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F.H. Hayward (1872-1954):

A Forgotten Educationalist or An Educational Failure?

Moral Education and Education for Citizenship in England

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Abstract

F. H. Hayward’s personal library forms part of the Special Collections at the UCL Institute of Education’s Newsam Library and Archives. Hayward was a schools inspector for the London County Council and an advocate for moral education and education for citizenship in the early part of the 20th century. His unique contribution to pedagogy for moral and citizenship education is his ‘Celebration Method’. During the 1920s, Hayward published ‘Celebrations’ for use in schools and edited the Celebration Bulletin. He was greatly influenced by the German philosopher and pedagogue Johannes Friedrich Herbart and Herbartian principles permeate Hayward’s work. Hayward was active during the first three decades of the 20th century – a time of ‘New Education’ and a period when the search for the science of education was underway. This study appraises Hayward’s contributions to moral and education for citizenship through an analysis of his autobiography, An Educational Failure: A School Inspector’s Story (1938). I maintain that Hayward’s contribution to pedagogy, particularly, with respect to moral education and education for citizenship, is distinctive. As a humanist and secularist, Hayward promoted inclusivity of the cultures and traditions of the Empire. Additionally, he did not separate religious instruction from moral education and education for citizenship. His Celebration method anticipates the child-centred pedagogical thinking of the Hadow reports of the 1930s and perhaps also the educationists working during the ‘Golden Age of the Curriculum’. 
Much evil springs from ignorance, thoughtlessness, prejudice and lack of imagination, and much of this evil can be cured in schools.¹

¹ F. H. Hayward, (1908), Education and the Heredity Spectre, London: Watts & Co., p. 44.
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Chapter I

Introduction

Although largely forgotten today, Dr. Frank Herbert Hayward, (1872-1954), D.Lit, M.A., B.Sc., was a prolific writer and teacher who was well known among the profession. He wrote thirty books and numerous journal articles on the theoretical foundation for teaching moral education and education for citizenship. These writings were published in the key education-related journals of the time including *Educational Review*, *School*, *School World*, *Journal of Education*, *Times Educational Supplement*, *Child Study* and *Journal of Proceedings of the Child-Study Society*. Hayward was a supporter of the secularist movement, and a founding member of the Moral Instruction League set up to further ethical and civic teaching in schools on a non-theological basis in 1897. Hayward was perhaps best known for his new method of moral instruction that attempted to inculcate the values of good citizenship. This was his 'Celebration' method.

According to Rosalind Rawnsley, Hayward’s early publications foreshadow the progressive education movement and much of what was

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proposed in the Hadow Report of 1931. Hayward's passionate belief in
the importance of a moral and civic education continued unabated after
his retirement at the age of 65 as he continued publishing pamphlets on
the subject until his death in 1954, at 82 years - almost twenty years after
his retirement from the LCC. Hayward was greatly influenced by Johann
Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) who advocated the scientific training of
teachers. Almost all of his publications are based on Herbart's
educational philosophy and theories of teaching. Hayward was himself
practicing pedagogue. Sir John Adams, first professor of education at the
University of London, was a champion of Hayward's work and supported
Hayward throughout his long career as schools inspector for the London
County Council (henceforth, LCC) from 1905 to 1937. Adams thought
highly of Hayward as is evident in the quote below which is from a
personal letter to Hayward:

3 R. Rawnsley, pp. 22-23. The five Hadow reports, published between
1923 and 1933, all made recommendations on child-centred learning.
Hayward's book The Primary Curriculum (1909, p. 438) has two chapters
on his views on moral education. He is forward thinking in his writing
about open-air schools, stating, "Maybe this book will be the last ever
published in which the four-walled class-room and the old fashioned time-
table of separate subjects will be assumed". Further, this book anticipates
the Hadow Committee reports on the education of the adolescent (1926)
and on primary schooling (1931) which laid the foundations for a new,
liberal philosophy of education, advocating a wider curriculum, a focus on
group work and learning through experience. See also: F. H. Hayward,
(1909) The Primary Curriculum. (London: Ralph, Holland & Co.) and D.

4 Not only did Hayward write extensively on teaching, he also, during his
Inspectorship, taught classes in order to demonstrate to teachers how to
teach – see Rawnsely, p. 67.
The more I consider you and your educational work, the more I regard you as a figure in the history of education rubbing shoulders with Comenius and Pestalozzi and rousing the writer’s wonder at the inability of your contemporaries to appreciate the value of your contribution. The time will come when light will break … and you will be raised to the pedestal which is being silently prepared for you.\(^5\)

The quote is dated 1933, four years before Hayward’s retirement from the LCC and the publication of his autobiography, *An Educational Failure: A School Inspector’s Story*. It already hints at the fact that the educational establishment had not acknowledged Hayward’s contributions to English education five years after the letter was published. Perhaps it is time for another re-evaluation to see whether or not Hayward was indeed a failure or will, retrospectively, climb the pedestal prepared for him. I will attempt to do this through a study of his autobiography and works held in the ‘Hayward Collection’ at the UCL Institute of Education Library.

Biography\textsuperscript{6}

Frank Herbert Hayward was born on 16th December 1872 in Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire in 1872 to a family of humble origins. He was the youngest and only son of the three surviving children of John Hayward\textsuperscript{7} and Ann Lidyard. Teaching was a family tradition among the Haywards – his father supervised at a Protestant Congregationalist Sunday School and his uncle Joseph was the elementary school headmaster. Both his sisters Grace and Marian became schoolteachers, as did his cousins.

As was typical of children from working class backgrounds, Hayward attended a private dame school and then the Barton Hill Elementary Board School in Bristol from 1882–1885. He was at Merchant Venturers College for a short time, having won the Elton Exhibition, where he studied Latin and Greek. At 15, Hayward began his teaching apprenticeship at his old school, Barton Hill Boys, where he remained for

\textsuperscript{6} This abridged biography is taken from Rawnsley ’s PhD thesis, pp. 54-55. She compiled the biography from Joseph Hayward’s (Hayward’s father’s) diary and from the information gleaned from interviewing close members of Hayward’s family, including his son and daughter.

\textsuperscript{7} Hayward’s father John studied at the British School in Wotton-under-Edge (where Sir Isaac Pitman was the first master) but left education early due to financial circumstances. Despite an early departure from formal schooling, John Hayward continued to self-educate himself by reading and studying music in his spare time– two interests which he passed on to his children. Hayward was also a gifted musician obtaining various certificates in music during his education. (Ibid.).
the required five years before obtaining a First Class in the Queen’s Scholarship Examination in 1892.\footnote{Ibid., p. 54.} He continued his studies on a part-time basis obtaining his Diploma from the College of Preceptors and a Fellowship. In 1897 he took up the post of Assistant Master at St. George Higher Grade Technical School in Bristol and whilst teaching, studied part-time again to obtain a BSc and MA from London University in 1898. Following this, he took up the post as lecturer at the day training college in Cambridge and in 1900 applied as an advanced student to one of the Cambridge colleges, Gonville and Caius. Whilst there, he was awarded a scholarship to study the educational philosophy of J. F. Herbart at a summer school at Jena University in Germany.

In 1901, Hayward obtained his BA in Moral Science, winning the Moral Science Prize from Cambridge, and in the same year, he was awarded his D.Litt. by London University. His thesis, which he later published as a book, was on the ethics and philosophy of the English utilitarian philosopher and economist, Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900). The following year, at age twenty-nine, Hayward took up the post of Organising Teacher for mid-Devon and in 1904 he was appointed Principle of the newly opened Pupil Teacher Centre for Torquay. A year later, he took up the post of Assistant Inspector of Schools in Hackney at the London County Council. He remained in the post for fifteen years until 1920 when he was promoted to district Inspector of Schools, at the instigation of John
Adams, and he remained in this post until his retirement. It is clear that Hayward had the appropriate background and education credentials to write authoritatively about education. An academic post, which possibly would have better suited him, always eluded him although he did lecture in the States early in his career.
Chapter II: Literature Review

Introduction

The Literature Review is a historical narrative on three themes which provide the context for the years between 1870 when state-funded education was established (though some of it had been given earlier) and 1938, the year Hayward published his autobiography. Hayward was working at a time when British education was in flux. This was also a period of immense social and economic change – Britain and its empire had fought in several wars, including the First World War. The resulting rise in patriotism and consequently the focus on citizenship contributed to the raging debates on the aims of education. The repercussions of mass schooling, industrialisation and the economic decline and poverty that followed the war had consequences for the education policies of the time. Furthermore, the debates on the ‘health of the nation’, particularly in reference to eugenics and race, were in vogue. Given Hayward’s popularity, it is important to re-consider his contribution to these debates and listen to his voice again to gauge his impact. In doing this, I intend to focus on his writings that are pertinent to the three themes which will be expanded below. These are: (1) the move towards child-centred approaches to education, particularly in reference to the ‘New Education’ movement and the progressive educationists; (2) J. F. Herbart and the search for a theoretical foundation for education so that it could be
regarded as a *bona fide* academic discipline; and (3) the move from moral education to education for citizenship. I will re-visit the three themes in Chapter IV through my analysis of Hayward’s ‘voice’ in his autobiography.

**Literature Review**

The single most substantial piece of scholarship on Hayward is Rosalind Rawnsley’s PhD thesis (1998). It is the only biographical study of Hayward in existence, for Hayward’s own autobiography provides little information about his personal life. Rawnsley’s thesis has an in-depth discussion of Herbart’s educational philosophy and its influence on Hayward and her analysis of Hayward’s Celebration method which was proposed as a way in which teachers could inculcate moral values and citizenship in pupils through the humanities curriculum. Rawnsley has left for future Hayward scholars is the analysis of Hayward’s numerous writings.

R. W. J. Selleck’s study of the New Education movement from 1870 to 1914 allows a comparison of Hayward’s educational philosophy with that

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of other contemporary educationists. Selleck’s second book on the
*English Primary Education and the Progressives, 1914 to 1939*, enables
a convenient demarcation with respect to the move from New Education
to Progressive Education in order to place Hayward’s contributions within
the two movements during the first three decades of the 20th century.
More recently, Peter Brett’s article on ‘Citizenship education in England in
the shadow of the Great War’ has looked at Hayward’s contribution to
citizenship, focussing on the post-war imperatives for reconstruction, a
sense of civic purpose among the population and the international
influences on the Empire: “education for the new generation was seen as
a key element in the creation of a ‘land fit for heroes’”. John Howlett’s
2013 critical introduction to Progressive Education is a useful introduction
to the move towards progressive education and the birth of psychology at
the beginning of the 20th century. His work on the New Education
Fellowship, along with Celia Jenkins 1989 PhD on the same topic, has
been used to consider the impact of these movements, particularly with

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13 Ibid., p 57.

respect to the role of education for citizenship and the education policies during this period.

Dunkel’s unpacking of Herbart’s theories from the numerous adaptations (by Tuiskon Ziller and Dr. Wilhelm Rein) and the misrepresentations by the Neo-Herbartians is an in-depth study of Herbart and his educational philosophies. However, it has only a couple of short references to Hayward, both of which are negative. In addition to Dunkel’s work, Norbert Hilgenheger’s work on Herbart provides a more recent critical appraisal on Herbart and supplements Dunkel’s untangling of Herbart from the various adaptations of his theories. Susannah Wright’s PhD thesis and the articles based on her on moral education in elementary schools in England makes references to Hayward’s pedagogical innovations and his championing of Herbartism. For Wright, Hayward was the defender for moral instruction in the educational press, and she refers to his work with the Moral Instruction League, together with that of


his friend and colleague, F. J. Gould. Apart from these authors, Hayward
is given an entry in the *Dictionary of British Educationists* by Richard
Aldrich and Peter Gordon\(^\text{19}\) and has a short article by Peter Gordon in the
*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.\(^\text{20}\)

Lawson and Silver’s *A Social History of Education in England*\(^\text{21}\) provides
the social, political and economic context for the period under study and
Clive Chitty’s book on *Eugenics, Race and Intelligence in Education*\(^\text{22}\) is
the key text used to research the eugenics movement and its impact on
British education. In addition, the journal *Eugenics Review* (available
online via JSTOR) published by the Eugenics Society, afforded first-hand
evidence of the thinking by educationists involved in this movement.

The authority on the history of citizenship education in England is Derek


Available at http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/38808
[Accessed 18.8.15].

\(^{21}\) J. Lawson and H. Silver, (1973) *A Social History of Education in

\(^{22}\) C. Chitty, (2007) *Eugenics, Race and Intelligence in Education* London:
Bloomsbury Publishing.
Heater and several of his works\textsuperscript{23} have enabled an understanding of the complexity of the subject vis-à-vis the study of values and character development and the impact of global affairs on the teaching of citizenship. Elliot is also used extensively to cover the subject of citizenship education and patriotism\textsuperscript{24} and Robert Freathy’s writings draw the connection between moral education and religious education.\textsuperscript{25} In addition, Batho’s 1990 study of civics textbooks has made it possible for me to find and study examples of books on citizenship and moral development from the Newsam Library’s extensive collection of historical textbooks (Figures 1 and 2 provide sample pages from the table of contents from two textbooks from this collection).\textsuperscript{26}


The early part of the 20th century was referred to as ‘The Century of the Child’ – a phrase based on the book published in 1900 by the same title by the Swedish pedagogue, feminist and socialist Ellen Key (1849-1926). On its publication, the poet Rainer Maria Rilke (1875-1926), referred to Key as the ‘Children’s Apostle’ and it was thus that The Century of the Child became an icon representing this period. Key explored the ideas on the sacredness of the child. These ideas go back to the development of child-oriented rights in the 19th century with the Compulsory Education Act of 1870 and the earlier Factory Acts and Child Acts which culminated in the 1989 United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child. Key’s book incorporates many European philosophies including Spinoza’s pantheism, Gaultung’s eugenics, Montaigne’s ideas on savoir-vivre, Nietzsche’s ‘neue Mensch’, Rousseau’s radical ideas on childhood as portrayed in his famous Émile to Darwin’s evolutionism. According to De Jong, this may have been the

27 Key was part of the ‘Modern Breakthrough’ movement which moved away from the romanticism of the 18th and 19th centuries to realism and naturalism. Her book was translated into German in 1902 and into English in 1909.


29 Ibid., pp. 133-5.

main reason why so many adherents of the *Reform Paedagogik*, or Progressive Education, were so enthusiastic about Key’s argument.  

