum content in Physical Education aimed:

"......to develop control, co-ordination and mobility and to provide for the development of knowledge, understanding and attitudes....."(1)

The schools were urged to provide opportunities for vigorous physical activity through adventure play, and for bold movement and increasingly fine control through the use of large and small equipment. In addition, children were to be encouraged to engage in expressive movement in response to stimuli such as music and stories.

The Physical Education programme developing from these activities would promote skilful body management through participation in creative, artistic activities requiring expressive movement:

".....competition between groups or individuals involving the use of psycho-motor skills; activities leading to increased suppleness, ability, strength and stamina; and challenging experiences in various environments....."(2)

(1) H.M.I. *The Curriculum from 5 to 16* p.28
(2) H.M.I. *Ibid.* p.28
This menu covered the traditional activities for Physical Education already in place in Primary Schools, such as games, gymnastics, dance, swimming, athletics and outdoor education.

A long-accepted pedagogical fact indicates that factual information is best learnt in interesting contexts, when the pupils can see some significance. Conceptual understanding in Physical Education would come in relation to other curriculum areas. To say that Physical Education is skill-based accounts for the success/failure of participants for:

"...A skill is the capacity or competence to perform a task. At the simple level skills may refer to actions or movements performed semi-automatically as a result of repeated practice, or to intellectual processes carried out by the use of facts committed to memory...."(1)

for, example, hitting a ball correctly may fall into the former category, but the memorization of swimming strokes and other water skills requires skill training.

In planning a policy for Physical Education it was recommended that the curriculum should have breadth, balance and relevance, and that activities should be differentiated.

In Physical Education this was not as formidable as in other disciplines, because:

"......The Curriculum has to satisfy two seemingly contrary requirements. On the one hand it has to reflect the broad aims of education which hold good for all children, whatever their capabilities and whatever the schools they attend. On the other hand it has to allow for differences in the abilities and other characteristics of children, even of the

(1)H.M.I.op.cit. p.28
same age.....If it is to be effective, the school curriculum must allow for differences.....(1)

and achieve a balance between the two requirements.

Bearing in mind the individual needs of each child, sensitive observation on the part of the teacher, would lead to making appropriate provision. Some children would need to practise their skills as individuals such as perfecting some gymnastic movement and some for group activities such as practice for team games. Careful planning would show progression, continuity and assessment.

When the H.M.I. publication 'Physical Education from 5 to 16' finally appeared in 1989, it summarised the findings of the previous decades. The Education Reform Act was already one year old, and therefore the recommendations had already been incorporated into the National Curriculum. Perhaps it is justifiable to look directly at the aims of Physical Education as laid down in the pamphlet:

The aims of Physical Education are to :

1) develop a range of psycho-motor skills
2) maintain and increase physical mobility and flexibility
3) develop stamina and strength
4) develop understanding and appreciation of the purposes, forms and conventions of a selection of physical activities
5) develop the capacity to express ideas in dance form
6) develop the appreciation of the concepts of fair play, honest competition and good sportsmanship
7) develop the ability to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of movement
8) develop the capacity to maintain interest and to persevere

H.M.I. op. cit. p.38
to achieve success
9) foster self-esteem through the acquisition of physical competence and poise
10) develop self-confidence through understanding the capabilities and limitations of oneself and others
11) develop an understanding of the importance of exercise in maintaining a healthy life.(1)

Within these broad aims, it was emphasized that learning by doing and moving is crucial to the physical, intellectual and social education of young children, and that by the age of 7 children should have experiences which would enable them to:

1) perform confidently, though with varying degrees of control and co-ordination, basic ways of moving from one place to another, for example, running, jumping, rolling, climbing, transferring weight from one part of the body to another and holding the body still
2) appreciate and use contrast in speed, in effort and in spatial aspects, for example, quick/slow, strong/light, wide/narrow, high/low
3) use apparatus to get on/off, under/over, along
4) absorb shock when jumping or moving from apparatus of various heights
5) appreciate, and respond to, contrasting sounds in music, percussion and words and to be able to react to simple rhythms
6) convey through movement the elements contained in a story and to express appropriate characteristics and moods
7) propel a variety of objects, for example, balls of appropriate sizes, quoits, hoops
8) catch or receive objects providing these are sent in such a way as to require simple judgements of speed and trajectory and little adjustment of the body or its position
9) play simple games with, and alongside, others and with simple rules of their own and the teacher's devising, thereby experiencing membership of a team
10) be confident in water and able to move themselves through water with or without buoyancy aids
11) share and take care of apparatus and equipment
12) lift, carry and place apparatus carefully.(2)

(1) H.M.I. Physical Education from 5 to 16 p.1
(2) Ibid p.3
All of the above seem to be attainable objectives if the Infant child has access to full facilities, equipment and a learner pool, because it recognises the physical and mental development of Infant Children between 5 and 7. However serious commitment of teachers to Physical Education as a valid subject is necessary, and P.E. should not be used as a means of rewards and punishments. As children's motor skills, control and co-ordination all develop greatly between 7 and 11 years of age, children's experiences should be extended, and skills consolidated in the Junior school, so that they can tackle new tasks, and learn through co-operation with others, and through competition with their peers. Thus, by the age of 11, it was thought that children should have had experiences which would enable them to:

1) combine basic actions such as ways of travelling and turning to produce sequences showing a degree of continuity with appropriate variation of speed and effort
2) perform sequences on the floor and on apparatus of different heights, for example, bench, wall-bars, ropes, trestles and platforms
3) repeat and refine their own sequences
4) copy sequences devised by others
5) reproduce some specific movement patterns, for example, in named skills such as handstands.
6) select actions appropriate to the task and to the apparatus
7) absorb shock and momentum and receive their weight appropriately according to the preceding action
8) respond physically to rhythms, moods, qualities in music, words and sounds
9) develop and repeat phrases of movement in dance
10) express simple ideas and feelings clearly using a range of gestures and actions
11) strike or propel a ball with reasonable accuracy by using different parts of the body and a variety of implements
12) anticipate cause and effect, for example, flight of a ball, movement of others
13) invent their own games, selecting appropriate equipment, size and shape of playing area and numbers of participants
14) participate in team games involving variable numbers of players
15) conform to rules including those of their own devising
16) swim on front and back and be confident in water
17) enter water safely by jumping or using an elementary dive
18) perform certain skills in water, for example, tread water and float
19) carry and use a range of apparatus responsibly and carefully (1)

Again these objectives assume access to all facilities, whereas there are still many Primary Schools which do not yet have a playing field (for example St. Godric's R.C. School, Durham), let alone facilities for swimming and aquatics.

Physical skills are not always easily acquired and require a degree of persistence and determination to master them. However in the balanced programme in Physical Education, five different aspects are identified. These are:

1) the development of skilful body management
2) creative and aesthetic experience through movement
3) competitive activities among groups and individuals
4) body training leading to increased strength and stamina and endurance
5) challenging experiences in a variety of outdoor environments (2)

These aspects were intended to present a medium through which all essential aspects of Physical Education could be experienced.

In primary schools, the body training element is less important, but stamina and strength can be developed through opportunities for frequent vigorous activity, whilst:

"..... Swimming pools and apparatus in gymnastics provide

(1) H. M. I. op. cit. pp. 5 & 6
(2) Ibid. p. 8
challenging settings for activity and the range can be extended by including activities such as camping, walking and other outdoor pursuits.

The constituents of Primary Physical Education were grouped together as follows:

1) **Gymnastics**

In this area concentration on acquiring control, coordination and versatility in the use of the body is learned, based on jumping, leaping, balancing, rolling, pushing, pulling and swinging:

"...At the primary stage these natural actions need to be explored and refined so that the variety of each can be experienced, practised and consolidated, leading to improvement in performance and application to new contexts." (2)

2) **Dance**

This also focusses on developing mastery of the body, and during the primary school years, children should experience dancing and making dances, especially when responding to stimuli such as music, poetry and percussion.

3) **Swimming**

As has already been pointed out, the extent to which swimming can be developed in the Primary School depends on the availability of facilities either in learner pools or adjacent Public Swimming Baths. However it was agreed that

(1) H.M.I. op.cit. p.9
(2) Ibid. p.8
the earlier a child learns to swim, the better for safety and confidence in water, and for acquiring the fundamentals of the basic strokes.

4) Athletics

In the primary school this was recommended to develop the natural capacities of children to run, jump and throw. Although it was suggested that no emphasis should be put on competition, friendly rivalry was not to be discouraged.

5) Outdoor Pursuits

Again this was usually part of the Secondary Physical Education programme and was to be encouraged if in the hands of committed and qualified staff. However, from the point of supervision, staffing ratios would need to be high to ensure the pupils' safety, and would therefore be found in the extra-curricular clubs and expeditions.

6) Games

These help to develop motor skills, hand and eye coordination, tactics and strategies, and invariably involve competition. The major emphasis for young children should be on sharing and working together:

"....but the fun of simple competition undertaken in good humour and within a framework of simple rules should not be denied to them...."(1)

(1) H.M.I. op. cit. p.11
However the danger of stereotyping due to excellence on the games field was highlighted twenty years previously and needs to be watched carefully:

"...since physical skills enjoy such prestige in the children's peer society, this set of stereotypes may become dominant. Incidentally it is more likely to do so under the influence of the elementary tradition, with its limited conception of Physical Education, or of the Preparatory tradition, with its tendency to figure as the preamble to a games cult, than in the developmental tradition where modern approaches to Physical Education as 'moving and growing' are more strongly represented, and therefore performance in any one particular skill is less likely to be over-valued....(1)

The advantages and disadvantages of competition

The competitive games issue led to fierce debates during this period, and the Inspectorate finally suggested that, at the Primary stage, children should:

".....have teams and playing areas which are small enough to ensure maximum involvement and.....(to)....keep the problems associated with 'reading' the game at a level with which they can cope and experience success and satisfaction....(2)

The issue of competition is open-ended with distinct advantages and disadvantages.

Competition need not involve others. All sports persons can compete against a set time or standard; even those involved in team games can do personal training in gymnasia, setting their own individual targets.

However by the time children reach Primary Schools they have already learned that:

(1) Blyth W.A.L. English Primary Education p.92
(2) H.M.I. op.cit. p.12
"....doing things better than others is one way of gaining approval and prestige...." (1)

Competition in all learning situations is very effective as an aid to motivation, and competition in games involves submitting to the rules that control the game leading to the establishment of ideas of justice and fair play. However, disadvantages of competition in games are those which lead to hostility, emotional tension and disturbed behaviour (often reflected on the terraces of our National grounds as well as on the field).

The hostility and aggressiveness, noticeable in some very young children seem to reappear in adolescence (which psychologists also link with the emergence of the sex drive) but are not usually a problem for the under 12s. With firm control by teachers, children seem to respond to the rules that govern the game.

In individual sports the disadvantages of competition may lead to self-interest and self-aggrandisement, so that by thinking too much of themselves, competitors may become selfish bigots and eventually unable to join with others in co-operative undertakings.

However, a more severe indictment of competition is that it usually involves selection. Some children are chosen and others are not, and those rejected may feel inferior, resentful or humiliated.

"....It is not the competition or the acknowledgement of (1) Arnold P. J. Education and Physical Education p. 92
inequality as such, which is bad, but the making of these inequalities into the main standard of human assessment". (1)

The general opinion therefore seems to be that competition is neither good nor bad. It is the manner in which it is handled which can give beneficial or detrimental effects. Like all other aspects of curriculum development it calls for careful management.

Managing the Curriculum

The progression of change in the curriculum was not without its pitfalls. Even the H.M.I. had to grapple with some thorny issues, not least the political wrangles of the period, the increasing interest by the Government in educational provision and the management of change, in the contemporary scene and in the definition of the subject. There were those who believed, and still believe, that the curriculum in the Primary years must meet the intellectual, emotional, social and physical needs of all children, and in order to be effective, must be 'child-centred'. However, change based on conflict is more difficult to effect than change based on consensus, as John Patten found in his meetings with teacher unions, Easter 1993.

Also the status of a subject is affected by sociological forces, and the ethos of Physical Education does not put it in the 1st Division of the subject league for:-

(1) Goodson I. School Subjects and Curriculum Change p.360
The 'academic' subject is placed at the top of the hierarchy of subjects because resources allocated take place on the basis of assumptions that such subjects are best suited for the able students who, it is further assumed, should receive favourable treatment...."(1)

The measure of the acceptance of Physical Education was its arrival in the list of subjects for University degrees. The emergence of Physical Education as a field of knowledge embracing gymnastics, dance, games, swimming, athletics and outdoor pursuits enhanced its role as a coherent meaningful expression of cultural development. However there is no doubt that the overall provision for Primary Physical Education was spread thinly, bearing in mind the Secondary expansion and the demographic rise in the birth rate following the War.

Social class and egalitarianism forced the pace, whilst post war affluence, mass consumerism and media advertising led to the erosion of traditional expectations. The ideas of tailoring education to the needs of the pupils, respecting the dignity of individuals and permitting a child's learning to be led by its own interests, became the pattern for all educational procedure in all subjects of the curriculum, as had been especially commended in Plowden.

Competitive team games (so important in the Public and Preparatory Schools) and eventually a range of other sports, came to hold a symbolic significance for interested parties such as politicians, educational administrators and Physical

(1) Goodson I. School Subjects and Curriculum Change p. 360
educators, as a medium through which egalitarian ideals could be realised, as aspects of mass culture. Sport became a universal language transcending social class and nationality, and acting as a link across political and cultural divides.

Progressivism which was linked to egalitarianism sought to promote the relevance of the subject with relation to a pupil's background, and as such, games and sports were looked on as promoters of a conflict-free society. All aggression could be consumed on the games field, and diverted from delinquent behaviour. Physical Education therefore was to become 'The centre of the Universe', acting as an anchor for a stable society. The ethos was carried even further implying that the wholesomeness of games playing could:

".......channel the social cohesiveness allegedly promoted by games playing to the good of the Nation, thereby assisting Britain in the highly competitive international trade market....." (1)

- shades of the Public School ethos of the Victorian era!

Physical Education was to become a source for the production of national pride and identity, and school physical education was transformed in ways that marked a distinctive break with what had gone before, but at the same time it carried forward older ideas into new and quite different political and social circumstances.

(1) Kirk D. Defining Education: The Social Construction of a School Subject in Postwar Britain p. 50
Games and Gymnastics

By the early 1960s it was considered old-fashioned to think of gymnastics as the core of Physical Education, as the subject had expanded with the help of the progressive egalitarians to cover a whole range of activities and in particular team and individual games, and outdoor pursuits. From this time Games were becoming for the professional Physical Educators what gymnastics had been for the first half of the 20th century. Olympic Gymnastics did not supercede Swedish Gymnastics, but Olympic Gymnastics did become an international competitive sport. Its content demanded exactly what physical educators could teach through their knowledge of how to develop strength, muscular endurance, agility and high levels of precision skills.

Awards by the British Amateur Gymnastics Association became highly prized in Primary schools, and the elfin performances of Olga Korbut in the early 70s delighted every sporting schoolgirl in the World.