Pedagogues like Ligthart, Montessori and Decroly, amongst others differed from each other in their educational systems but they had one thing in common: their criticism of the Herbartian method. According to Dekker, Key was also an enthusiast of eugenics, and for her, progress depended on evolutionism. She quotes extensively from evolutionists like Darwin, Galton and Spencer in her work but relies heavily on Nietzsche, to develop her argument on the risk of degeneration.  

The eugenics movement is of importance in any study that considers the theories of this period. Darwin’s theories on human progress in *The Origin of Species* (1859) were used (or as Clive Chitty states, *misused*) to perpetuate the message that “social change is largely governed by the harsh rules of biological evolution”. Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, led the eugenics movement. He founded the Eugenics Education Society and the *Eugenics Review* which began publishing in 1909, with the express intention of promoting voluntary sterilization to deal with the

Interestingly, Key’s book is not one of the titles in the Hayward Collection which generally has a representation of the key education authors of the time. See Appendix I for a full list of books in the Hayward Collection.


32 Ibid.

problem of feeblemindedness. The society also wanted to establish marital regulation, birth control and segregation of disabled persons, particularly those with ‘mental defectives’. The movement took off and the first International Congress of Eugenics was held in July 1912. Winston Churchill was among the attendees. The notion of social

34 As Chitty explains, “similar campaigns were led ... by the German Society for Racial Hygiene, founded in Berlin in 1905, the Eugenics Record Office established in the US in 1910 and the French Eugenics Society founded in Paris in 1912”. (Ibid.)


36 In his famous book Hereditary Genius, Galton (1869) puts forth his view of his ideal society:

The best form of civilization in respect to the improvement of the race, would be one in which society was not costly; where incomes were chiefly derived from professional sources, and not much through inheritance; where every lad had a chance of showing his abilities, and, if highly gifted, was enabled to achieve a first-class education and entrance into professional life, by the liberal help of the exhibitions and scholarships which he had gained in his early youth; where marriage was held in as high honour as in ancient Jewish times; where the pride of race was encouraged (of course I do not refer to the nonsensical sentiment of the present day, that goes under that name); where the weak could find a welcome and a refuge in celibate monasteries or sisterhoods, and lastly, where the better sort of emigrants and refugees from other lands were invited and welcomed, and their descendants naturalised.


Churchill, who was President of the Board of Trade, took the notion seriously and circulated to the Cabinet a speech by another one of the leading eugenicist Alfred Tredgold expounding on poverty and feeblemindedness. In a letter Churchill wrote to the then prime minister,
(education was seen as social engineering) and genetic engineering preoccupied educationists in the period following the introduction of mass education. The payment by results system was the precursor to intelligence testing and educationists became aware of the ‘nurture’ vs. ‘nature’ debate – the phrase introduced by Galton. Joshua Fitch, a British educationist (and schools inspector), for example, linked the two in his talk given to teachers in training in the late 1890s in Rhode Island (quoted by Rawnsley):

We are safe at least in deducing this one conclusion from the teaching of natural history – that a human character, like other organisms, thrives best when exposed to variable conditions, for then only has it a chance of selecting those which are most favourable of the development of what is best and fittest in and for itself.

Thus the question about whether values could be taught and characters developed had been regularly discussed since the publication in 1894 of Herbert Asquith, he provides figures of the number of children in the Special Schools. See, C. Chitty, p. 61.

37 Rawnsley, p. 43.

Benjamin Kidd’s *Social Evolution*.\(^{39}\) It is without doubt that Hayward too was pre-occupied with this debate and pursued the eugenics agenda. His *A School Celebration for Eugenics Day* (see Appendix II) attests to his involvement in the eugenics movement.\(^{40}\) An interest in eugenics also brought about debates on race, the Empire and Imperialism. This, as Brehony (2009:592) confirms, coincided with the

... Darwinian notions of heredity and development that held out the possibility of social reform. The public health and social hygiene movements also contributed to the emphasis on the child as did fears of physical and “racial” degeneration, highly pertinent concerns during an era of imperialist expansion and anxieties regarding the physical fitness of soldiers. It was also confronted by the emergence of child study as an empirically based educational movement.\(^{41}\)


\(^{40}\) In 1919, the Eugenics Society published a full programme, complete with suggestions and instructions to teachers for poetry, music and readings for “A school celebration for a ‘eugenics day’” by Hayward. See: The Eugenics Review 11(2), pp. 65-69. See Appendix II for the text and guidance notes for Hayward’s Eugenics Celebration.

The fears expressed above must be seen against the backdrop of the economic decline in Britain from the late 19th century. The German and American manufacturers were racing ahead economically having tapped into their larger natural resources and domestic markets. Further, though the British Empire was large, it was becoming increasingly vulnerable to the growing power of neighbouring nations. The dread was very much about procreating an ‘unfit’ population that “would exacerbate the process of industrial, military and imperial decline,” and this was of particular concern as the population growth among the lower classes and immigrant populations had increased significantly by the mid-1910s. Thus the challenge for educators was to provide ways in which they could nurture the child and form or develop character whatever their background –

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42 Rawnsley quoting from A. Lyon’s book, Social Darwinism: An Undercurrent in English Education, 1900-1920, p. 35. She explains:

The disaster of the Boer War brought home to a wider public the unpalatable fact that a large proportion of the working class population was under-nourished, physically unfit and suffering from complaints associated with malnutrition…. The effect of the South African campaign on society in Britain was profound, in some ways even more profound than that of the First World War…. The idea of Britain as the sole country with empire status was being challenged by other colonizing powers, and the inability of the might of the British Empire to control the relatively small Boer populations of South Africa gave a nasty jolt to the nation. This combined with the realization of the debilitated state of health of much of the population resulted, as Lyons notes, in “a push for national improvement” becoming central to the political and social agenda. (p. 43).


44 Ibid.
focusing pedagogies so that they were child-centred. This was, what is commonly referred to in the literature, the ‘New Education’ movement.\(^{45}\)

As stated above, this period in the history of education is characterised as one of immense change.\(^{46}\) The ‘purity’ of childhood continued to be the focus of many of the pedagogical theories and philosophies during this period in the history of education.\(^{47}\) Child psychology played a significant

\(^{45}\) These labels, as Selleck (1968) writes, “… suggests a unified stance but this is contrary to the assumption”.

\(^{46}\) According to Selleck, ‘New Education’

...brought many prophets besides those who wished to put education on a scientific basis: eager and dedicated Herbartians, enthusiastically twisting their master’s teachings into new shapes; gentle, sometimes sentimental kindergarteners trying to make an Englishman out of Froebel; advocates of manual training or heuristic science, who believed that the future of education was assured if their version of ‘learning by doing’ became accepted; advocates of physical education, of school meals, of medical inspection, who believed that the task of training the child’s mind had to wait upon the task of improving his health; advocates of moral instruction, who put the formation of character before all – these and others struggled to gain the teachers’ attention.


\(^{47}\) These ideas stem from the 17\(^{\text{th}}\) century when John Locke (1632-1704), writing in *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), referred to the child as a tabula rasa – an empty vessel to be filled by education. Although Locke did not intend for his tabula rasa to be interpreted in this way, it was this most popular and vulgarized version of his concept that was taken forward those debating on the purpose of education. In the 18\(^{\text{th}}\) century, Rousseau’s (1712-178) image of childhood as portrayed in his book *Émile* (1762) in which “he asserted the right of the child to be a child, to be happy as an innocent being, and to be brought up in a natural way, preferably by his or her mother” was most prevalent. Thus,
role and debates on the purpose of education, particularly with respect to moral education for character development and civics instruction, raged.

Educators were finally freed of the need to teach by rote the 3Rs, the result of the rigid ‘payment by results’ system\(^{48}\) of the late 19\(^{th}\) century. And although the “church problem” had yet to be resolved, it provided a road in for secularists to have their voices heard.\(^{49}\) The ‘New Educationists’ of this time have been categorised by Selleck into the following groups: practical educationists, social reformers, naturalists, Herbartians, scientific educationists and moral educationists.\(^{50}\) Thus, as Richard Aldrich (2009:487) has so aptly put it, the gradually, over time, there was an increasing acceptance of childhood. See: Dekker, (2000), pp. 139-40.

\(^{48}\) The Revised Code of 1862 sometimes referred to as Lowe’s Code but more commonly known as the ‘payment by results’ system recommended that the school be paid a grant for every child who attended school and for every child who passed an examination in reading, writing and arithmetic. Educationists not only opposed to this accountability because it linked money to schools, but also because it restricted the curriculum to the 3 Rs. Further, what they particularly objected to was “an a priori notion of what they [children] ought to know. They largely ignored the wide range of individual capacity, and the detailed formulations for the several ages were not always precise or appropriate” – see: D. Gillard’s (2011) *Education in England*, Available at: http://www.educationengland.org.uk/history/chapter03.html [Accessed 1.8.15]

\(^{49}\) This Cowper-Temple clause effectively banned religious denominational teaching in the new board schools and enabled parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction.

\(^{50}\) See: Selleck, (1968).
New Education movement is an amalgamation of all the concepts and realities, which have a discrete identity which is also seen as a broader movement of progressive education. These included a smorgasbord of themes and ideas including the importance of countryside, racial selection to an unreflective nationalism and the emergence of psychology in the attempt to understand the child.\textsuperscript{51}

The philosophies of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century pedagogues, Johann Pestalozzi (1746-1827), Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852) and Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) were influential in England during this period. The next section explains how Herbart, who like Froebel, was a student of Pestalozzi, influenced a group of English educationists, including F. H. Hayward. It is also important to keep in mind that Hayward was an exact contemporary of Montessori which was exported to England in the second decade of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Further, Joshua Fitch and Edmond Holmes, also HMI (Her Majesty’s Inspectors for Schools) during this period, were part of the education establishment.

\textsuperscript{51} Aldrich (2009, p. 487) explains that the phrase ‘progressive education’ was more often used in America and the differences in this context were between ‘traditional’ versus ‘progressive’ as described by John Dewey in his book Experience and Education, published in 1938.\textsuperscript{51} However, the Australian historian R. J. W. Selleck, uses ‘new education’ to denote the period 1890 to 1914 and ‘progressive education’ for 1914 to 1939. His two books are thus entitled: \textit{The New Education, 1870-1914}, (London: Pitman Publishing, 1968) and \textit{English Primary Education and the Progressives, 1914-1939} (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1972).
Theme 2: The Search for a Science for Education: Herbart and Neo-Herbartianism

The search for a theoretical underpinning for education can be traced to a number of changes – the freedom from the constraints of the payment by results system resulted in teachers wanted to experiment with child-centred pedagogies and the building of many more schools following the implementation of the 1902 Education Act which helped to create a framework for secondary schools. This in turn resulted in a greater need for teachers and the establishment of ‘day training colleges’ in universities. Thus it seemed a perfect time to search for pedagogical theories to underpin practice. Prior to this, education and teaching were considered to be separate activities – this is explained below.

In 1869, Professor Alexander Bain published his book *Education as a Science,* which, according to Brian Simon, suggested ways in which

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52 Following the implementation of the 1870 Elementary Education Act, some local school boards established classes for older pupils who showed ability and commitment and few created a new type of evening school for adults (Chitty, 2007, p. 19).

53 By 1907, the 19th century pupil-teacher system had replaced the system where the pupil attended school until they were seventeen or eighteen and then went to teacher training college to become elementary school student teachers. By the 1900s, there were two types of teacher training institutions – the teacher training colleges which gave out Teachers’ Certificates and the newly founded University Training Departments or UTDs which provided training for university graduates.

54 Bain’s book was reprinted over 16 times over the next twenty years (Smith, 2012). Discussions on the formation of a society for promoting
education, and specifically, teacher training, might be developed.\textsuperscript{55} Bain was greatly influenced by Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), the 19\textsuperscript{th} century pedagogue and philosopher. Herbart developed a theory that separated the concept of teaching from that of education, as he believed that the success of education lay in the practical aspects of teaching making it the “central activity of education”.\textsuperscript{56} Thus, the didactical aspect became the focus of ‘good’ education.

Herbart studied with the Swiss pedagogue and educational reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), as did Froebel, though that is where the similarity between the two educationists ends. Pestalozzi believed that training in the “proper channels of morality” through religious education was the primary purpose of education.\textsuperscript{57} According to Blyth, Herbart’s concern with moral philosophy led him (as it did, much later, Durkheim) to consider education as a form of socialization.\textsuperscript{58} Kostelovskii


\textsuperscript{56} N. Hilgenheger, (2000), pp. 2-3.

\textsuperscript{57} R. Rawsley p. 129 quoting from R. D. Chalke’s 1916 book \textit{A Synthesis of Froebel and Herbart} p. 21.

and Piskunov provide the most succinct explanation of Herbart’s philosophy:

For Herbart philosophy indicates the goals of education, and psychology shows us the ways to achieve these goals. The principal aim of education, according to Herbart, is the harmony of the will with ethical ideals and the development of many-sided interests. Herbart considered the divisions of education to be the “disciplining” of children, educational instruction that would develop many-sided interests, and a moral education. He considered the development of voluntary attention as the most important didactic task.\(^{59}\)

Thus, for Herbart, man could only become a functioning citizen through a particular kind of education, one that was wholly dependent “on his psychology for its means, on ethics for its ends, and on his metaphysics for its basic assumptions”.\(^{60}\) A child’s mental potential remained untouched until the accumulated values of civilization and society were assimilated through education. Therefore the purpose of education was the intelligent application of Pedagogy in order to spark Individuality so

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that Character could be formed. However, all three elements (pedagogy, individuality and character) can only be considered a complete intellectual system if the sociological nature of the enterprise is recognised.\textsuperscript{61} Herbart is most famous for introducing apperception in his method. He considered how the mind processes information in context, so that relationships are formed. Based on this, Herbart believed that the science of education was possible and devised four steps of instruction: ‘clarity’ when new material is introduced (preferably with the aid of visual materials); ‘association’ which establishes links between old and new experiences through discussion; ‘system’ to separate the most important information and relate this to the rules or laws as appropriate; and ‘method’, that is the practical application of learning through various exercises.\textsuperscript{62}

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid. Thus Herbart believed that since teachers had the ability to influence their pupils, it was their responsibility to ensure that what was presented to children was good for them. His social philosophy went beyond that of Pestalozzi’s and the naturalists for they believed that nature was the key source for developing the child. Herbart thus rejected the ‘naturalist dualism’ Rousseau believed in:

Forced to combat nature or society, you must make your choice between man and citizen, you cannot train both.