However contest and conflict in gymnastics spilled over into every other aspect of Physical Education in the two decades which followed. Although agreement was reached on many issues, the balance of power in Physical Education began to shift away from the women to the men, especially when the credibility of Physical Education was to be tested for 'degree worthiness'. The sub-disciplines of exercise physiology, motor learning theory and biomechanics were
already well subscribed to by male Physical Educationalists. Maybe these scientific methods were inflated out of proportion, but as women's Physical Education Colleges became general colleges, many lost their identities and their raison d'etre.

Educational Gymnastics had been closely associated with Primary Education (and formerly Elementary Education). Now child centred movement was supported by teachers of young children and the Physical Education Association. Status, prestige and discipline were to be found in the Secondary Schools and the emergence of Physical Education as a viable curriculum subject had to make its debut there:--

"...the enthusiastic adoption of science by physical educators had been part of this very status problem...(1)

before it percolated into the Primary Schools. The integrated curriculum in Primary Schools had attempted to dissolve subject boundaries and as a curriculum discipline Physical Education was temporarily lost. Many teachers undervalued or ignored it.

The meritocratic ideology offered just rewards for hard work and the development of talent, so that the egalitarian 'free for all' in the initial period of social reconstruction, gave neither winners or losers, but this could not equate with competitive sport, and the national sporting prestige promoted by males to provide an environment for

(1) Sparkes A.C. (ed.) Research in Physical Education and Sport: Exploring alternative visions p. 219
professional status. It was thought that if Physical Education teachers themselves were unable to reflect critically on the ways in which the body, fitness and health, and institutionalised forms of sport are implicated in the production of cultural practices, then what chance would they have in engaging in meaningful communications around these issues with children and adolescents?

These issues of identity, traditionalism, progressivism and egalitarianism reached a climax in the mid 1980s when in discussions between H.M.I., D.E.S. and physical educationalists, the term 'traditional physical education' was used loosely without any real definition. It was taken by most to mean competitive team games - rugby, football, cricket, hockey and netball as if it always had been, whereas this research has shown that up to World War II this type of Physical Education was largely the prerogative of the Public and Preparatory Schools, and centred round the ethos of team spirit, controlled aggression, masculinity and elitism. There were clusters of powerful sentiments which were brought to a head in a debate on B.B.C. Panorama (1987) chaired by Richard Lindley. This came about as a result of trendy left-wing ideas about non-competition and individualised health and fitness programmes.

It also coincided with a pre-election crisis in Conservative politics, and at this time Physical Education did indeed become the 'centre of the universe' for purposes of political propaganda. The games ethic and the cult of
athleticism became inextricably bound up with national values and perpetuated the myth of 'traditional Physical Education'. The whole nation of viewers took up the challenge and there were numerous letters to the press, but the outcome was that the aims and objectives of Physical Education were publicly formulated and through successive Conservative Secretaries of State finally appeared in the National Curriculum.

**Children with Special Needs**

However not all children would be capable of receiving the curriculum as presented in 'Physical Education 5 to 16'. Up to 1970, some children in special schools were not legally required to be educated. In fact many were deemed ineducable and therefore the history of formal education for these pupils is comparatively short.

The Education Act of 1981, was based on the recommendations of the Warnock Committee which abolished categories of handicap and replaced them by the generic term 'special educational needs' (although schools for children with physical disabilities and emotional and behavioural difficulties have continued to be referred to in the former way).

The Warnock Committee estimated that 1 in 5 children experience significant learning difficulties. In order to make provision in Physical Education, teachers needed to be
aware of motor-control, co-ordination, muscular strength, endurance, mobility, flexibility and spatial awareness, and how to adapt physical activities and sports for individuals and groups.

All children have an entitlement (reinforced in the Education Act 1988) to the broad and balanced programme and to the National Curriculum and its assessment arrangements, which in Physical Education covers the six areas of identified activity. However there are no categorically right or wrong ways for teachers to match Physical Education to individual pupils. By the very nature of the subject Physical Education can be accepted, modified, or even disapplied according to individual potential and parental preference, and although serious delays in implementation have been instanced, the Education Act 1993 has indicated clearer responsibilities to LEAs for provision. Again the crucial factor is finance.

Like the mainstream pupils:-

"...... each individual's needs are totally unique and can in no way be categorized by a label alone......"(1)

The significance of Physical Education for children with Special Needs lies in the fact that it makes a critical contribution to the social, psychological and academic development of every child and:-

"........ For young children in particular it is probably this subject, more than any other in the NC, which has the

(1) Jowsey S.E. Can I play too intro.xvi
potential for more greatly influencing progress in other areas of learning and therefore for having the most far-reaching benefits...

(1)

The youngest children learn about themselves through play. They explore, using all senses and communication skills, learning about their environment, other people and their own potential. As they grow older, games and sports provide the most powerful and most effective medium for socialisation with their peers. Children with special needs may have more restricted physical and mental capacities, so that Physical Education is an area of practical activity and experience vital to their growth and development. They need more, not less Physical Education than their peers so that they can keep fit and healthy, and are enabled to both 'learn to move' and 'move to learn', thereby raising self-esteem and facing challenges.

The key to provision for Special Needs Children therefore lies in the ability to adapt the National Curriculum in the areas of approach, objectives, equipment and pace. Again differentiation is the answer to provision, and within the normal class a Special Needs child could be accommodated by rethinking some of the teaching methods and organisational details. The more severe the disability, the greater will be the need for an individualised programme and for individual instruction. There are no set rules and flexibility is essential.

Of the six areas in the Physical Education Curriculum

(1) Jowsey S.E. op. cit. p.1
some are more easily attempted than others. Gymnastics and
dance, because they are activities which are involved with
extending the movement potential of individuals, allow the
Special Needs child to perform at his or her own level, but
Games, as a group activity is more difficult to cope with.
This probably is best dealt with by small group
participation among children with similar degrees of
performance. Athletics is again an individual pursuit, and the
child can compete against himself or the clock in building
up a programme of progression. With the recent growth of
athletics for the disabled in the Paralympics, there is a
whole new area of training and coaching for disabled
individuals.

Activities in water often give total independence to
severely handicapped pupils. Swimming is one of the most
beneficial forms of exercise, and all special needs children
should have access to a learner pool for both physical and
psychological benefits. A wide range of outdoor activities
such as sailing, abseiling and cycling, geared to suit the
capabilities of each child, would also act as confidence
builders.

Above all, provision for special needs children should
be creating challenges based on what they can do, so that
they can develop independence and become responsible (where
possible) for the management of their own learning.

However the implementation of provision for the under
12s with special needs, like all other recommendations is
dependent on financial input but: -

".... We have at present a system which is underfunded and not in balance .... (1)

In the past much of the special needs provision was based on an 'individual change model' which saw the education system as a fixed and unchanging structure to which individuals must accommodate themselves, or be accommodated. The model has been criticised from the standpoint of the 'system level change' model, which sees it as a duty of the education system itself to change, in order to accommodate the individual differences in pupils. Such a model defines special needs in terms of the failure of the system to accomplish this change, and looks forward to the eventual elimination of these needs. It is to be hoped that when the new legislation is fully implemented it will facilitate such changes.

With reference to the 2% of Statemented Children, the National Curriculum in Physical Education could be too demanding. However: -

".... Statemented Children are exempt from the National Curriculum, and head teachers have a procedure they can invoke for other pupils for whom the specified curriculum would be unsuitable..."(2)

Yet in one L.E.A. policy statement, the Authority states that it: -

".... intends that only in the most exceptional circumstances

(1) Bowers T. (ed.) Managing Special Needs p.149
(2) Maclure J. S. Education Reformed p.21
is any modification or disapplication of the National Curriculum to be considered."(1)

The lack of financial backing still remains an open-ended question. On December 5th 1989, Mr. Gerry Steinberg, M.P. for Durham City, and a former special school headmaster, asked the Secretary of State:-

"...What extra resources (he was) prepared to give to schools to help in teaching the National Curriculum to pupils with special educational needs, and what plans did he have to allocate extra resources in mainstream schools."(2)

The minister replied that:-

"...the cost of implementing the National Curriculum would be met largely from the re-direction of existing resources."(3)

This was not very encouraging, and even the H.M.I.s found 'little modification to buildings'(4) - surely one of the first essentials to the successful provision of a Physical Education programme would be access to a gymnasium and swimming pool.

In spite of the early legislation (1981) for children with Special Needs :-

"...As yet there is no prescriptive way of providing for children with special educational needs which is right for all schools."(5)

(1) Durham L.E.A. Special Educational Needs Policy Statement Section 3.2.89
(2) & (3) quoted in British Journal of Special Needs vol.17 No. 1 March 1990
(4) H.M.I. Report Section 23
(5) Visser J. Special Educational Needs and the Secondary School (perspectives 15)
or even right for individual children, although the subject of Physical Education, as has already been shown, was well enough advanced 25 years ago to be able to take on the management of contemporary changes. However even in Physical Education:

".....Many institutions and teachers are approaching the 21st century with a view of special needs which is substantially the same as that with which their contemporaries approached the present century....."(1)

Overall provision for the less fortunate under 12s has come a long way since the Victorian era, but there is, as always, the ongoing question of finance. However, the greater public awareness of the needs of the disabled, and the details of curriculum content are ensuring that all children get due consideration.

Equal Opportunities and Sex Discrimination

Also over this period, there has been great public concern over sex discrimination, and since December 1979, the Sex Discrimination Act has been operational. Its purpose is to eliminate less favourable treatment for any person (and particularly women) on grounds of sex, in all areas of life. Teachers, parents, children and educationalists had previously been conditioned to the sexual roles and opportunities of boys and girls, and this was evident in all subjects

including Physical Education:–

"......the maternal, affectionate and submissive instincts are stronger in girls; the hunting, fighting and assertive instincts are more marked in boys...."(1)

However, changes in educational ideology and opportunity have refuted this, except that there are areas of difficulty in the Primary (and Secondary) Physical Education Curriculum:–

"......Justifications have ranged from claims that boys benefit from gymnastics whereas girls prefer more aesthetic experiences......"(2)

Most sports are now played by both sexes. Even Universities have their women's Rugby Teams. However in schools;–

"......It is ......the boys' need to play football (and to a lesser extent rugby) that perpetuated the practice of P.E. separation. Considering it is disliked by many males and generates more anti-social behaviour than other sports, football receives fanatical support in and out of school. Even at primary level the members of the football team are given higher status than their counterparts in the netball team...."(3)

As has been shown, the National Curriculum favours the practice of essential skills in the Primary Schools, with specially devised games in small groups. However, the powerful network of Junior District and County Teams still dominates every aspiring young footballer's hopes and dreams, and there

(1) Board of Education (1931) Report of the Consultative Committee on the Primary School p.53
(2) Stewart J. The Making of the Primary School p.158 from the D.E.S. Circular – Differences for Boys and Girls: Educational Survey 21 p.7
(3) Stewart J. Ibid. p.159
is still a strong body of support for the separation of the sexes for sport to continue. After all, in the adult world of swimming and athletics sexes are never mixed in competitive races. Whyte takes the view that the Primary world is too cosy and too like the Wendy House with its pleasant reassuring experiences. She feels that girls should be stretched and challenged to become more independent, assured and intrepid, to take risks and think for themselves.:

"...Sports and venturesome physical activities will possibly help girls develop the healthy self-confidence, courage and independence they later seem to lack....(1)

However the message is that teachers and pupils must simply stop thinking in terms of boys and girls, which is not so difficult in the Nursery/Infant groups, and adopt positive strategies in Physical Education. The strong public support for male-dominated sports, makes this issue more difficult in Key Stage 2, with the older children covered by this survey.

The demands on teachers of Physical Education

Recognising that in teaching the under 12s, the great variety of content of the Physical Education of pupils is usually the responsibility of the class teacher, there are opportunities for links between Physical Education and other areas of work through cross-curricular themes, not only in

(1) Whyte J. Beyond the Wendy House - Sex Role Stereotyping in Primary Schools p. 66
subject-based areas, but also through the hidden curriculum, leading to the development of self-esteem and social and cultural awareness.

However there has certainly been some concern for lack of teacher expertise in Physical Education as expressed by Williams(1), and as Primary Schools are usually physically smaller than Secondary Schools each class teacher is responsible for his/her own class in all subjects, with help from subject co-ordinators, who formulate policy documents for approval by the school governors. However with the increase in quantity and variety of activity, the quality of work may be at risk.

In the move towards an all-graduate profession, Physical Education is offered as a subject for study in most Universities and Colleges of Higher Education, but the increasing trend is for students to complete a non-vocational first degree, followed by a one year Post-Graduate Certificate in Education, where shortage of time may limit the amount of time allocated for training in Physical Education. The Inspectorate has suggested the introduction of subject specialists into Primary Schools to combat weaknesses which may appear.

Yet the whole ethos of Primary Education is based on:-

"...knowing the children and being able to manage the curriculum to cover the needs of the individuals and the class group...."(2)

(1)Williams (ed.) Issues in Physical Education for the Primary School
(2)Newlands J. op. cit. p.19
There is also the prospect of new external pressures on schools with greater parent/public control of the curriculum. As Local Management of Schools takes more control, conflicts of interest could occur, which may not always accept the importance of Physical Education.

As well as H.M.I. and D.E.S. Reports, an enquiry into the status of Physical Education was undertaken by the practitioners themselves. Information was gathered from P.E. Advisers, H.M.I. Reports and the P.E.A. Curriculum Panel. Their findings confirmed that not all teachers had followed a P.E. training course, and that there were great variations in length and quality of initial courses, for those who had. In fact there was:

"...no standard form to describe the extent and nature of initial training...."(1)

Not surprisingly they also found that, although time-tabled, the P.E. programme in some schools was often by-passed and there seemed to be a great need for in-service training.

"...Effective practice in primary school physical education is all-too-rarely seen, and this is a direct consequence of inadequate initial and in-service training.....(2)

There was also deep concern for the lack of opportunities in sport, and the publication of the School Sport Forum also high-lighted the need for resources and finance:

(1) Report of Physical Education Association p.1
(2) Ibid. p.2
".....the resourcing of Physical Education in our schools falls short of what is considered adequate....(1)

Because of its inclusion in the National Curriculum it would appear that Physical Education would now be safe, but it lies in the hands of all teachers of the subject to make sure that they know the content and underlying purpose of the subject.

Recommendations therefore were made to the D.E.S. from all sides, and compared with the final Physical Education Document most of the proposals were accepted; after all there was nothing controversial in the curriculum content to raise any issues. However the message was, that the Government was no longer allowing education to be left to teachers, and Kenneth Baker, Secretary of State for Education spoke of a series of bench marks indicating what children ought to know at a particular stage of their development.

The Preparatory Schools

I have left the issue of Physical Education in the Preparatory Schools until last, as I detect a strong influence of their practice in determining what is suitable for state education.

Whilst H.M.I. and D.E.S. were discussing provision in State Schools it was decided, as early as 1977, by the Joint Standing Committee of the Headmasters' Conference and the

(1)op.cit. p.7
Incorporated Association of Preparatory Schools, to draw up provision for children over the age of 8 years, and a 'Curriculum Guide 8 - 16' was published in 1982.

In the flysheet the word 'curriculum' is used to denote a recommended course of study, and the term 'syllabus' is used to describe the summary of those topics which will be included in an examination (not applicable, of course, in the case of Physical Education).