Blyth quoting from Rousseau’s \textit{Émile} (1762; translated by Barbara Foxley, London: Dent, 1911, p. 7.).

\textsuperscript{62} In their article, N. F. Ellerton and M. A. Clements point out that Herbart was inconsistent in his use of terminology. By the time the system had been imported to England, Herbart’s system had become a five-step pedagogical process was as follows: (1) Preparation of new material based on older ideas that are relevant to the learner; (2) Presentation of these new materials in order to engage the learner; (3) Assimilation through association by comparing similarities and differences; (4) Application of the new content/ ideas to life by the student; and finally (5)
What Herbart managed to achieve in his method, was to separate the subject, that is education (the development of character) from the process, that is the practical aspect of teaching (which includes developing aptitude, acquiring useful skills and giving new information). Teaching was considered to be the key activity and an understanding of the psychology and ethics were of paramount importance. Herbart had found a scientific method of education and upon its acceptance (though his theories were challenged in his time and when they became adapted in England); it led to the establishment of education as an academic discipline.

Many English educationists, including John Adams, Henry Holman and R. R. Rusk, S. S. Laurie and J. J. Findlay, agreed with James Ward, a psychologist and one time chair of mental philosophy at Cambridge, when he wrote that “a science of education is possible, and if it is realized, it would be of the greatest practical importance” (Selleck, 1967: 148).

Herbartianism was exported to England in the late 1890s when Henry and

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64 B. Simon, (1989).
Emmie Felkin translated Herbart’s Allgemeine Paedagogik (The Science of Education, 1892) into English. The importance of this work to teacher training was highlighted by Oscar Browning, Fellow of King’s College, Cambridge in its preface. Many of the leading early British professors of education, including John Adams, first professor of education and director of the London Day Training College (later the Institute of Education), J. J. Findley and Catherine Dodd, both of Owen College in Manchester (later Manchester University) declared themselves to be Herbartians, wrote books popularizing Herbart’s outlook, and applied his ideas to the practice

65 He writes,

I hope that by advocating the scientific training of teachers in schools other than generally, I may do something to create a public ready to welcome this and similar enterprises. The training of teachers in schools other than elementary stands in this country in a very peculiar position.…. It is difficult indeed to see by what argument the absence of training for teachers can be defended. What is required for doctors and clergymen would naturally be demanded for a profession, which undertakes the hygiene both of mind and the body. It is urged by some that a university graduate who has been at a public school needs no special training, because having had experiences of many teachers he can tell for himself what should be imitated and what avoided. It would be reasonable to assert that an invalid who had passed through the hands of many physicians would make an excellent doctor. A boy is not a fair critic of a master’s methods.

66 Adam’s book, The Herbartian Psychology Applied to Education was published in 1897. Other early Herbartians included J.J. Findlay and J.W. Adamson. Findlay, Chair of Education at Owens College, later the University of Manchester, from 1903 to 1925, writing in “On the Study of Education” in Special Reports on Educational Subjects, edited by the Board of Education (London: HMSO, 1898: 350) stated “the science of education was to be formed not only from the application of psychology, “but of physiology, of ethics, of sociology, of politics” (quoted in Brehony, (2009), p.591).
of teaching individual subjects. Herbartianism though influenced teacher training for school-aged children as opposed to infants and pre-school children where Froebel and his followers (and later Montessori) were the main influencers.  

R. J. W. Selleck commenting on Herbart’s contribution to education in comparison with Pestalozzi and Froebel, states that Herbart’s “work has a complexity, subtlety and coherence which make it more impressive than the writings of comparative amateurs such as Froebel or Pestalozzi”. This assessment is no exaggeration for Herbart held the Chair in Philosophy at Koenigsberg University after Immanuel Kant. Selleck puts Pestalozzi (and Froebel) squarely among ‘the naturalists’ of the New Education School. According to Selleck (1968:180), Pestalozzi and Froebel “combine complex ideas with confused thinking”. Further, Herbart himself declared Pestalozzi to be “…too deficient in scientific auxiliaries, and perhaps still more in the cold-bloodedness needed in

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67 K. Brehony, (2009), p. 591. Frobelian ideas gained prominence in English early years education as the emphasis on child-centered approaches to learning gained momentum.


handling scientific tools, in properly heating and mixing the learned drugs, and in writing orderly recipes for our imitation of his art”.  

In the search for an educational theory that would make education a recognised academic discipline, Herbart’s philosophy and theory ticked all the right boxes: it was systematic, it emphasised teaching as a central activity and its emphasis on moral education confirmed the aims of education as agreed upon by the majority of the educationists of the time. However, the Herbartian system, as developed by his followers, the Neo-Herbartians, was based on a modified theory of associationism and on a highly systematic way of teaching. It was also optimistic in terms of its assessment of the power of education to influence not only intellectual development but also character and moral outlook.

However, according to Simon, “it can hardly be that Herbart’s English proponents developed his ideas of any significant way”. Selleck confirms this: “[Herbart] has suffered more at the hands of his followers than most educational theorists, and Holman’s remark, ‘things are made in Germany, translated in America and misunderstood in Great Britain’ is

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73 Ibid., p. 4.
clearly application to his teachings".74 The Neo-Herbertians, as they are referred to in the literature, adapted his method, perhaps beyond recognition. Between the 1890s and 1914, “an eclectic version of Herbartianism” was prevalent alongside Locke’s philosophical position that “nine parts in ten of what a man became was due to his education and upbringing” and his ‘associationist’ psychology.75 As Ellerton and Clements state, even in his own time, many scholars including the German educationists Karl Vomar Stoy, at the University of Jena, Tuiskon Zillar at the pedagogical seminary in Leipzig76 and William Rein at the

75 Simon (1983), pp.3-4. The Oxford English Dictionary has several definitions for associationism, but simply put, it is the “doctrine that mental and moral phenomena can be accounted for by association of ideas”, that is, “the mental connection between an object and ideas that have some relationship to it (e.g. of similarity, contrariety, contiguity, causation).” "associationism, n." OED Online. Oxford University Press, June 2015. [Accessed 10.7.15]

Thus any re-evaluation of Herbart’s theories would need untangling as his “doctrine of apperception and his method of instruction have been magnified and distorted out of proportion. Dunkel (1970) has achieved this task in his re-evaluation of Herbart.

The British “Associationist School” expanded the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, who were the first to record this idea. The proponents of this philosophy included John Locke, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Alexander Bain and Ivan Pavlov (the latter known for this stance on conditioning in behavioral psychology). For more information see: G. H. Bantock, (1986) ‘Educating the Emotions: An Historical Perspective.’ British Journal of Educational Studies 34 (2), pp.122–141.

76 Ziller who named his four steps Clearness, Association, System and Method and Rein (1893) subsequently separated the clearness stage into two stages thus: (1) Preparation (analysis), (b) Presentation (synthesis), (c) Association (d) Generalisation, and (e) Application. See: Ellerton and Clements, (2005), p. 314.
University of Jena,\textsuperscript{77} propagated Herbert’s scientific theory of education, albeit in a modified form.\textsuperscript{78} This reinterpretation, in turn, was exported to the English-speaking countries in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} century by John Adams from England, Frank McMurry from the United States and John Smyth from Australia.\textsuperscript{79}

The impact of Herbart’s theories are little acknowledged today but as H.B. Dunkel, whose study on Herbart manages to untangle him from Neo-Herbartianism states, the ghost of Herbert exists in current education practice.\textsuperscript{80} Ellerton and Clements, writing specifically on the impact of Herbart on mathematics education, confirm this, stating that despite wanting to remain true to the principal ideas of the master, the Herbartians consciously distilled Herbart’s educational theories.

However, in their opinion,

\textsuperscript{77} Rein’s influence was felt mostly in the states as his students, Charles De Garmo, Charles and Frank McMurry who all gained their doctorates under him. Dunkel (1970) states that all three academics published books on Herbart’s theories, and these were republished in new editions several times and sold to thousands of trainee teachers at US institutions. Further, all three were key members of the National Herbart Society in the US, making their reach even wider.

\textsuperscript{78} Ellerton and Clements, (2005), p. 313.

\textsuperscript{79} Selleck (1969).

\textsuperscript{80} Dunkel, (1970), p. 4.
...the ghosts of Herbart and Herbartianism are [still] lurking in most school classrooms...guiding the subconscious and teaching behaviours of teachers, and contributing much to the so-called didactical contracts that teachers and their students subconsciously share.

We shall argue that not only was there much in the education writings of Herbart and the Herbartians that was ahead of its time, but in some ways they anticipated many key theoretical stances of ...educators working in the second half of the 20th century. Although these writers did not acknowledge a debt to Herbart or the Herbartians, that was probably because they were unaware of what Herbart had said and did not know that what they were saying had, to a certain extent, been said more than a century ago.81

Thus, we can refute Dunkel views that although Herbart’s “fame blazed up like a meteor”, it is just as quickly extinguished82 and confirm that Herbart’s ghostly presence has lingered on thanks to the likes of Hayward who insisted on adhering to Herbart’s system as accurately as possible.


Theme 3: Moral Education and Citizenship Education

Freathy\(^{83}\) and Valk\(^{84}\) question whether moral education can be separated from religious education for “life’s ‘ultimate questions’ – what is meaningful, what gives life purpose, how do I discern right from wrong” stem from a different worldviews, which can be both religious and secular.\(^{85}\) Freathy believes that historians have ignored important aspects of both histories which perhaps needs to be considered in any study of moral education and education for citizenship. He states:

The reconstructed public discourse relating to religious education and education for citizenship discussed two dichotomous forms of education for citizenship. The first form was Christian and traditional. It emphasised development of the spiritual and moral aspects of citizenship. It was indistinguishable from character training and a comprehensive form of religious education which used the educational process


\(^{85}\) Ibid.
as a whole to transmit religious beliefs and values. Thereby, religious education was not taught to pupils, but ‘caught’ by them through indirect training and Arnoldian public school traditions, such as the school’s ethos, structure and hierarchies, chapel services, the example of teachers, incidental teaching through curriculum subjects, pupil relationships and extra-curricular activities. The proponents of this form of education for citizenship included many members of the educational establishment.86 They were sceptical of direct instruction and practical training in regard to religion, citizenship and good character because they did not believe that such matters could be taught and they deemed social, political and economic affairs to be beyond the capacity of school-age children.86

Wright confirms that the words used to describe moral education could be confusing in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.87 Certainly, in 1888, the Cross Commission listed ‘religious instruction” as one of the ways in which moral training could be achieved.88 Considering the history of the

two areas, it is clear that the “church problem” following the implementation of the Cowper-Temple clause created a difficult conundrum for educationists for it forbade religious denominational teaching in the new board schools and it enabled parents to withdraw their children from religious instruction.

How could educators provide a moral instruction within a secular, non-denominational framework? And should they? The latter question links directly to the debate about the purpose of education and these debates continued unabated during the late 19th century. It was at this time, in 1897, that the Moral Instruction League of London was founded to provide guidance on this issue. This organization promoted a non-Christian secular ethical instruction and hoped to influence the school curriculum by its activities. Many educationists were founding members of the league.

The 1902 Code embodied moral elements and character formation but, as Batho states, “The Prefatory Memorandum refers to children learning in the playground to ‘play the game’, to ‘give and take’ and to acquire the spirit of ‘fair play’. History was to be taught though the lives of great men and women and the lessons to be derived therefrom, was expected to be the means by which these characteristics of the good citizen were to be

Wick’s textbook was taken over by H.O. Arnold-Foster’s *Citizen Reader*, which sold over a quarter of a million copies from 1885 to 1916. The first page of the Contents from Foster’s book is reproduced below (Figure 1) to give an indication of what was expected of children who went through citizenship education using this text. The preface to the textbook by W. E. Forster (written in 1885) states that the aim of the book … is without doubt a difficult one. It is not easy to fulfil it without affronting prejudices or indeed honest convictions. But I think any unbiased reader will admit that there is little if anything in this book which will not be accepted by men of all creeds and parties.

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90 Ibid.


92 From the preface to H. O Arnold-Forster’s (1904, new revised edition) of *The Citizen Reader* by (London: Cassell and Co. Ltd).
Concurrently, books such as *Story Lessons on Character—Building Morals* and *Manners* by Loïs Bates continued to be published and were also being used for moral instruction (see Figure 2). The two tables of contents clearly demonstrate that civics instruction was different from moral instruction by the early 20th century and there is no trace of religious instruction in either of the books.

Figure 1: First page of the Table of Contents from H. O. Arnold-Foster’s *The Citizen Reader. New, Revised Ed.* (London: Cassell, 1904)
In 1904 further clarity about the purpose of education was provided in the Elementary Code, and both character formation and civic education were given the official stamp of approval:

The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the
children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both girls and boys, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life.\textsuperscript{93}

By 1906, the League had succeeded in inducing the Board of Education to make provision for moral instruction in the education code for England and Wales. The League (n.d.) provided a definition of moral education:

\ldots seeks to give a dominant ethical tendency to the whole process of the child's training in the home and school by lessons that call out the social sentiments, by studies that exercise the moral judgment, by occupations that discipline the will to mutual consideration and service, and by impressing on the imagination the duty of subordinating all intellectual and practical activity to the common welfare.\textsuperscript{94}

Elements of citizenship education are contained in this definition - ‘mutual consideration’, ‘service’ and ‘common welfare’ being the words that shout out the message about the responsibilities of good citizens. According to Selleck, moral instruction was taught from 1906 in elementary schools and the teaching profession and the school boards also took it upon

\begin{footnotes}
\item[93] Batho, (1990), p.92.
\end{footnotes}
themselves to impart civic knowledge to young children. George Batho’s 1990 article provides a summary of the textbooks used during this period. Textbooks of the period such as Wick’s 1871 *The British Constitution and Government* (which ran into several editions and which was adopted by the London School Board) were factual and merely described the different offices of government. Although the trend in civics textbooks continued into the 1920s, the subject as can be seen from the table of contents in Figure 3, was too dry to do much that was pedagogically interesting.