There were three principles behind the publication:-

1) that the curriculum should determine the examinations and not vice versa.
2) that as far as possible teachers themselves should determine the curriculum.
3) that there should be continuity of curriculum. (1)

Although initially drawn up before the amalgamation with the Association of Headmistresses of Preparatory Schools in 1981, much of the material is relevant to both sexes.

The aims of the P.E. programme are to promote the all-round physical development of each child, and caution against an over-emphasis on one particular aspect (such as team games!!) which could lead to an imbalance in overall physical development.

In order to achieve this, the objectives are:-

a) to realise the full physical potential of each individual;
b) to teach a wide range of physical skills to every child;
c) to create opportunities for physical experiment, self-expression and communication;

(1) Rogers M. (Chairman) Curriculum 8-16 A Curriculum for Independent Schools (foreword Bl)
d) to bring about enjoyment through learning physical skills, thereby fostering a positive attitude towards physical education and a desire to combine learning and playing. (1)

In order to implement a balanced programme there are 4 major components (compared with 6 in State schools, although some elements are combined)

a) Gymnastics

This is a basic essential for individual development where a child learns to cope with a variety of physical situations and develops co-ordination, muscular strength and self-confidence. Within gymnastics is included movement to music, mime, dance and ballet thereby enabling children to develop self-expression.

b) Swimming

The programme aims that every child should be taught to swim as early as possible and be encouraged to improve personal competence by gaining A.S.A awards in Personal Survival.

c) Games

The programme recognises that successful players are those who have developed basic skills in throwing, catching, hitting, passing, controlling, kicking, bouncing, dribbling, dodging, marking and tackling, which are not improved by playing set games. Like the curriculum recommendations for

(1) Rogers M. op. cit. p. Kl
State Schools, it recommended that the skills must be taught specifically, individually, in groups and in small-sided teams, as part of P.E. lessons, rather than in the afternoon 'games times'. (Preparatory Schools have afternoon games and continue their academic time table into early evening). However the menu of games suggested, far exceeds the aspirations of the State Schools and can include:

".........field games (association and rugby football, hockey, cricket, lacrosse and rounders), court games (basketball, netball, tennis, squash) and individual games (fencing, judo, golf, shooting)....". (1)

d) Athletics

Running, jumping and throwing are to be developed through track and field events, and with the older pupils cross-country running and orienteering will build up endurance and stamina.

Also included in the programme could be Outdoor pursuits including campcraft, climbing and sailing, and Combat Sports such as judo and fencing, although it was recommended that boxing should be omitted from the Physical Education programme, unless specifically requested, in which case a qualified A.B.A. coach should be in charge.

In order to implement such a programme it is suggested that the school should be well resourced, both in materials and staff.

(1) Rogers M. op. cit. p.K2
Resources should include in each preparatory school:—

1) a purpose-built gymnasium
2) a swimming pool, or access to one
3) a multi-purpose covered area for group work and small games, e.g. a sports hall or open-sided barn.
4) a practice wall for ball-skills, either purpose-built or adapted from existing buildings
5) playing fields (there are still many primary schools without playing fields.)
6) an adventure playground (a local Preparatory School in Durham, Bow School, boasts a tree house, rope swings, nets and other climbing apparatus)
7) equipment to include balls, bats, ropes, quoits and skittles
8) suitably qualified staff i.e. at least one qualified P.E. teacher and, probably, on a part-time basis, persons with qualifications in the relevant sports.

It is interesting to note that in the private sector there is genuine concern that the medical aspect of Physical Education be maintained, with corrective training for flat-footedness and poor posture (a reminder of the earlier decades of Physical Education in the Elementary Schools). The children, under the supervision of the P.E. teacher, should be trained in personal hygiene and healthy habits. There is also to be close supervision under the Government's Health and Safety Regulations without stifling the sense of adventure. Cross-curricular links are mentioned but as the pedagogy of the Preparatory Schools is based on subject divisions this
does not seem to be an important issue.

The programme was written with reference to boys, but there are similar suggestions for girls' schools and in mixed Preparatory Schools (which are on the increase) the sex differential is to be served by more emphasis on dance and ballet in the gymnastics periods, and hockey and netball as field sports. It particularly says:

"........... a lady teacher ought to teach the girls....."(1)

Details are given for award schemes in Gymnastics, Swimming, Games and Athletics.

The writers point out that this programme is in no way prescriptive. There are no bench marks, merely helpful suggestions for the teacher, through which he/she can cater for levels of ability.

This surprising publication, since revised and up-dated, seems to have all the ingredients of the H.M.I. publications 'The Curriculum from 5 to 16' and 'Physical Education from 5 to 16'. It is less intimidating than the documents of the State Sector, and is probably just as efficient. Could it be that it was used as a model by the D.E.S/H.M.I.? If so, then State Schools with far less resources, (material and human) and with bigger classes, could not be expected to provide a similar service!!

(1) Rogers M. op. cit. K4 d)3
The issues then have come full circle within the complex scenario of change. Politics retain their hold over provision and practice, and may change their emphasis if there is a focus on personal fitness as part of a national health campaign as was the case in the earlier part of the 20th century when Physical Education was linked to the School Health Service. Now, as then, money to finance better provision cannot be pulled out of a hat. Every subject of the Curriculum has its reasons for needing a financial injection, and Education competes nationally with Health, Social Services, Law and Order, and Defence.

Provision has reflected the changing social scene, being given its strongest impetus in the evacuation of children in the Second World War. In the opinions of most social researchers things were never the same again. Education could not exist alone. Through the media invasion into all homes, bringing mass consumerism, with new expectations (even demands), the horizons of the population were changed. Left-wing sociologists preached the creeds of equal opportunity and sex discrimination, often without the duties of responsibility that go with them. The gender issue, which had tended to divide Physical Educationalists was finally settled when the academic credibility of Physical Education as a degree subject was established, whilst the trend for mixed sex P.E., Dance and Games lessons is now the accepted
norm in Primary Schools.

Increased awareness and tolerance of the needs of handicapped persons have seen a rapid increase in provision of Physical Education for children with Special Needs, whilst those parents, conscious of greater opportunities in Sport and Games offered by the private sector of Education, have contributed to the growing number of Preparatory(8-12 years) and even pre-Preparatory(4-8 years) Schools.

The changes over the last half century have, in many ways, occupied the planners in education in the management of such changes. Physical Education has escaped the full onslaught, because of growing popular demands, and disciplines seen to bear fruit are more easily adhered to, than those where only aesthetic or future gains are promised. The relationship with health and fitness has kept parallel to the improved standards of living, and therefore the provision and practice of Physical Education for the under 12s can usually find full support from parents, governors, teachers and Local and Central Government, and not least from the enthusiastic consumers themselves - THE CHILDREN.
Chapter 8
The Education Reform Act 1988 and Physical Education in the National Curriculum 1992

The Education Reform Act 1988

"...The Education Reform Act of 1988 was the most important and far-reaching piece of educational law-making for England and Wales since the Education Act of 1944...because it altered the basic power structure of the educational system..."(1)

The widespread belief which emerged during the 1980s was that changes in education should be so managed that it would become useful in some directly marketable way - producing employable skills, or nationally-needed expertise or character attributes, required by industry or commerce. Probably it is in this latter category of character building that Physical Education has a place.

There had been growing pressure from the right-wing group, the Institute of Economic Affairs, to apply market forces to educational decision making, and at the same time to enhance:—

"...the life chances of young people...."(2)

On the one hand the Education Reform Act, and in particular, the National Curriculum aimed at restricting teacher autonomy (because of progressive and liberal ideologies), but

(1) Maclure S. Education Reformed intro. v.
on the other hand, it sought to liberate teachers from the control of Local Education Education Authorities and their administrators. Competition was to be the spur to quality. Physical Education could well meet this requirement, whilst the response to those demanding equality, which had turned out to be a contradiction in terms, now laid emphasis on opportunity.