Although Joseph Priestly wrote about the importance of civic education in his *Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life* (1765), he was opposed to state interference for fear of the state indoctrinating the young. The Forster Act of 1870 ensured that elementary state education become more widely available for all children and the Board Schools came to have a civic purpose and that was to mould children “…to be morally good as well as conformist to the political and, particularly, the social status quo”. The theme of patriotism was thus introduced late in the 19th century as a way of building pride in the British Empire. Further, as the

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vote became more equal\textsuperscript{96} and greater numbers of the population were able to perform their civic duty, the question asked was what level of education should be expected of the population to ensure a basic competence in the role of citizen? Was literacy necessary, or was schooling above the basic minimum such as an acquaintance with the state’s traditions, constitution and laws enough? Without clear guidelines

\textsuperscript{96}Prompted by the suffragette movement, the Representation of the People Act of 1918 expanded the electorate to include all men over the age of 21 and most women over the age of 30. The Equal Franchise Act of 1928 lowered the minimum age of women to vote from 30 to 21, making men and women equal in terms of suffrage for the first time.
on these questions, schools could not efficiently educate their pupils for citizenship in the style and standard required by a democratic policy.\textsuperscript{97}

The Board of Education in \textit{Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others Concerned with the Work of the Public Elementary Schools} confirmed that the learning of citizenship was the duty of every boy and girl in Great Britain:

\begin{quote}
\ldots all boys and girls in Great Britain have, by the mere fact of birth, certain rights and duties, which some day or other they will exercise, and it is the province of history to trace how these rights and duties arise. It is true that in the elementary school such matters can only be lightly touched upon, but even so the scholars are not too young to be taught what a debt they owe to their forefathers who won the Great Character of British liberties and sowed the seeds from which our Parliament has sprung.\textsuperscript{98}
\end{quote}

An ‘indirect’ method of inculcating patriotism was suggested – younger children, for example, could learn about the great men (and women) in


history through stories so that they could be exposed to “the most impressive examples of obedience, loyalty, courage, strenuous effort, serviceableness, indeed all the qualities which make for good citizenship” and older children by the history of the nation. The sticking point had always been the fear of indoctrination, which the government was opposed to and which Priestly wrote about in the 18th century.

However, Keating states that patriotism and citizenship began to be used almost interchangeably in education circles during the first half of the 20th century, and the importance of patriotism became stronger as the First World War approached.

After the First World War, the Moral Education League was reformed and renamed the Civics and Moral Education League, which perhaps suggests that patriotism was on a higher rung up the ladder of ethical instruction. Evidence of this can be seen in the writings of the period. For example, a year after the First World War, Miss Helen Madeley published her *History as a School of Citizenship* (1920). She maintained, “the curriculum of the school shall be definitely and recognisably related to life

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99 Ibid., p. 9.


as we mean it to be lived”.\textsuperscript{102} She went on to state, that if history is to survive, it must be both relevant and prepare students for life:

We load our memories with the battles and genealogies of the Wars of the Roses, the ministries of George III, the terms of some defunct treaty or some long-repealed bill, and we leave untouched craft history which might give new life to our technical training, studies in social life which might bring a new sensitiveness to human relations, and political discussion which would give both a new zest and a new efficiency to citizenship.\textsuperscript{103}

This change in attitude toward the role of education was perhaps the turning point where citizenship education is concerned, and no doubt a reaction against the horrors of the First World War. It must be stated that ‘citizenship education’ as a separate subject did not exist as such. Instead, the goals of citizenship education were embedded in the curriculum and in particular, in history teaching. In 1919 (a year before the publication of Helen Madeley’s book), the Education Committee of the

\textsuperscript{102} H. M. Madeley, (1920) History as a School of Citizenship. London: Oxford University Press, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., pp. 9-10. Further, as Selleck (1967:647) states, “Nationalist and more specifically imperialist, writers argued that well-taught history would breed patriotic citizens. The 1905 Circular [Suggestions for the consideration of teachers and others concerned in the work of public elementary schools] noted that “the ‘broad facts’ of this growth …of the Empire ought to form a stirring theme full of interest to every citizen”.

League of Nations Union (LNU) was formed to promote teaching about
the League and about international affairs generally under the
chairmanship of Dr. C. W. Kimmins, Chief Inspector of Schools for the
London County Council.\textsuperscript{104} This Committee included nominated
representatives from all the major unions and organisations, including the
teachers' unions. The LNU attracted the support of the key
educationalists and historians of the time including Professor John
Adams, Percy Nunn, Eileen Power, H. W. Temperley, Sir Charles Oman,
R. H. Tawney and Grant Robertson. By 1929, Sir William Beveridge and
Sir. W. Henry Hadow (himself an author of a book on citizenship
published in 1923 and the ‘author’ of the Hadow Reports on state-funded
education) were also co-opted members of the LNU Education
Committee. Thus the debate about including the interdependence of
states and widening the scope of history teaching to promote peace
began to be incorporated into the curriculum.

By 1922, the speakers working on behalf of the League had visited
numerous schools and had spoken to approximately 8,000 children.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{104} B. J. Elliott, (1977) ‘The League of Nations Union and History Teaching
132.

\textsuperscript{105} One of these speakers was the schoolteacher and secular humanist,
Frederick J. Gould, a close friend of Hayward’s. He was also the
Honorary Secretary to the International Moral Education Congress.
Gould, whose son was killed in action at Arras in 1917, became
increasingly interested in the work of the League and world peace. Gould
visited 280 schools giving talks to children, teachers and even to
The work of the League of Nations went from strength to strength with the support of the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and the National Union of Teachers (NUT). Between 1920 and 1925, fourteen LEAs began promoting the teaching of the League’s principles and films commissioned by the LNU were shown in schools across the country. However, when the League approached the Board of Education with the suggestion that an inquiry be set up to ascertain how far books and teaching brought out the ‘facts of international interdependence’ and how far ‘they represented foreign nations as isolated units concerned with other states as potential enemies’, they were unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{106} It was not until 1924, when the first Labour government came into office, that the League had success with the Board. The Board of Education’s circular to LEAs recommending a favourable attitude to the teaching of the League’s ideals is dated from this year. The Labour Party passed a resolution supporting the League at its 1926 conference.\textsuperscript{107}

Representatives from the League were also invited to speak at five teacher-training colleges and four teachers’ conferences. The Hadow Report of 1926 on the \textit{Education of the Adolescent} recommended that the “growing sense of interdependence of communities, as shown for

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\textsuperscript{106}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{107}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 134.
example in the work of the League of Nations, should receive due prominence". By 1927, the Board of Education and the teachers convened a meeting of 600 Local Education Authority (LEA) representatives in order to investigate ways of fostering teaching about the League, and simultaneously, the teachers’ union issued a joint declaration entitled *The Schools of Britain and the Peace of the World*.  

By the early 1930s, the League had virtually ceased to exist but the fear of Fascism and other totalitarian doctrines prompted a group of progressive educators to form the Association for Education in Citizenship (AEC) in 1934 to combat the rise of fascism and communism in Europe. It tried to ensure the teaching of liberal democracy in schools but the initiative went unsupported. The AEC advocated *direct training* for citizenship. The *direct training* view was not supported by the various official reports of the pre-war period. Further, of the three reports on education that were published during the late 1930s and 1940s – the Spens report of 1938, the Norwood report in 1943 and the Butler Education Act of 1944 - none encouraged citizenship education directly though they argued for teaching citizenship through the traditional subjects thereby avoiding controversial topics. Freathy confirms that it was only after the AEC were unsuccessful in obtaining the stamp of

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109 Ibid.
approval from the official political parties that religious education was endorsed as a form of citizenship. He suggests that this was primarily due to the ‘wider cultural conservatism in England between 1935 and 1949 that citizenship was recast in a Christian mould in response to foreign ‘secular’ political ideologies’.

As the review confirms, the first three decades of the 20th century was a period of extreme transformation in educational thinking. The political and economic changes had an impact on education policy. The 1908 report on the international inquiry into moral education, edited by Michael Sadler, an eminent educationist and a one-time employee of the Board of Education captures this:

The question of moral education is the heart of the modern educational problem. If this is neglected, education is a peril. Economic and social changes, the inrush of new knowledge and new ideas, the weakening of ancient traditions, the shifting of old landmarks of custom and belief, have thrown upon the schools a responsibility beyond precedent and expectation.

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This ‘inrush’ did not abate. In fact, it accelerated with a number of social and political changes. Education was increasingly being recognised as “an investment of individuals in themselves in order to transform the type of labour supplied … [bringing] economic rationality to the concept of education”.\textsuperscript{112} This compelled the gradual raising of the school leaving age.\textsuperscript{113} The social reforms of the day resulted, under Lloyd George’s chancellorship, in the birth of the Welfare State including the introduction of a moral economy of schooling.\textsuperscript{114}

\begin{quotation}
\end{quotation}


\textsuperscript{113} The work undertaken by Woodin, McCulloch and Cowan show the gradual move towards the raising of the school leaving age (ROSLA) thus:

The 1870 Education Act established state-funded education; the 1876 Elementary Schools Act introduced attendance committees; the 1880 Elementary Act compelled attendance between the ages of 5 and 10; 1893, the elementary Education (Act) ensured compulsory attendance to the age of 11 and in 1899 this was extended to age 12. In 1902, Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were created. The LEAs had been given the funding to extend schooling beyond the elementary level. In 1918, the Education Act was raised the school leaving age to 14 and pupils were encouraged to attend day-continuation classes until the age of 18. The Education Consolidation Act that confirmed the raising of school age to 15/16 followed this in 1921. In 1926, the Hadow Report on The Education of the Adolescent was published in 1929, and finally in the 1936, the National Government legislates for ROSLA to 15 with exemptions.

of a weekly means-tested pension for those over 70 and the National Insurance Act providing cover against sickness and unemployment. The women’s rights movement succeeded in having the vote extended to women (proportied and over the age of thirty) just before the First World War and finally to all women over the age of twenty-one after the War. The 1920s is characterised as a decade of novelty and invention, with the discovery of penicillin by Alexander Fleming and radio, television and the ‘talkie’ film coming to the fore. However, with rising unemployment and the impact of the Wall Street Crash of 1929 things came to a head in Britain. The impending doom of the Second World War was heralded by the rise of fascism, most vividly portrayed in England by the British Union of Fascists in 1934 and their youth movement under Oswald Mosley, the rise in unemployment and the extreme poverty suffered by the people, particularly in the North East.¹¹⁴

The implications of the above changes and the three themes provide the necessary context for this evaluation of Hayward’s contributions to the pedagogy of moral education and education for citizenship during the first three decades of the 20th century.

Chapter III: Research Question and Methodology

This chapter sets out the research question I will attempt to answer and the most appropriate methodology for my study on F. H. Hayward. The rationale for using documentary sources and the use of autobiography in historical research will be explored. Further, I will consider the question of revisionism in historical research and its appropriateness to this study of a forgotten educationist writing in the early part of the 20th century.

Research Question

The focus of this study is to determine whether Hayward’s contribution to moral education and education for citizenship was unique. The supplementary question seeks to understand why Hayward is a largely forgotten figure in the history of British education. Further, I would like to consider his contribution with respect to the three themes explored above: In particular, the ‘new educationists’ and their approach to childhood; the social influences including eugenics, and Herbart’s influence on British education during this period. Through this I aim to establish Hayward’s importance to education in England in the early part of the 20th century.
Methodology\textsuperscript{115}

The methodology for this study centres on the use of documentary sources – evidence found in Hayward’s own writings, particularly those contained in his autobiography \textit{An Educational Failure} and the writings of contemporary authors. These will be supplemented with references to official government publications as appropriate. Secondary sources will be used to reference the themes exposed in the literature review as necessary. I will also draw on Hayward’s personal library as required.

The main source, Hayward’s autobiography, \textit{An Educational Failure: A School Inspector’s Story} (1938), was published the year after he retired from the London County Council at the age of 65. Two things need to be mentioned at the outset: first, that the ‘autobiography’ is not an autobiographical work in the customary sense of the word. It does not, for instance, contain a trajectory of Hayward’s life, from birth to retirement. Nor does it autobiography contain much personal information about Hayward and is therefore unlike other existing HMI autobiographies.\textsuperscript{116}

Hayward’s superior, the Chief Education Officer of the LCC, F. H.

\textsuperscript{115} Some content in this section is adapted from the research previously undertaken in answering a question on the usefulness of theoretical approaches in historiography for the history of education.

Spencer, also published an autobiography in the same year - *An Inspector’s Testament*. However, the two works could not be more different for Spencer’s work is more of a memoir of events, places, people etc.\(^{117}\) In contrast, Hayward’s ‘autobiography’ launches straight into his working life, expanding on his views and educational philosophy by referring to his earlier writings which are re-printed as ‘documents’ at the end of the book. Hayward’s work is more an address to his audience - the Education Committee and members of the public - than a memoir. What it has in common with autobiography is that it represents his voice. It is his last word as District Inspector for Schools.\(^ {118}\)

The second point is that since Hayward himself included his other writings in this monograph, he must have considered these to be the most important of his many writings. I will therefore limit myself to these and only refer to earlier works to demonstrate the continuity or change in opinion on any particular issue.

\(^{117}\) Spencer’s autobiography is an example of what has been defined by the OED. Spencer, Chief Inspector for Education at the LCC, begins his narrative by describing his childhood, his schooling and his work experience, describing in detail his contemporaries and his feelings. See: F. H. Spencer, (1938) *An Inspector’s Testament*. (London: The English Universities Press Ltd).

\(^{118}\) According to Rawnsley, a second volume of the autobiography, lost in his lifetime, was projected but never materialized, p. 25.
Therefore, as a personal account of his thinking on education during his tenure as Her Majesty’s Inspector (HMI), *An Educational Failure* is being considered a form of autobiography and is being used in this study as the primary source. The American academic Mark Freeman explains the validity of using autobiography in historical study thus:

> Autobiography is among the most important and valuable vehicles for exploring the human realm in all of its depth, complexity, and richness. ¹¹⁹

Freeman goes on to define autobiography as “the specific kind of text that results from the first-person interpretive reconstruction of either a life in its entirety or a significant portion of it, with the aim not merely of recounting ‘what happened when’ but also of understanding, from the vantage point of the current time, the meaning and movement of the past”.¹²⁰ Using autobiography as a

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¹¹⁹ M. P. Freeman, (2008) ‘Autobiography.’ in The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods [online] ed. by Given, L. California: SAGE Publications, Inc., p. 3. Available at http://knowledge.sagepub.com/view/research/n28.xml [Accessed 28.7.15]. Freeman continues, stating that autobiographical research is a common method used in psychoanalysis, in anthropological and sociological research, and in narrative enquiry – and the benefits of using this method are numerous and include “…ontological wholeness, temporal wholeness, enculturedness, hermeneutic multivocality, and (perhaps most centrally) embeddedness within the fabric of narratively”.