The Education Reform Act requires all maintained schools to provide for all pupils, within the years of compulsory schooling, a basic curriculum to include Religious Education and the National Curriculum, which;

"...promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school...."(1)

In relation to each subject, including Physical Education, the knowledge, skills and understanding which all pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have learned, are laid down at the end of four key stages. These Attainment Targets are at the ages of 7, 11, 14, & 16, when pupils will normally be tested.

Following the White Paper 'Better Schools', issued by Sir Keith Joseph in 1985, it became obvious that all recent publications from the D.E.S and H.M.I. had been pointing towards a centrally controlled curriculum, and the legal control of the curriculum now lay with Parliament, through the Secretary of State for Education.

Meanwhile the H.M.I. published a document in 1991

(1) Education Reform Act 1988 Section 1(2)
reporting on Physical Education in the primary schools where work in two thirds of the schools was found to be satisfactory or better. The children had positive attitudes towards the subject and:

"... achievement was most likely in games and swimming; dance and gymnastics lessons were less successful usually because the progression in the work was not clearly defined...." (1)

Although this publication was 7th in a series of Inspection reviews its timing between the Education Reform Act and the National Curriculum document seems curious. Most teachers could be reassured that they were doing a reasonable job anyway, which might have led to some complacency. The H.M.I. laid down the criteria of good practice as:

1) a broad view of the purpose of Physical Education;
2) a balanced programme of work agreed and followed by all the teachers;
3) adequate time for the subject;
4) sound preparation by teachers;
5) a system for assessment and recording progress;
6) effective leadership by the head and curriculum coordinator for Physical education;
7) a programme of staff development;
8) clear and workable curriculum guidelines;
9) appropriate accommodation and resources...." (2)

Physical Education appears as a foundation subject in the National Curriculum, in a rank lower than the three core subjects of Mathematics, English and Science. The curriculum 'Orders' are the documents of proposals which must be laid

(1) H.M.I./D.E.S. Aspects of Primary Education: The Teaching and Learning of Physical Education
(2) Ibid p. 7
before Parliament with a positive resolution in both Houses. In the case of Physical Education this was in March 1992. The proposals are laid before Local Authorities, teachers' bodies, representatives of governing bodies and many other interested groups, who may express their views to the Secretary of State. The report then has to be published before the final draft Order is made, so the issue of political involvement at this stage is paramount, and the Order becomes legally binding, in accordance with subsections (2) to (4) of the Education Reform Act 1988.

Physical Education in the National Curriculum

The final Order for Physical Education was published in April 1992, with Key Stage I, Year 1 pupils beginning the programme in August 1992, and in the following year, August 1993, all Key Stage I pupils being 'phased in'. Thus in two years the Physical Education programme would be operational for the under 7s. Similarly in Key Stage II, Year 3 pupils were to begin in August 1992, with Years 4, 5, and 6 being incorporated in the following three years, taking in all the under 12s by 1996.

For guidance the document entitled 'Physical Education in the National Curriculum' provides attainment targets and programmes of study covering a child's period of compulsory schooling. The relevant sections in this study of under 12s being Key Stages I & II.

It is:
"...designed to make the physical education curriculum accessible to as many pupils as possible with little or no interpretation or modification for pupils with special educational needs...."(1)

Already the issue of control has been addressed. Central Government have laid down the ground rules for the curriculum, and although there is room for flexibility, teacher autonomy does not compare with the Independent sector. However, the issue of provision for children with Special Needs shows contemporary concern for the less able.

Unlike the attainment targets for core subjects there is a summative total at the end of each Key Stage which is, broadly, that:-

"...pupils should be able to demonstrate the knowledge, skills and understanding involved in areas of activity encompassing athletic activities, dance, games, gymnastic activities, outdoor and adventurous activities and swimming."(2)

When children complete this programme, they should not only learn physical skills, but should develop positive attitudes, become independent learners, and be aware of Health and Safety Regulations.

The details of provision for the six disciplines are similar to those devised for the 8 to 13s in the Independent Schools, who will now be looking at programmes similar to those of Key Stage I for their pre-Preparatory age range. They include:-

(1) Physical Education in the National Curriculum p.1
(2) Ibid. p.2
1) **Athletic Activities**
   
a) At KS1 running, jumping and throwing activities concentrating on speed, height, length and distance
b) At KS2 an extension of the above with self-imposed targets and some competitive activities.

2) **Dance**
   
a) At KS1 basic travelling steps, developing speed, rhythm and direction with composition to music.
b) At KS2 extending the above with enriched movements in response to a range of stimuli, expressing moods, feelings and ideas.

3) **Games**
   
a) At KS1 experience with a variety of apparatus for developing skills in throwing, catching, hitting, chasing, dodging, with the emphasis on learning by doing.
b) At KS2 understanding skills including attack and defence, striking and fielding for wall games, court games and field games so that the children can play small sided and simplified versions of recognised games.

4) **Gymnastic Activities**
   
a) At KS1 experience travelling, rolling, jumping, balancing and swinging with controls and be able to carry and position simple apparatus.
b) At KS2 to extend these activities developing more precision and control, and to complete a series of movements on the floor and on apparatus.

5) **Outdoor and Adventurous Activities**
a) At KS1 exploratory and directed movement within the immediate environment applying physical skills and being aware of basic safety.
b) At KS2 an extension of the above by moving into different environments, with responsibility for personal experiences and safety.

6) Swimming

a) At KS1 it is assumed that swimming may not be taught, but if the opportunity does arise it is suggested that the early part of Key Stage II be covered.
b) At KS2 pool behaviour, water confidence, propulsion by various methods, water safety, personal survival and simple aquatics are to be taught, with a specific target of swimming 25 metres unaided.

"...The statutory framework for Physical Education is intended to allow schools and teachers wider discretion in teaching the subject than in the case of other National Curriculum subjects ..... The statements represent the knowledge, skills and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities can be expected to achieve at the end of the Key Stage in question.......(1)

Those children who are statemented may be excused on educational, medical, psychological grounds, and through parental preference.

In order to implement these proposals, grants are available under the Grants for Education Support and Training programme, and the N.C.C. was to monitor and evaluate the implementation of provision subject to

(1) *op.cit.* p.5
consultative procedures, no. 2, section 20 of the Act.

As Physical Education involves the development of knowledge, skills and understanding, these are acquired through an inter-related process including planning, performing and evaluating.

Planning includes setting goals, predicting outcomes, exploring and selecting options and composing.

Performing involves practising, participating, repeating, implementing plans of action, refining, adapting, improving and improvising.

Evaluating includes describing and recognising, followed by comparing, contrasting and analysing, finally leading to judging and reviewing.

To record a child's progress in Physical Education need not be onerous, because of the flexibility of the programme. Unlike other foundation subjects, with the exception of music and art, there are no statements of attainment at the 10 National Curriculum Levels. The statements at the end of each Key Stage i.e. at 7 and 11, provide the framework for making assessments, planning the next stage of learning and reporting to parents.

I have focussed on the Education Reform Act and the document, because several of the long-standing issues have been addressed in this legislation.

Government influence is as strong today as it was in the 19th century. What is more, the National Curriculum is endorsed by both sides of the House, for after all, was it not
the Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan who started it all off? Only a few militants on either side of the House are left grumbling.