¹²⁰ Ibid.
research method provides the freedom to consider Hayward’s contributions (and ‘failures’, to use a word from his title) from his perspective. Autobiographical research is context specific is therefore “encultured”. Freeman (2008:4) explains this in the following way:

In the case of autobiography… context is of essence. Given that the natural habitat of humans is culture – the life of language, relationships, and communities – it follows that autobiography is not only about the individual but also about the sociocultural world through which the individual moves.  

Thus, Hayward’s autobiography will provide is an awareness of the interplay between the individual and the collective (Martin (2007:516-8).

This will be with respect to references to individuals, including the

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121 Ibid, p. 4 Pat Sikes (2006) confirms this:

…auto/biographic research is research that starts from and focuses on the personal and subjective perceptions and experiences of individual people… [These] approaches locate the individual in the wider social, cultural and historical contexts they inhabit….

members of the Education Committee at the LCC, his employer, the LCC, and other contemporary authors.

However, much of this will be an interpretive and constructive process in order to make meaning out of the writings. An awareness that autobiographical sources can never wholly be relied on is of paramount importance. They will, undoubtedly, be subjective and contain biases and unsubstantiated claims, thus (un)consciously distorting the ‘truth’. Equally important is to be mindful of my own reasons for wanting to deconstruct the autobiography.

There are many reasons for undertaking this study: Gauging the importance (or not) of the Hayward Collection,\textsuperscript{122} which is part of the

\textsuperscript{122} I have not been able to confirm the true provenance of the collection in the several conversations I have had with the previous Head of the Newsam Library & Archives, with my predecessor, and in an email correspondence with Peter Gordon. I can only surmise that it is most likely that the collection came as part of the London Education Authority Education (ILEA) Library, which was given to the IOE in 1990 when the ILEA was abolished. According to Antony Daws (one of the retired librarians who transferred to the IOE from ILEA in 1990), a reference library was established in 1874 at the School Board for London (1870-1904). The School Board for London became the London County Council from 1904 to 1964 and then ILEA from 1965 to 1990. Since Hayward was an Inspector with the LCC from 1905 to 1937, it is likely that his library was donated to the LCC in the first instance and then found its way to the IOE when the transfer took place. Claire Drinkwater, in her article, on the Historical Textbooks Collection, confirms that together with the textbooks, additional material was transferred from the LEA – see: C. Drinkwater, (2011), “Textbooks at the University of London Institute of Education: Past and Present,” Paradigm Available at
Special Collections at the UCL Institute of Education, is one of the reasons. As the Special Collections Librarian in charge of the Hayward Collection, I have a vested interest in seeing Hayward as an important figure in the history of British education so that I can more easily publicise this collection and at the same time, attract other researchers to re-evaluate Hayward's contribution to British education. This will also help to enhance the reputation of the library in the eyes of scholars. However, my personal interest in the subject of 'values education' is another reason for studying Hayward's writings. I hope to gain a perspective on the history of the subject and its pedagogy so that I can better understand some of the questions that are being asked by educators and policy makers today, particularly in regard to recent events in the West and the role schools have to play in inculcating moral values.\[^{123}\] Perhaps a more significant

http://faculty.education.illinois.edu/westbury/paradigm/drinkwater.html [Accessed 28.01.14].

Hayward's personal library was much bigger than the three hundred plus items that are currently part of this sequence. Rawnsley confirms that the library was dispersed with after his death and only his books on education and religious topics were deposited at the Institute of Education in London, p. 54.

In terms of the uniqueness of this collection vis-à-vis others, the Hayward Collection is one of two surviving personal libraries of schools inspectors. The other is the Grenfell Collection, which represents the library of the inspector in charge of physical education.

\[^{123}\] The recent debates on 'Britishness' and values, the radicalization of youth, democracy and citizenship has been in the news again since the terrorist attacks in France at the beginning of 2015. However, these concerns among educators have been ongoing. John Elias' 1989 book *Moral Education: Secular and Religious* (Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing) traces the discussions to Judaism and the early Christian times in the West.
reason for undertaking this research is my personal belief in justice, especially for forgotten individuals who may have been dismissed unfairly due to their backgrounds or circumstances beyond their control. I see a little evidences of this in Hayward’s life and question how can a well-educated, intelligent and relatively well-known individual, who appeared to play a somewhat major part in English education especially during the first two decades of the 20th century, be relegated to the sidelines without having the benefit of a re-evaluation of his contribution? Revisionism, as this re-evaluation is referred to, plays is an important part in historical research. The eminent historian James McPherson explains:

… revisionism is the lifeblood of historical scholarship. History is a continuing dialogue between the present and the past. Interpretations of the past are subject to change in response to new evidence, new questions asked of the evidence and new perspectives gained by the passage of time. There is no single, eternal, and immutable “truth” about past events and their meaning. The unending quest of historians for understanding he past that is, “revisionism” — is what makes history vital and meaningful. Without revisionism we would be stuck.…. Without revisionist historians who have done research
in new sources and asked new and nuanced questions, we would remain mired in one or another of ...[the] stereotypes.\textsuperscript{124}

The above quote confirms the importance of re-evaluating Hayward’s contribution to British education for the history of education should aim to “restore the broken links between our generation and our predecessors, to fill in certain gaps in our memory”.\textsuperscript{125} Emile Durkheim believed that to understand the present and anticipate the future, we must carefully study the past. Thus he stated:

\ldots only history can penetrate under the surface of the present educational system; only history can analyse it; only history can show us what elements it formed on what conditions each of them depends, how they are interrelated; only history, in a word, can bring us to the long chain of causes and effects of which it is the result.\textsuperscript{126}


McCulloch substantiates the above by explaining that history should not merely be a narrative that is devoid of the contexts of the time, whether they are social, political, economic or religious; and any historical study should certainly not give the impression of accumulated progress / achievement with one event leading smoothly to another.\textsuperscript{127} A study of educational history in context often reveals the opposite: it is usually reminiscent of a beehive of activity revealing connections and interdependencies. Asa Briggs argued that the history of education should be considered as part of a wider study of the history of society\textsuperscript{128} and R.S. Peters took this a step further when he made the point, at his inaugural lecture as professor of philosophy at the Institute of Education in London, “education is not an autonomous discipline, but a field, like politics, where the discipline of history, philosophy, psychology, and sociology have application". \textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{127} Ibid., p. 27.


Post-revisionists portray history as “eclectic, broad and diverse in its range, although they also suggest that it represents ‘a new maturity in the field, a willingness to embrace the complexity of education as a social and political process of change, entailing struggle but also growth and the hope of progress’” (McCulloch, 2012:37).\(^\text{130}\) It is hoped that by providing the social, political and educational context of the period by way of the themes selected above, I am able to provide a revisionist history of Hayward’s contribution to the teaching of moral education and education for citizenship.

However, how objective will this history be? We must accept that all history, like all story telling, is based on two basic activities, namely, selection and construction.\(^\text{131}\) These twin processes produce a partial representation of something that has happened in the world in the past. The question often asked in constructing an historical account is, can one truly be ‘objective in their representation’?\(^\text{132}\) E. H. Carr states that history


\(^{131}\) The reference here is to the selection of facts and using these facts as evidence to construct a historical narrative.

\(^{132}\) The Oxford English Dictionary defines ‘objectivity’ as “the quality or character of being objective… especially the ability to consider or represent facts, information, etc., without being influenced by personal feelings or opinions…[an] impartiality; detachment.” See: “objectivity, n.”. OED Online. March 2013. OUP Available from http://0www.oed.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/Entry/129639?redirectedFrom=objectivity [Accessed 19.7.15].
“is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts [evidence], an unending dialogue between the past and the present”.¹³³

He believed the historian could just as well combine different factual evidence to produce his or her own view of history and those that had a “fetishism of documents” were in danger of treating them as “the Ark of the Covenant in the temple of facts.”¹³⁴ In his book, *What is History?* Carr asserts that it is impossible to remain objective. His basic premise is that historical facts are vulnerable to the subjectivity of the historian who shapes facts to a particular historical interpretation:

> It used to be said that facts speak for themselves. This is, of course, untrue. The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is he who decides which facts to give the door, and in what order or context. It was, I think, one of Pirandello's characters who said that a fact is like a sack - it won't stand up till you've put something in it. The only reason why we are interested to know that the battle was fought at Hastings in 1066 is that historians regard it as a major historical event.¹³⁵

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¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 11.
If objectivity is impossible, as Carr surmises above, an awareness of this potential trap, together with ensuring that Hayward's writings are evaluated in historical context, I may be able to provide as accurate an evaluation of Hayward's work as is possible.

Further, Carr's views are that "history books, like the people who write them, are the products of their own times and that authors bring particular ideas and ideologies to bear on the past". But is this problematic? Marc Dapaepe in his ‘The Ten Commandments of Good Practices in the History of Education Research’ states, ‘Thou shall not fret excessively about presentism’ because

…‘presentism’ is an inevitable condition with which the researcher has had to learn to live with. Obviously we always look back to the past from the present, that is to say, from our biologically but also our culture historically, sociologically, psychologically rooted position. But that does not alter the fact that it remains our task to avoid as much as possible the presentistic and perspectivistic pitfall that the ‘viewpoint’ from which we look at the past inevitably involves.137

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Hence, it is almost impossible to produce an objective historical account devoid of presentism and mediation (for the simple act of choosing which facts to use determines their prominence within the historical narrative). Carr’s advice is that subjectivity ought to be declared at the outset by the historian as necessary truthfulness.

I have already declared my reasons for wanting to study the writings of Hayward above. My awareness of the need to contextualise Hayward’s writings within the broader social, political and economic framework is acknowledged in the literature review and I am aware that I will be constructing my narrative by viewing the evidence with present-day lenses. However, I hope to be aware of the issues relevant to presentism and subjectivity by corroborating my views with those of others. This will, I hope, produce as objective a study on Hayward as is possible. In this way, I will also, remain true to the three duties of the historian of education espoused by Richard Aldrich: to have a duty to the past; to maintaining academic standards; and a duty to truth.138

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Chapter IV: Analysis of An Educational Failure

Introduction

This analysis of Hayward’s autobiography will focus on the themes that were introduced in the literature review, though not in the order they are presented earlier but in the order they appear in Hayward’s opening addresses to members of the LCC’s Education Committee and to the public. These make references to earlier writings (with some revisions), which he has included in the monograph in the form of nine ‘Documents’. To begin with, however, I will provide a description of the volume and present the titles as they provide a ‘map’ of sorts to the autobiography. Explanatory notes supplement the analysis in the footnotes and content from Hayward’s other published works are drawn on as necessary.

An Educational Failure: A School Inspector’s Story

An Educational Failure: A School Inspector’s Story was published in 1938 and is substantial book of 390 pages. It begins with two addresses: the first, “To the Education Committee of the London County Council” and the second, “To The Public”. The book is divided into four sections entitled: Prologue (made up of four chapters); A Pilgrim’s Progress to Disaster

Briefly, among the key themes exposed in the literature review was child-centred education practices and the ‘New Education’ movement, education as science and the Herbart’s influences on British education, and the implications of the eugenics and moral education and secular movements on education for citizenship and patriotism.
(which consists of twenty-three chapters); Epilogue (which has another four chapters) and Documents (in which, as mentioned above, Hayward republishes nine of his previous writings in slightly revised form – see Figure 5 below). The book finishes with a single-page postscript (presented in capital letters) and final page where Hayward informs us that the autobiography is the first of five volumes, the other four being part of a larger work entitled ‘The Legacy of the School Inspector’ (see Figure 4 below):

THE LEGACY OF THE SCHOOL INSPECTOR

By F. H. Hayward

*Vol. I.* An Educational Failure.


(2) Autobiographical Chapters (1872-).

*Vol. III.* (1) Aspects of Educational Thought and Psychology.

(2) Inspector under the L.C.C.

*Vol. IV.* (1) People I have Met.

(2) Assembly Methods and the Ultimate Problems.

*Vol. V.* The Comedy of Education and Religion.

**Figure 4:** A list of proposed future volumes to be authored by Hayward listed in *An Educational Failure* (1938)

These additional four volumes, as we now know, were never published though Volumes II (2) *Autobiographical Chapters (1872-)* and IV *People I*...
have Met would have provided useful information on Hayward’s childhood, schooling and perhaps even his personality (rather than the character he portrays in his autobiography) and who influenced him during his working life. Hayward ends the page with an invitation to interested individuals to contact him if they want to discuss the contents of this tome, giving his home address, 19 Heatcote Gove, Chingford, E. 4, for this purpose.