The Act spells out the Curriculum and the Act is Law. Teacher autonomy has been so undermined that there is now only freedom within a framework - the framework of the National Curriculum. In Physical Education, changes producing controversial issues had been resolved before the run up to the Education Reform Act, so that few teachers can complain about the content, although the content load throughout the National Curriculum for under 12s, (and it is in the Primary Schools where the National Curriculum implementation is most advanced) has proved particularly burdensome. Nevertheless the assessment and recording procedures in Physical Education are flexible, and can be worked out by individual schools to satisfy their reporting procedures.

Within the content, provision has been made for Special Needs children who are now seen to be part of an integrated national process, whilst for the under 12s, sex differentiation takes on a minor role. Most lessons are for boys and girls, except where some 'mini' games are practised. However this does not appear to cause much concern. On the whole, the equal opportunities of the adult world are seen to operate, and even Primary Schools are fielding mixed cricket and football teams in some Leagues.

Competition is permitted. How it could have been stifled is impossible to imagine. Every one has an equal opportunity
to participate, but one only has to follow media sport to know that not every one is equal, physically or socially, so the emphasis is on opportunity and not egalitarianism. It has been shown that the opportunities provided for the under 12s in state schools closely resemble the provision in the Independent Schools, and surely Physical Education is one of the most obvious subjects to see competition in action.

The hope for the future is that Physical Education becomes the channel for social, physical and political awareness through its aims, content and pedagogy, whilst reflecting the ethos of its past and the interests of the vast majority of the children we teach.
Conclusion

The Purpose and Relevance of this study

Whatever historical research is undertaken, historians are looking back for documentary and literary evidence to reassure themselves that what was said to happen, really did happen. Material is researched, edited, indexed and highlighted so that present and future generations may be attracted to user-friendly explanations of past events, and reasons why these events took specific directions. Attempts to learn from past mistakes, and use research findings for understanding the present as a basis for future planning, can only be of explanatory interest, because the researcher is governed by his own subjective approach to history, and the reader, by his interest and capacity for internalising the information and ideas.

The choice of a historical approach to Physical Education came from personal qualifications/interest in History, and involvement in Physical Education as a participator and as a teacher of Physical Education to young children. The wish was to find out for myself conditions which had affected the establishment of Physical Education in schools, and to share my interest with other Primary teachers, many of whom are at present 'looking back' and making comparisons. For the last 30 years there has been no new history of Physical Education, nor is there any history
which focusses only on all under 12s.

As we approach the end of the 20th century, it becomes more obvious that the speed of intercommunication, and the stimulation of change brings new problems and new insights to the task because:

".....the number of variables is so incalculable, the data inevitably so incomplete......"(1)

However, Musgrave describes the recent upsurge of interest in 'curriculum history', (especially after World War II) when we look at the traditions of the history of a subject, as a:

".....need to understand the past, (but also), a desire to participate more effectively in complex practical situations in the present....."(2)

Certainly I felt I needed to look back for explanations, especially in the light of national performances in athletics, swimming and team games.

By looking at the relevant Education Acts, Ministry, D.E.S. and Inspectorial policies, a vast catalogue of 'Acts and Facts'(3) has emerged against a background of social, economic and political changes, needing constant adjustment, struggle and re-presentation, not least in Physical Education. Unlike more academic subjects, Physical Education affects all children in their various social environments.

(1) Howard M. The Lessons of History p.9
(2) Musgrave P.W. 'Curriculum History : present amnd furure History of Education Review 17(2) 1-13 quoted in Kirk D. p.17
(3) Goodson I. The making of the Curriculum
Basic skills in all movement (e.g. walking, running) are learned for life and some are in daily use. Kirk says:—

"... The art of defining physical education is a social process, one which involves drawing on ideas in general circulation and fixing these ideas in a meaningful configuration. .......(1)

Primary teachers looking at the proposals of the National Curriculum Document in Physical Education for the under 12s may see nothing new. Certainly there are no new innovations in the content of provision and practice since the 1950s, although the emphases may have changed.

This study therefore has attempted to identify contemporary provision and practice in the light of changes in the social, cultural, racial, humanitarian, legislative and even religious context of the historical periods described. Changes reflect society, but are also limited by the society they represent.

So it is important to have a raison d'être. All societies have some idea of what happened in the past, and there is a need by some individuals to know exactly. These people, I hope, would find this research useful. The point of contention however is — can we learn from the past? When I began this research I was looking for reasons why — a basic example being the on-going lack of provision of playing fields for children under 12, as a negative factor in the development of Physical Education for specific children in a specific setting. This is a feature which has given me

(1) Kirk D. op. cit. p.25
personal concern as I have an empathetic understanding of such a situation. Only now in 1994, has one Primary school in Durham, (St. Godric's R.C.), been re-located on a site with provision for a playing field! So I would be in total agreement with Williams:—

"....The point of importance is that if information from the past is to be of service to our contemporary ruminations, then our interest must have more or less explicitly stated its purpose...."(1)

Michael Howard, however, in 'The Lessons of History' suggests that history teaches no lessons because:—

"...there is no such thing as history...."(2)

This is because research shows that the past is being constantly reviewed and revised, but the justification for historical research is that it serves:—

"...a fundamental social purpose...."(3)

Surely in the instance I have quoted, it could be assumed that here is a situation which should have been rectified years ago. Maybe there is no proof that having a playing field would produce another Charlton or another Gazza, but there are other immeasurable feel-good factors when children play on their own school field, and alternatively suffer psychologically when they visit a school which has

(1) Williams A. The historiography of health and fitness in physical education P.E.A. Research Supplement 3 p.1
(2) & (3) Howard M. op. cit p.12
adequate facilities when they have none.

Another situation in Physical Education has been headline-news on the media only this month (September 1994), when following John Major's visit to South Africa, a lack of coloured participants in sport, reflected the proportional lack of opportunity given to black children under apartheid, and means are now being taken to rectify this. A lesson of History?

Such hypothesising is described by Howard as 'historical imagination', and may stimulate argument, which as such, may also be a valuable product of this research.

According to the sociological theories identified by Michael Young (Knowledge and Control), changes in the provision and practice in the curriculum are brought about by the struggles of rival groups, and my research shows that:

".....The Physical Education programmes in place in the school curriculum today are the outcome of contestation and struggle between a range of competing groups' attempts to define the subject...." (1)

Retrospectively, this is seen to be true, probably since the inception of Physical Education in the Elementary School syllabuses in the 19th century, and certainly with some force and articulation since World War II. However not only is the history of the curriculum itself affected by change, but it also:

"....has a very practical, strategic and political source for change in society.......")(1)

and would therefore be a valid reason for undertaking this research. Future planning could be based on the changes in teaching Physical Education which are an on-going lesson of history. In this respect I would hope that the reader of this study on Physical Education would gain sufficient information and ideas to formulate judgements contributory to national/civic usefulness and to acquire an empathetic understanding of conditions in the provision and practice of Physical Education in the past and present. Fortunately in contemporary British society we do not abolish the past (as in some Totalitarian countries). It can be faithfully researched and recorded for future generations. The historian is the salesman and must persuade his reader, not only to read but to think, to make judgements and to act. In so doing some historical research can be used to avoid past mistakes and as a basis for future planning, dependent on the interpretation of the reader, and would therefore be a valid reason for its undertaking.

Summary

In the first chapter, I have shown how Physical Education became part of the education system introducing the different rival forms of Swedish Gymnastics, Military

(1)Kirk D. op.crt p.26
Drill and the games of Public Schools. Individuals with conflicting views, such as Roth and Maclaren lobbied Parliament for acceptance of their own methods and ideals.