The table of contents (see Figure 5 below) provides a glimpse of what the reader can expect from Hayward’s (working) life journey. He portrays himself to be a pilgrim, fighting his way through failure and disaster. This pilgrim’s progress, however, unlike Bunyan’s, did not receive recognition Hayward continues to be a forgotten figure in the history of British education. The chapter titles, however, indicate there were periods of hope in his life journey for he had his ‘humble torchbearers’ and even an ‘eminent torchbearer’ to support him in his endeavours. The Epilogue is used to ‘commend’ the Education Committee for the neglect of his work. Bitter sarcasm of this kind is littered throughout the book. The impression the reader is left with, at the end of this reading, is that Hayward’s journey was an arduous struggle and he clearly failed. Thus we begin An Educational Failure: A School Inspector’s Story.
Figure 5: Table of Contents from Hayward’s An Educational Failure
The titles of the nine ‘Documents’, which form part of the autobiography, are presented in Figure 6. Hayward indicates the first publication date as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Document 2: A Summary Statement of the Celebration Case in Fifty Clauses Published early in 1932</td>
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<tr>
<td>Document 3: A Proposed Nucleus of School Celebrations</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>An Address delivered in the Conference Hall, County Hall, November 21st, 1935</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document 5: A Proposed Appeal (1935) Following on the King’s Message to the Children of London, and Commenting on Its Significance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Document 6: Circular to Header Teachers in District 5 (1935)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Document 7: Memorandum Sent by the Author to Inspectors in March 1936</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document 8: An Explanatory Memorandum Suggested as Suitable to Accompany the Draft Scheme of Celebrations Discussed by Inspectors on September 25th 1936</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reflections on Civics in Schools An Historical and Psychological Introduction to the Celebration Proposal. Circulated in the Autumn of 1933 and slightly altered in 1937.</td>
<td>267-312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>A Summary Statement of the Celebration Case in Fifty Clauses Published early in 1932</td>
<td>313-327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A Proposed Nucleus of School Celebrations An Address delivered in the Conference Hall, County Hall, November 21st, 1935</td>
<td>327-349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A Speech at the “England” Celebration Day, May 16th 1934</td>
<td>350-357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A Proposed Appeal (1935) Following on the King’s Message to the Children of London, and Commenting on Its Significance</td>
<td>358-362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Circular to Header Teachers in District 5 (1935)</td>
<td>362-363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Memorandum Sent by the Author to Inspectors in March 1936</td>
<td>364-368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>An Explanatory Memorandum Suggested as Suitable to Accompany the Draft Scheme of Celebrations Discussed by Inspectors on September 25th 1936</td>
<td>368-375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>On the Duties of L.C.C. Inspectors (1937)</td>
<td>375-377</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6:** Titles of ‘Documents’ included in Hayward’s autobiography, *An Educational Failure* (1938)

The following describes in brief the contents of chapters in Hayward’s autobiography. In Chapter one, entitled, *The Man Who Failed*, Hayward gives the reasons for his failure openly acknowledging the issues to do with his proposals for implementing the Celebrations into the school curriculum. Chapter two is entitled *Illustrations of My Failure*. Here Hayward narrates the various ways in which he attempted to discharge his duties as schools inspector and also provides the context under which he was working. He makes reference to the League of Nations, his
publications, including the *Celebration Bulletins* which he edited. His bitterness at the lack of acknowledgement for his work on the Celebrations for Ireland and for breaking the habit of gambling through education in particular is voiced with much sarcasm. He despairs, for example, at the ignorance of educationists and gives examples of young people “still singing lustily of the dear little shamrock” despite the Union Jack not flying in Erin anymore. He also considers the tragi-comedy of the Secretary of the National Savings Association coming to talk to the inspectors in order to educate children on the merits of saving which he, says, was something he had already incorporated into one of his Celebrations – and which was obviously ignored by the Education Committee.\footnote{Hayward, (1938), *An Educational Failure* (henceforth, *AEF*), pp.23-24.}

In Chapter three, Hayward discusses *The Nature of Failure*. Hayward gives the example of a BBC Radio programme, which ‘borrowed’ a version of his *Celebration of England*. He feigns delight in this system of borrowing, using Gustav Spiller’s term ‘Inter-learning’ to describe this outright plagiarism.\footnote{According to Gustav Spiller, the word “inter-learning” meant “the aspect of things ignored by the word ‘Self-Expression’.” – see Rawnsley, p. 279.} Though, he writes, he is delighted that the BBC have borrowed intelligently his method, he wished they had, instead, used his *Celebration of Virgil* which he had published in 1930. Once again, he bemoans the lack of recognition due to him. If only, he wishes, head
teachers had considered how much information they could give to their students in the sixty minutes it would take to perform a Celebration. He asks whether this failure is his or the nation’s. He continues in this vein blaming the press for it is failing in its responsibilities for enlightening the nation, and moulding public opinion.\textsuperscript{142} He wanted, he writes, three reforms in education:

First: a less flagrant neglect of moral and civic instruction on the actual duties of life; second, a closer linking up of portions of biblical literature, especial the works of the prophets with the contemporary world events (e.g. with the emergence of Cyrus the Great), together with a more stately, thrilling, “literacy” presentation of the passages in question and many others; third, a reduction in the amount of sheer falsehood, theological and other, conveyed to the young.\textsuperscript{143}

The fourth chapter is entitled, \textit{The Envy of Bunyan}. As would be expected with a title such as this, Hayward is making reference to Bunyan’s \textit{The Pilgrim’s Progress}, which despite the circumstances under which it was written (in prison and against the authority of the day), became well-known. Situating his argument within contemporary

\textsuperscript{142} Here Hayward makes reference to his co-authored with B. N. Langdon-Davies book \textit{Democracy and the Press} published in 1919.

\textsuperscript{143} \textit{AEF}, p. 29.
changes to schooling by referencing the compulsory medical inspections
taking place in schools, the advance in child psychology during his time,
the open-air schools movement, the inclusion of physical education in the
curriculum and the beginning of the empiricism among other things,
Hayward sarcastically comments:

Even to-day the party that professes most enthusiasm for
education [Labour] commonly thinks less of the child’s and
adolescent’s mind than of his body, or thinks in terms of
educational statistics, or of external adjustments in space or
time. It is concerned about sports in the open air, not of nature-
study in the same place (“better than games”), about smaller
classes and a longer school career, independent or almost
independent of what is taught in classes; about breaking down
social barriers by means of schools in common, not by means
of a philosophy that would unite social groups in some main
intuitions and activities of the Spirit.144

In his defence, Hayward seeks support from the general opinion by others
of his ilk (those involved with the Moral Instruction League, for instance),
who have all, at one time or another, asserted that “while material and

144 AEF, p. 40.
scientific progress has been rapid, moral and spiritual progress has grievously lagged behind”. 145

The second section of the book is A Pilgrim’s Progress to Disaster contains nineteen chapters, detailing the trajectory of the Celebration. As we trundle through the book, the ‘fog’ of oblivion gets thicker and thicker. There are torchbearers, one of them the moral educationist F. J. Gould, who shines a light above the fog in the form of positive reviews and voices of encouragement. However, the section ends dramatically with A Ghost Torments the Dying Man in which Hayward acknowledges that the Education Committee of the LCC are not likely to make a momentous and vital executive decisions for it will inevitably result in the dismantling of an existing education system - one that does not do the job as it should.

Finally, in the Epilogue, Hayward addresses the Inspectorate. He laments the lack of action by the powers that be for a number of initiatives – not just his but also those of his colleagues too. 146 He castigates the Board for not valuing specializations among the Inspectorate, for lowering their standards and hiring indiscriminately and accuses the Inspectorate of corruption; he ends with a plea to educators to discharge their duties at this time of crisis in education and in the world.

145 Ibid.

146 Hayward makes reference to M. O’Brien Harris’ Howard Plan (in the Hayward Collection) and T. C. Smith’s the Grade Plan.
A seven-page address to the Education Committee of the London County Council, written from Hayward’s home in Chingford in the Autumn of 1937 – months before his official retirement from the LCC on 16th December of the same year, confronts the reader at the start. In this address, Hayward requests that every member of the Committee accept the book before its formal publication. He alludes to the fact that he planned for it to be a larger work titled The Legacy of a School Inspector but he adds, rather sarcastically, that even if he had managed that, it would no doubt have put the publisher out of business – and that rather than a legacy, this was merely a story. He had therefore failed to leave behind a legacy for future educationists. This, he says, is “the simple record of my attempt to deal with a problem which may be supposed closely to concern the Education Committee”. He then explains that the book includes ‘Documents’ which are “a partial substitute for what is omitted”.¹⁴⁷ The documents provide, in his view, a historical and psychological background to his educational philosophy. He urges his readers to begin with the first document so that they would have the necessary background to the thesis presented in the autobiography.

This first document is entitled Reflections on Civics in Schools: An Historical and Psychological Introduction to the Celebration Proposal.

¹⁴⁷ AEF, p. vii.
Circulated in the Autumn of 1933 and slightly altered in 1937. In this
document, Hayward begins with a historical preamble which provides the
vehicle for explaining the background to his endeavours. He informs the
reader that he had been trying for the past thirty-five years to fill gaps in
the teaching of conduct and civics. In 1902, he writes, he attempted to
persuade the authorities in question to include the following six themes
into the curriculum: patriotism, temperance, anti-narcotics, kindness to
animals, courtesy and civics (referred to at the time as ‘The Life and
Duties of a Citizen’). Since then, he has noted the inclusion of four more
themes. In 1919, “Thrift, Peace (League of Nations), Anti-Gambling, and
Sex Hygiene” were added. And at the time of this re-writing, the new
themes in evidence include “Safety First, Anti-Litter, Care of the
Countryside, Cleanliness and Health”. He explains that for years the
controversy has been between two principles and these have detracted
from the implementation of a course in moral education and citizenship in
schools. The two principles are:

**Principle (1).** We sometimes hear that the task of the educator
is to “draw out” inner forces latent in the child’s soul, and that

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148 In the first iteration of this work, which Hayward published privately as
a small booklet, he omitted the sub-heading present in this version.

149 *AEF*, pp. 267-8. The above list of topics included in moral education
and education for citizenship are reflective of the various secular
movements in vogue during the early part of the 20th century.
the attempt to impose principles from without is an unsound, old-fashioned, mischievous, if not indeed impractical policy.  

_Principle (2)._ On the other hand, the history of education in this and other countries has been largely the history of attempts by certain established parties to dominate or influence the child’s soul in the supposed interest of his moral and spiritual welfare.\textsuperscript{150} 

In the above, Hayward makes reference to the method of instructions that were being debated about at that time – the direct and indirect method. The first gives the child the information in order for s/he to solve a problem or exposes the child to information in order to garner interest; the second was very much in favour among some public school educators, as they believed that the school ethos prepared the child for life outside its walls. So, for example, games taught children about co-operation, fairness and respect. The indecisiveness of advocates of both these principles has resulted, according to Hayward, in “a production of meaningless or disingenuous phrases about “direct,” “indirect,” and “incidental,” methods.”\textsuperscript{151} Hayward’s view was that if advocates of these opposing principles had been sincere about moving the agenda forward, they “could have added the missing element of lucidity by appealing on behalf of (1) to the list of human instincts, and on behalf of (2) to the fact

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., p. 267.  

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., p. 268.
of the plasticity and educability of those instincts” so that the “central Intelligence Department [by this he means the Education Committee of the LCC], if one existed, could have resolved the controversy and summoned practical educationists to face the problems involved”.

Furthermore, when John Adams introduced education psychology in England forty years ago with the publication of his book, *Herbartian Psychology* in 1898, Hayward surmises, he provided the answers to all these questions because Adams’s book threw out the notion of “Faculty” or “Mental Transfer” – the system used for rote learning of the 3 Rs. Hayward then justifies his take on the above by giving evidence of others who were of the same opinion as him. He mentions A. C. Benton, who taught at Eton and who was later Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Sir Arthur Hort, Assistant Master at Harrow School. Benton, for instance, is quoted as saying,

> We take it for granted that if we can develop *esprit de corps* in a school, it will continue in after life in the form of good citizenship. But I think that is by no means the case …

Geometry is a logical science, but one does not teach most boys logic by teaching them Geometry, but only the logic of Geometry. And *I am not all clear that by teaching boys the lesser patriotism of school and college, one teaches them the*

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152 Ibid., p. 269.
larger patriotism of nation and race ... I left school believing in athletics ... [but] utterly and blandly unaware of the real forces and problems of the world.\footnote{AEF, p. 273. The italics in the quote are Hayward’s.}

The school had therefore “betrayed its educational trust; instead of kindling and directing and informing the mind it had perverted and was in the way of destroying it”.\footnote{Ibid.} As far as Hayward was concerned, the most effective way of teaching morals was by using the Herbartian method because “Herbart held that “Many-sided Interest” was a prerequisite for the more specific training of Character by means of Discipline, Morals and Civics.”\footnote{Ibid., p. 277.} Hayward ends his argument by quoting Bernard Shaw who he says heard a paper of his being read at a meeting of Fabians: “No one learns to do one thing by doing something else. “So it seems,” Hayward concludes, “that the “indirect” methods might be mainly humbug, and I had to try to work towards something “direct”.\footnote{Ibid. See also p. 45 of AEF.} Hayward’s “direct” method of instruction is perhaps best seen through his Celebration method– the method he proposed for teaching a ‘holistic’ curriculum and one that included both moral and civics instruction – which, as far as he
was concerned, was the purpose of education. This was also the basis of Herbart’s educational philosophy and this theme is prevalent in all of Hayward’s writings.

With respect to improving moral instruction in schools, Hayward cites a paper he presented at the first congress of the Moral Instruction League in 1908. He begins the paper stating he will discuss two aspects of improving instruction: (1) direct moral instruction prejudices and objections and (2) the scientific aspects of evolution, heredity and plasticity. On the first point regarding the prejudices and objections to direct moral instruction, Hayward begins with a list of reasons why educators appear to oppose direct instruction, giving among these the following reasons: the direct method is dull, un-pedagogical, old-fashioned, harks back to the 18th century and not modern educational science, priggish and undistinguishable between instruction and

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157 I revisit Hayward’s views on the aims of education when I consider his writings on Herbart later in this chapter.

158 The paper is published in the first of two volumes of a report of an international inquiry into moral instruction and training in schools, edited by Michael Sadler. The first volume includes papers by other Neo-Herbartians including Dr. Rudolf Eucken from the University of Jena, Professor J. J. Findlay from the University of Manchester, Professor John Adams from the University of London, F. J. Gould, Dr. Sophie Bryant, Headmistress of the London Collegiate School, Dr. J. H. Muirhead from University of Birmingham and G. Stanley Hall, the American founder of child psychology. The second volume is devoted to ‘foreign and colonial’ schools. The first volume is Available at https://archive.org/details/moralinstruction01sadluoft [Accessed 19.8.15].
Hayward states that rather than the method of instruction, the problem is with the very word ‘moral’ and the current morbid horror of priggishness which prevents schools from exerting their influence on moral conduct. “Those who depreciate the value of moral instruction”, declares Hayward, “seem to be ignorant of certain important aspects of the psychology of evil. They need to be reminded of Prof. Adams’s words” - and he quotes from *The Herbartian Psychology*,

The state of a soul that is ill-supplied with good ideas calls for little comment. Such a soul can hardly be said to be tempted. The soul must be continually choosing among the ideas presented to it, and if the supply of good ideas is inadequate, it must of necessity choose the evil.\(^{160}\)

Thus the school has a greater responsibility and cannot afford to shun its duty to moral development. In further defining the difference between instruction and training in moral education, Hayward writes as follows:

The notion that the moral life can be built up almost without instruction has taken the form of the dogma of “formal training,” a dogma which is all-

\(^{159}\) He explains, “A school may give first-rate training, and yet, as a distinguished writer on the great public schools asserts is often the case, the boys may remain “morally color-blind”…. Ibid., p. 10.

powerful in secondary schools and largely influential in primary schools. It assumes that by a course of hard work in any subject the will can be “trained” for any other task; that “accuracy” in general or “neatness” in general can be cultivated by “accuracy” or “neatness” in certain school pursuits, and so on; in short, that the whole moral life can be satisfactorily treated with little or no reference to ideas, ideals or standards. There must be no “preaching,” no “moralising,” etc. The moral life must grow unconsciously. The main thing is habit.

Hayward refutes the above by once again quoting from Adams and citing Herbart’s theory of apperception. He verifies this by telling his audience that the Americans too have statistically proved the same. They found that qualities such as accuracy and neatness “are not transferable unless there is more than mere unconscious training; there must be instruction, or at any rate the express recognition of the value of this quality or that. Therefore habits cannot be generalized except by means of ideas”. 161 This confusion is a result of a lack of an educational science, concludes Hayward. Training aims at creating good habits and instruction at “giving ideas, ideals, moral insight, or ‘apperception power’; in other words, at clearing up moral ignorance, delusion, thoughtlessness or prejudice.” 162 He is quick to point out that this has nothing to do with school discipline – which, to his mind, has little value. The present methods, whether they

162 Ibid., p. 12.
are direct or indirect for they both can be used for different purposes, he explains, “underestimates the power and value of ideas as springs of conduct”.\textsuperscript{163} Hayward recommends Herbart’s theory of “many-sided interest” and apperception to combat the problem of “over-familiarity” and the lack of novel ideas.\textsuperscript{164}

On the second point concerning the scientific aspects of evolution, heredity, and plasticity, Hayward begins by confirming that there is a lot of confusion on the subject of heredity and once, again, the mass of “floating conviction, opinion or prejudice” on these issues stands in the way of agreement. In his response to the heredity \textit{versus} environment question, Hayward suggests that those in favour of heredity (eugenics) believe that it is impossible to build a child’s character, Herbart, on the other hand, writes Hayward, rejected the “plant” metaphor, and … preferred to say that man’s mental and moral life were rooted entirely in presentations or ideas (\textit{Vorstellungen}). … Education and environment appear in this way as more powerful than “heredity” — the latter term, indeed, standing for something less and less intelligible the more it is studied.\textsuperscript{165}

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., p. 7-8.
Thus, the role of education was much more powerful than heredity and Herbart’s sociological stance on the issue of environment made more sense than the arguments put forward by Galton and his protégé Karl Pearson:

Many sociologists... are coming to Herbart’s view that moral life is “rooted in presentations [and]...national characteristics are results of “social heredity”, i.e., of an ethical tradition or environment handed down from one generation to another.\(^{166}\)

In support of the Herbartian view, Hayward then makes reference to the writings of Dr. Archdall Reid, a contemporary Scottish physician interested in the evolution of races. Reid’s views, he explains, were in conflict with Darwin’s theory of evolution because of the re-discovery of the work of Gregor Mendel, an 18\(^{th}\) century scientist and founder of the new science of genetics. Dr. Reid, Hayward says, believes that our universal history testifies to changes in civilisation, morality and religion and therefore one cannot ignore the impact of man’s increasing brain capacity, his increasing power of memory and therefore, the increasing power of ideas over his instincts.\(^{167}\) Therefore the Herbartian theory of Vorstellungen held greater capacity in this debate for Hayward: “qualities like gentleness, conscientiousness, prudence, are the result of ideas, ideals, standards,

\(^{166}\) Ibid.

\(^{167}\) Ibid., pp. 8-9.
and these last are results of social traditions and of education". Like Locke, that “man’s brain at birth is pre-eminently plastic, vacuous, hungry, and consequently educable”. He continues, thus:

The main purpose of education will be to introduce the child to the knowledge (moral and other) accumulated by the human race. The sociological doctrine links on exactly with the Herbartian doctrine of “apperception,” with recent demands for moral instruction, and with the whole Church tradition.”

That apperception was necessary in order to develop the child’s thinking process was related to Herbart’s concept of “many-sided interest”. Hayward goes on to explain that Herbart believed interest could be maintained if knowledge was built on existing experience – and this was paramount to maintaining interest and ensuring motivation. Thus it was that Hayward proposed his ‘Celebration Method’ as a way of providing moral and civic instruction.


169 Ibid.

170 Ibid. As the hold of the church lessened in education, it was society’s (and therefore the state’s / educator’s) responsibility to ensure moral instruction became part of schooling.
Hayward’s Celebration Method

Hayward’s ‘Celebration’ is a multi-disciplinary lesson plan or programme which brings together information from different subjects (including music, art, poetry, literature, readings from the scriptures and factual information) on a particular theme, usually one that highlights a historical event or a topical issue. Hayward used important anniversaries, such as Empire Day, St. David’s Day, and key figures in history, such as Shakespeare, Darwin etc. for creating his celebrations, and he used them both as opportunities to develop cross curricula activities and to ‘celebrate’ national identity.

This ‘secular liturgy’ he proposed was to be used by educators not only for the “inculcation of moral instruction on Herbartian lines, and as a means of correlation with various subjects of the curriculum, but also to encourage the notion of world citizenship and international accord”.¹⁷¹ According to the moral educationist, F. J. Gould, a close friend and colleague of Hayward’s and also a founding member of the Moral Instruction League, the Celebrations were designed to express, “national, civic and social ideals through ceremonial music, recital of noble process and poetry, salutation of portraits, busts and emblems, pageant–scenes, etc. as integral parts of education, and enacted in a manner acceptable to

¹⁷¹ Rawnsley, p. 27.
all the citizenhood”. He continued, “the proposal [of the Celebration] is finely designed to kindle imagination, touch the heart, and attune young souls with the grandest traditions of our race”. However, Hayward does not take credit for the idea of the Celebration:

I cannot too often repeat that I have not been the initiator of the movement whose birth and death I have recorded and whose resurrection is doubtful. The brat is not of my begetting though he has been of my adoption.

Although Hayward traces the idea of the Celebration to Plato's *The Laws*, the development and application of the principles to education was his. According to Hayward, Plato was disillusioned with the Hellenic world and one solution he proposed for education was the organisation of festivals

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173 Ibid. By ‘race’, Gould means the ‘human race’ as opposed to the British race. This will be explained later in the chapter.

174 Ibid., p. xvi.

and celebrations to promote democracy and citizenship.\textsuperscript{176} Hayward began publishing these Celebrations as full programmes and the first two books of Celebrations, \textit{A Book of School Celebrations} and \textit{A Second Book of Celebrations} were published in 1920. In 1922, \textit{Some Specimen Celebrations with Address to the North of England Conference} was published – this is presented as \textit{Document 3} in the autobiography. From 1924 to 1926 the \textit{Journal of Education} published a list of Hayward’s Celebrations, which suggests that Celebration format of teaching moral and citizenship education was beginning to be accepted by some educationists, and this is most obvious when, in the June edition of the \textit{Journal of Education}, readers were advised that Hayward would be editing a new journal, \textit{The Celebration Bulletin}.\textsuperscript{177} In 1927, \textit{A New Book of Celebrations} was published. The \textit{Bulletin} was published quarterly up to 1932. For a publication to focus on a single aspect of pedagogy is rare and is evidence of Hayward’s initial success. During this period, the \textit{Journal of Education} simultaneously promoted Hayward’s Celebrations, announcing in 1929 for example, the receipt of four Memorial Celebrations, “excellently arranged” by Dr. Hayward.\textsuperscript{178} In the same year, Hayward’s \textit{Homage Celebration of Portugal} was performed at the League

\textsuperscript{176} \textit{AEF}, p. ix.

\textsuperscript{177} Cambridge University Library holds almost the complete run of the Bulletin.

\textsuperscript{178} Rawnsley, p. 19.
of Nations Festival\textsuperscript{179} and in 1930 his \textit{Hymns and Verses (Chiefly Celebrational)} and the \textit{Bimillenary Celebration of Virgil} were published. A \textit{Fourth Book of Celebrations} was published and reviewed in the \textit{Journal} in 1932, and in the same year, \textit{A Memorial Celebration to Robert Owen and William Blake} (which had been given to the Woolwich Co-operative Society) was published. Therefore Hayward was preoccupied with the Celebrations from the 1920 to 1932.

The idea of using Plato’s ‘\textit{Laws}’ to create a ‘Celebration’ came about when Hayward attempted to move away from the only annual event that celebrated (imperial) citizenship in England but was, for Hayward, a purely jingoistic affair, garish and superficial. For him, Empire Day was “scrappy, faddy and narrowly propagandist” with the event simply being a flag-waving day.\textsuperscript{180} He wanted to include materials from ancient history to widen the scope of teaching citizenship and moral values by also adding content from other traditions and cultures:

\textsuperscript{179} Hayward explains that he chose Portugal because, “as a nation with few enemies and a remarkable past, we could safely and plausibly begin with offering our respects to her. But we had Germany and certain other nations, and the world itself, well in mind”, p. 18 of \textit{An Educational Failure}.

\textsuperscript{180} \textit{AEF}, p. 98.
Under intelligent educational guidance the Empire idea would have included impressive references to the ancient empires of the world as well as to those of later times.\textsuperscript{181}

Since 1904, schools had been encouraged to develop lessons with pan-imperial themes for Empire Day with the clear patriotic message about the power and glory of the British Empire. However, as mentioned above, Hayward believed this was a vacuous affair and largely ignored or only paid only “lip-service” to the Empire’s many cultures and beliefs. In his preface to F. J. Gould’s \textit{British Education After the War} (1917), Hayward gives his views on promoting non-Christian moral teaching in schools. He states,

\begin{quote}
I know of no Professor of Education, no educational board, no leading member of the N.U.T. [National Union of Teachers], who has ever shown any willingness to “think imperially” to the extent of seeking to embody Indian thought in our British schemes of education. Year after year our primary schools (I say nothing of our secondary ones, which, in view of the necessities of the Indian Civil Service, ought to be still more concerned) go through a ridiculous routine of Catechism and Bible utterly unworthy of an empire that embraces far more Hindus and Mohammedans than Christians. Such works are
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{181} Ibid., p. 97.
Sakuntala and the Ramayana, such men as Kalida and Mohammed, might just as well never have existed so far as British education is concerned … There must be a Common summons to all young citizens of the Empire and it must take the form of a summons to Service. The glories of every religion and every great movement must become part-and parcel of our educational apparatus.  

This inclusive view was not the norm but one that moral educationists like Frederick James Gould supported. Both he and Hayward shared their beliefs in promoting a wider acceptance of different cultures and religions. Hayward’s Celebration of Nations, published in The Fourth Book of Celebrations was composed so that other nations (not just the

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182 Rawnsley, pp. 46-7.


England) could celebrate their achievements.\textsuperscript{185} Hayward also felt quite strongly that London had the responsibility of advising the rest of the Empire on educational matters, and in particular on citizenship education. “What leadership”, he asked, “does Canada or Australia or India or Jamaica get from London? … we live at a time when, as I have urged, Democracy itself is under fire: what are we doing to give it a chance?”\textsuperscript{186} The reference here is to the disturbing rising tide of nationalism in Europe, particularly in Italy and Germany.

According to Rawnsley, Hayward was a deeply spiritual man rather than a religious one, and more inclined towards humanism than organised religion.\textsuperscript{187} He was opposed to a dogmatic evangelical Christianity though not to religious instruction as such as evidenced in the Celebrations which

\begin{footnote}\textsuperscript{185} F. H. Hayward, (1932) \textit{A Fourth Book of School Celebrations}. London: Herbert Russell. In the preface to the collection (p. 5), Hayward writes, Instead of a nation indulging in an orgy of patriotic or national “propaganda, browbeating, bullying, and positive violence,” as described by Mr. Wells, let it now and then remember the worth and achievement of other nations. Its own patriotism will become a nobler thing during the process and the Day of Cosmopolis will be brought appreciably nearer.\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}\textsuperscript{186} AEF, p. 297.\end{footnote}

\begin{footnote}\textsuperscript{187} Rawnsley, p. 170. His library has many books on the Christian faith, but there are as many books on other faiths and on spirituality in general. The philosophy of Spinoza, the writings of Mary Baker Eddy and the Christian Science movement, Buddhism, Hinduism, myths and stories with moral messages (including Gould’s 1911 publication The divine archer: founded on the Indian epic of the Ramayana with two stories from the Mahabharata) are some of the examples in the Hayward Collection. Appendix I has a list of the books in this collection.\end{footnote}
contain recommended readings from the Bible– see for example the readings from the scriptures in the ‘Eugenics Celebration’ in Appendix II.

In his writings, Hayward suggests that religion should be used to inculcate moral values and schools should be the place to motivate “noble interests which would take away the sins of the world”.\textsuperscript{188} Here he endorses Herbart for “Herbart …had explicitly taught that, if really effective, school studies were not secular at all,” despite what the Church would have us believe, “but might become quite as powerful allies to all that was good as the haughtiest religions could ever be”.\textsuperscript{189}

When it came to religious instruction, Malcolm Arnold was Hayward’s exemplar. Hayward devotes a whole chapter to Arnold in his autobiography. The chapter is entitled \textit{An Eminent Torchbearer} for that is how Hayward saw Arnold because, in his mind, Arnold had “saved biblical education from its probable doom at the hands of Cowper-Templeism”.\textsuperscript{190} He saw in Arnold a man that had attempted to “further the humanisation of society and of man in that society”.\textsuperscript{191} Hayward aligned himself with Arnold:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{188} Rawnsley, p. 66.
  \item \textsuperscript{189} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{190} AEF, p.71.
  \item \textsuperscript{191} Rawnsley, p. 31 (quoting from W. F. Connell’s (1950), \textit{The Educational Thought and Influence of Matthew Arnold}, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, p. 277).
\end{itemize}
What Matthew Arnold in the year of my birth was wishing for in connection with his own years of inspectorship I also wished for in connection with mine, namely to feel assured that I had earned my salary by some definite contribution to the spiritual and civic welfare of my countrymen.\(^ {192}\)

Arnold’s *The Great Prophecy of Israel’s Restoration: A Bible-Reading for Schools Arranged and Edited for Young Learners* received high praise in *An Educational Failure* because Arnold had used the power of literature to enable “English school-children to read as a connected whole the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah” instead of learning scraps of the Bible according to the whims of inexperienced boy and girl teachers’.\(^ {193}\) It is not surprising then to find that Arnold too believed that the role of education

\(^ {192}\) Ibid. p.30.