Although most educational philanthropists thought that Physical Education was 'a good thing' there were rivalries between opportunities for boys and girls, and between working class and upper class. Also, throughout the history of Education in the 19th century, there were great struggles between the promoters of all subjects outside the 3Rs, for time and acceptability. With payment by results, Physical Education needed the support of individual pioneers, who would assess the important role it could play in the education of all children, convince the Government of the value of Physical Education, and strive for its inclusion in the timetable, against a background of social and political changes operating in favour of the working classes.

During the second half of the 19th century, the franchise was extended to working men (1867), and when Board Schools were set up (from 1870), women became eligible for membership of the School Boards, and eventually began to be involved in political issues. The Independent Labour Party was founded in the last decade of the century and crusaded for social issues. In the background of the ensuing changes, Physical Education became highly acceptable as a channel for the health and welfare of children, especially as there were vast areas of overcrowding and poverty in the slums of large industrial towns, where many schools had been
established without space for playing fields. The struggle for the establishment of Playing Fields became highly significant in the history of the provision of Physical Education and indeed is even now still being resolved. Pressures on the Government led to the establishment of school meals, and finance was made available for the inclusion of Physical Education in the school curriculum.

Within the Private sector, the growth of a wealthy middle class helped the establishment of games in their schools. This new class wanted the ethos of a public school education, and the qualities of character that Sport and Games generated. In the girls' schools, changes were brought about by individual pioneers, and especially by the perseverance of Miss Lofving and Miss Bergman who promoted Swedish Gymnastics.

In 50 years (1850-1900), the population went from 18 million to 32½ million, and against this expansion all social improvements jostled for recognition. Because Physical Education was able to be linked with Health and Welfare, it got the support of educationalists, whilst the supporters of military drill in schools were able to justify its existence in the light of military needs especially in the Boer War.

That Swedish Gymnastics finally triumphed over other forms is described in Chapters 3 & 4 and was due to the efforts of individual female organisers and teachers who set up their own training colleges, and professional organisation in the Ling Physical Education Society. Boys' Physical
Education still lay in the hands of N.C.O.s, who until 1918 perpetuated this narrow form of military drill. Against the background of the Boer War and the Great War, and the consequent periods of recession and depression in industry, Physical Education offered a channel for therapeutic provision against uncertainty and poverty.

Conversely, physical education was able to survive, flourish and receive financial aid from successive Governments because of the changes it was seen to be making in the curriculum by the introduction of the 1919 and 1933 Syllabuses which introduced enjoyable lessons, emphasized personal fitness and pointed the way to more recreative opportunities for the community. The struggle for recognition of training for the men only began to be taken seriously in 1932 when Carnegie College was established.

The issue of playing field provision was again brought into the open by politicians and parents (now all voters after 1928), and the games ethos of the public schools was able to be enjoyed in many elementary institutions.

The traumas of World War II can not be over-emphasized and it could be said that it has taken 50 years for the upsurge and changes in social reconstruction to be accommodated, as described in Chapters 6, 7, & 8.

Closer government scrutiny through the Ministry of Education (later Department) and H.M.I. led to more legislation and policy formulation than ever before. First, the provision had to be maintained throughout the war in order to keep
children healthy and happy, and had to be sustained and increased as soon as hostilities ceased. Throughout the whole of the period, school building programmes have struggled to keep up with the aspirations of parents and politicians.

The last two disciplines of Physical Education practice needed to be absorbed into the curriculum i.e. Dance and Combat training, to prepare the way for the six disciplines which finally emerged in the National Curriculum. Against the background of social change, at a speed never experienced before, the whole population became mobile. Media pressures showed audiences that there was another world beyond the end of the street, or beyond the village perimeter and that some people in other parts of the country, and the World, were seen to be having wider and better opportunities. Mass consumerism backed by higher wages, inflation and better safety nets in welfare provision, allowed people to acquire personal and domestic trappings previously beyond the reach of the man-in-the-street. Egalitarianism, accompanied by progressivism in teaching, stimulated changes, but a backlash in the eighties, due to the market forces doctrines of the Conservative party, brought about a call for 'Back to Basics', and the model became the independent school with its playing fields, small classes, and strong games ethos. The aim was/is to make Primary Schools as good as the Preparatory Schools in all subjects and thus to give equal opportunities to all children. To this end the National Curriculum has been introduced and legislated.
Throughout the last 50 years financial restraints were in operation as there were other priorities e.g. raising the school leaving age to 15 and then 16, the establishment of Comprehensive Schools, and the expansion of Nursery and Special Needs provision. In the world outside education, there has been the development of the National Health Service, Social Services, Defence, and the huge infrastructure of communications, all of which have had some indirect influence on education, and on the provision of Physical Education.

In comparing the state of affairs at the starting and finishing posts of the thesis, Physical Education has changed almost beyond recognition, yet the core remains the same i.e. that Physical Education for the under 12s is about training children in movement.

This study has painted a picture of the unfolding drama at each stage, and has shown how methods, provision, and pedagogic ideals have been organised and selected by individuals and by circumstances. By highlighting legislation and events, it has shown how education, and in this case Physical Education, intersects with class, race, sex, age and even handicap within the contemporary social and political structure, and acts as a source of information for future planning. However:

".....Knowledge and understanding by themselves cannot create a good and just society. This is only possible through the uses to which the knowledge gained from historical study are put..."(1)

(1)Sparkes A.C. op.cit. p.227
As this knowledge is put to good use, in planning for future provision and practice, it can only be managed within a comprehensive understanding of the concepts of changes in society itself.
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APPENDIX A

Post 1992

When the National Curriculum was instituted the aim was for a broad and balanced curriculum - the objective was that teachers should spend less time on basics in order to give more time for other subjects and was a dramatic attempt by the Government to 'break the mould of the Primary Curriculum'(1)

What then has emerged is a contest between curriculum ideology and time allocation which reflects the status of each subject and indicates the social and political values which underlie the construction of the curriculum.

The attempt to keep all subjects (and content) of the National Curriculum, whilst allocating more significance to core subjects has fast become unworkable, not only from the point of view of overload, or from over-detailed prescription, but from the fact that the broad and balanced curriculum is difficult to implement.

Therefore, Sir Ronald Dearing, Chairman of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority has made a reappraisal of time allocation and has set about slimming down certain subjects, including Physical Education, whilst attempting to retain the broad and balanced curriculum. By altering percentages of time, the Foundation Subjects have all suffered, and Physical Education along with Technology, Music,

and Religious Education will each merit a time equivalent of about 45 minutes per week. This reduction of the non-basics (which includes P.E.) is a reduction to a skeleton. If $\frac{3}{4}$ hour per week is the allocation, can anything worthwhile be achieved?

In the Draft Proposals "Physical Education in the National Curriculum" (S.C.A.A.) May 1994 (1), the number of areas of activity at Key Stage 1 have been reduced to 3 to make the curriculum more manageable, although in addition, schools may choose (as in the 1992 proposals) to teach swimming using the KS2 plan of study. Of course this could only be applicable if facilities were available.

Outdoor Activities and Athletics have been deleted, leaving Games, Gymnastic Activities and Dance but with reduction in the content of Gymnastics and Dance.

At KS2 pruning has also taken place on all Programmes of Study, but less for games. However, discrete programmes of study for Athletics Activities and Outdoor Adventurous Activities are to be encouraged to provide a balanced Physical Education.

These draft proposals are awaiting acceptance, but many schools are so sure of their acceptance that already they are using them. The message is, that Physical Education has been cut back at a time when the independent schools continue their pursuit of excellence on the sports fields. Is there a case for a longer school day, so that Foundation

(1) S.C.A.A. Draft Proposals Physical Education May 1994
Subjects in the National Curriculum need not be cut back in order to maintain the time allocation for the 3Rs? Physical Education has been shown to be very important for physical well-being, character training and national eminence, but the lessons that its history teaches us are in danger of being ignored yet again.