\(^ {193}\) Hayward expands on this further:

We must remember that in 1872 the idea of teaching literature of any kind was almost completely below the horizon. Ten years later “Recitation” was on the time-table and a hundred lines of Horatius or The Lady of the Lake were wearisomely committed to memory; nothing more was prescribed though here and there a literary gem might be met with in a copy-book or a reading-book, and a school teacher, greatly daring, might make some use of it. The actual teaching of literature came years afterwards; the concept of “appreciation,” whether of literature, of music, or of anything else, later still; in fact it belongs to such recent times that when, in 1915, I entitled a book *The Lesson in Appreciation*, there was some doubt whether the title was intelligible.

See: *AEF*, p.72.
…is to make man a good citizen, or a good Christian, or a gentleman, or it is to fit him to get on in the world, or it is to enable him to do his duty in that state of life to which he is called … and for man to know himself….\textsuperscript{194}

However, despite Arnold’s attempts over thirty-five years (the same period of time as Hayward spent pushing his Celebration method!), as far as Hayward was concerned, education had failed:

On every hand we get explicit or implicit admissions that Education (and with it, if you will, Religion) has failed to solve the problems that are among its most obvious tasks. It should help to make men purposeful and intelligent and to give them an appreciation of high things, but this it has largely failed to do.\textsuperscript{195}

In order to combat this failure, Hayward wanted a “radical overhauling” of the curriculum to include his Celebrations for he believed that if his method was successful, it would allow for a “new spiritual start”.\textsuperscript{196}

\textsuperscript{194} M. Arnold, (1912) *Thoughts on Education Chosen from the Writings of Matthew Arnold* [eBook] Edited by L. Huxley, p. 17. Available from <https://archive.org/stream/thoughtsoneducat00arnouoft/thoughtsoneducat00arnouoft_djvu.txt> [20.8.15]

\textsuperscript{195} AEF, p. 329. Hayward does not state when and where he wrote the above.

\textsuperscript{196} Ibid., p. 98.
In these closing months of 1931 and early months of 1932 speakers on the wireless have been more than usually busy with their protests against the spiritual condition of the world. One of them announced that four million of British citizens are gambling regularly, and that on horse racing alone £200,000,000 are annually staked. Another laments the strange “will-lessness” that is characteristic of our times. A third proclaims an unhappy divorce between the intellect and the emotional life. A fourth admits the statesmen, even if of a higher calibre than those in most countries of the world, dare not tell the truth to their electorates. A fifth explains that the press has to sell what will pay best, not what is most true or most needed.  

Bérard confirms the above, adding, “industrialization and urbanization gradually undermined the ability of the family, the churches, and the small, closely-knit community to enforce a common morality and to

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197 Ibid., pp. 328-9.
guarantee social stability”. Hayward’s concerns were most definitely reasonable.

Mindful of the pressures on the already crowded school timetable, he recommended a minimum of five Celebrations a year on the “Home, City or Region, Nation or Country: the Empire or Commonwealth; and lastly Humanity itself, represented inadequately yet significantly and symbolically by the League of Nations” which he believed would form a basis for world citizenship. On the basis of these five, he states,

I can glimpse a system of civic or spiritual culture that will give a backbone, and, what is better a central nervous system to school activities; otherwise expressed, [it] will give a mass of helpful and unifying common memories to our distracted or apathetic citizens.

The suggested five Celebrations, would also, he states in Document 1, take into consideration the “religious difficulty” in schools. He reminds us of his 1915 pamphlet he had published on this very issue. The Religious

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199 Hayward writes that he would prefer ten Celebrations and if there are fewer than five, the scheme will no lo longer be balanced. He justifies this by referencing the scheme he suggested in his 1919 book with Arnold Freeman, *The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction*, pp. 331-2.

200 AEF, p.189.
Difficulty in Schools: A Solution to an ‘Insoluble Problem’ was circulated to people in the education establishment and to many bishops and clergymen so that they could argue his suggestions. According to Hayward, though he received some encouragement, none came from the religious establishment itself. \(^{201}\) His aim, in proposing the Celebration method as a way around the difficulties was, he affirms, “to make the British national fundamentally cultured on matters of Bible, literature and music” but only if he could “get a few collaborators, and the moderate use of the official notepaper and stamps of any responsible educational body such as the Board of Education or the National Union of Teachers”. \(^{202}\) His programmes, he declared, are much richer than the programmes in the Radio Times! \(^{203}\)

In his co-authored book with Arnold Freeman, \(^{204}\) *The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction: A Plea for New Educational Methods* (1919), Hayward


\(^{202}\) AEF, p. 55.

\(^{203}\) AEF, p. 5. On the topic of the BBC, Hayward claimed that the BBC had taken his idea of Celebration, renaming it “Mosaic”. One such programme was broadcast on May 31\(^{st}\), 1936 called “Love of Country” which Hayward asserts was like a shortened version of his Celebration of England. See p. 26 of AEF.

\(^{204}\) Arnold Freeman (1886-1972), a socialist, is best known as the founder and first Warden of the Sheffield Educational Settlement. The settlement “sought to bring education, improvement and hope to the lives of the poor and socially disadvantaged in the decades before the development of the Welfare State following the Second World War. Freeman became the founding member in 1918. (See: The Sheffield Educational Settlement
attempted to resolve “religious difficulty” issue.\textsuperscript{205} The book opens with prefatory notes by several authors including Professor John Adams, a lifelong advocate of Hayward’s, highlighting the unbiased approach taken by Hayward and Freeman:

This striking plan for dealing with the religious difficulty in schools originates in a sincere desire to find a solution and not merely to get the better of opponents. ... The catholicity of the scheme is shown by the selection of types of persons to be honoured in the liturgy of the Churchman, the Catholic, the Nonconformist, the Quaker ... [In] the present book there will be found, among other things, an ingenious scheme to prevent


\textsuperscript{205} Teaching the Bible in elementary schools was problematic from the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century when state-supported education was introduced. Geoff Robson (2002) contemplates on the paradoxical outcome of British education in his article, stating that the first attempts to educate the poor in order to provide a religious /moral foundation resulted in British education being further away from religious instruction than one could have imagined (see: 'The Churches, The Bible and the Child: Sir Joshua Fitch and Religious Education in the English Elementary School, 1860-1902.' \textit{History of Education Society Bulletin}, p. 17.)

The discrepancy in opinion about the purpose of education, that is, the belief that it should have a moral element and therefore a religious base or that the aim of education was to produce a population that understood the democratic responsibilities of society. This is discussed later in the chapter. However, Hayward who was a secularist (though not anti-religion as shown above) believed the underlying problem with moving forward with citizenship education was the Cowper-Temple settlement in the 1870 Education Act. This enabled the non-sectarian schools and giving parents the choice to withdraw their children from religious instruction if they so wished resolved the religious question.
an unfair influence from being exercised by any advocate of a
religious, political, or “faddist” view.

Perhaps it is worth while emphasizing a secondary aspect of
the proposed liturgy. Not only will it prove an effective
instrument for moral and religious education, but it will provide
an invaluable common background of literary and artistic
knowledge that may be used by any public speaker who seeks
to make an appeal to an audience. At present such a speaker
finds enormous difficult in discovering a common segment in
the mental content of himself and of his audience.

The plan certainly deserves a fair trial.  

Once again, John Adams is supportive of Hayward’s work. The book
was reviewed positively far and wide and extracts of the reviews are
quoted in this chapter. The following, for instance, is from 'another
Manchester paper':

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206 Quoted from the Prefatory Notes from F. H. Hayward and A. Freeman,
(1919.), The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction: A Plea for New
https://archive.org/stream/spiritualfoundat00haywiala/spiritualfoundat00haywiala_djvu.txt [Accessed 29.7.15]

207 Rawnsley, p. 18.
Our system of education as never aimed, as a system, at teaching nobleness .... This forgotten principle ... is almost startlingly expounded [in this book]. It is in the school that...spiritual foundations are to be laid, and if one word maybe selected to describe the quality which the authors find wanting in existing school methods and which they wish to infuse into them, we think that word should be “Grandeur.” ....They plead for something bigger, something grandiose to uplift the emotions and stimulate the fancy ... It is feeling rather than reason that these celebrations would appeal to, revealing the splendour of great ideals, enriching the mind with fine and happy memories, [and] a new national bond of common joys ....208

However, other reviewers were more realistic. Professor Henry E. Armstrong (Emeritus Professor of Chemistry, City and Guilds College) was not convinced that the schools and churches would support the Celebration proposal, which he refers to as “the work of enthusiasts and idealists”. He questions whether the teaching staff would have the competences to carry out the Celebrations and he voices even bigger doubts about the churches who, in his opinion, were narrow-minded as they “make no attempt to inculcate truth or to search after it... the clerical

208 AEF, p. 116.
mind is anti-scientific and no education will change it, I fancy”.

Thus, despite what Adams referred to as a ‘sincere’ attempt to get around the problem of embedding moral instruction in non-denominational schools to combat the “religious difficulties”, Hayward and Freeman were, it seems, on the road to failure. Nonetheless, this warning does not deter Hayward – idealist or not!

As early as 1905 in *The Secret of Herbart*, Hayward announced that both the church and the state had failed to inculcate a “moral sensitiveness” in children. This was partly due to pedagogical practices of the day (material was presented in a lifeless and formal way) and the incompetence of teachers, who often were too young and inexperienced to provide interest, relied heavily on pupils learning by rote. Hayward believed that the current way of teaching did not arouse interest, which he saw as the main problem – the apperception of new material could be achieved by linking new ideas to older ideas and experiences so that the children could have a broader understanding of concepts. This, he believed would arouse their interests. Lillian Thompson, a principal at an American school, provides the most succinct explanation of Herbart’s “many-sided interest” - his secret:

These facts, viewed from the Herbartian standpoint, explain clearly why the schools have failed so far to develop the pupils

209 See Ibid., p. x.
morally; virtue is in a large measure based on apperception – is
dependent on ideals of virtue implanted in the mind through
reading of virtuous men and women, or through seeing virtuous
deeds; therefore virtue not only can, but must be taught. Vice,
on the other hand, is not appreciably dependent on
apperception; indeed it is normally present in minds which are
ill stored with appreciative masses. So Herbart insists that “the
ignorant man cannot be virtuous.” Now if that is true, and sin is
largely due to ignorance, and to the lack of “many-sided
interest,” it follows that the schools, by “feeding the minds of
the pupils with a rich repast of historical and biographical ideas”
– the ideas most valuable to character building – and by
arousing healthy interests in many subjects, can send out
pupils well fortified against temptation, because they are
prepared to understand and enjoy so many of the new
experiences presented to them. This is the secret of Herbart,
ethically: the healthy apperception of new ideas, especially
moral ideas, keeps from vice.²¹⁰

Thus, it was Herbart’s ‘secret’ that Hayward used in his Celebration
method to ensure that his programmes motivated pupils. The ‘Eugenics

Celebration’ provides an example – the preface begins with an explanation:

As a rule men of science who wish to popularise their principles are not clever propagandists. One of the causes of their failure is that they expect everyone else’s mind to be like their own. Because reasoning from cut-and-dried facts interests them and convinces them of the truth, they think that the same process will bring conviction to other people. For the most part, however, it is only facts of the two-and-two make four kind which can be taught in this way. Educationists are now coming to see that subjects which intimately concern human nature and bring the emotions into play cannot be drummed into the pupil’s minds by means of lessons, but must be presented by a synthetic method. The great truths which are embodied in the works of art cannot be taught at all. They must simply be shown to the pupil, for the most part without comment or exposition. The vision will tell its own tale, and of itself will lead, in most cases, to the analytic thought which alone appears to the man of science to be useful and thoroughly honest. Interest in the subject matter must be aroused by the artist. Inspired by the ideals that he sets before them the spectator and the listener will eagerly seek the knowledge without which they cannot work up to those lofty standards, and
they will be deep in the science of the subject before they have
the least idea that they are learning anything or becoming
laborious fact-finder at all."

It is true that unrelated dry facts presented without context have little
impact on learning. However, Hayward brings together facts under a
single theme and uses ‘narrators’ to draw meaning. The Celebration
themes such as ‘Empire’ or ‘Eugenics’ or ‘Shakespeare’ or Darwin etc.,
provide the context and therefore enable the facts to link together, and
create ‘meaning’ thereby enriching the learning experience and enticing
the learner to want to know more. In the preliminary text to the Eugenics
Celebration, (see Appendix II), Hayward provides directions to the
teacher. The Celebration makes use of music (by Beethoven), poetry and
verse (by Spencer, Goethe, Tennyson and Henley), readings from the
Bible, art (by Michelangelo), Greek mythology which relates to the art
work, biological facts, facts about social heredity issues relating to
disease (in this case, syphilis - which apparently Beethoven inherited
from his father!) and facts about the impact of disease on the liver,
pharynx, tonsils, Eustachian tubes, arteries an auditory nerves, digestion
which cause chronic inflammation, colic, jaundice and depression). There

211 From Eugenics Review (1919), 11, pp. 65

Hayward writes that he would prefer ten Celebrations and if there are
fewer than five in the curriculum, the scheme will not be balanced. He
justifies this by referencing the scheme he suggested in his 1919 book
with Arnold Freeman, The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction, pp.
331-2.
are three ‘presenters’ who are each given a role in the Celebration: the Director (usually the Master or Mistress), the Speaker (who takes charge of the ‘discourse notes’) and the Mother (who may be appointed for the younger children? - this role is not assigned a particular duty).

Hayward was aware that not all teachers would have the time, experience or knowledge to put together a Celebration in its entirety and he was willing to be flexible. With reference to the Empire Day Celebration, for instance, teachers could use sections of the Celebration instead of the whole work.\textsuperscript{212} This flexibility was important for teachers with large classes or teachers who did not all the necessary skills.\textsuperscript{213} Henry Armstrong raised the issue of competence in his review of The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction: A Plea for New Educational Methods. He wrote, “...you take too little account the low mental capacity of the average material in schools. Very few teachers will be competent to carry such a scheme as yours into practice, especially where women predominate.”\textsuperscript{214} The other criticism was that the Celebrations were “too

\textsuperscript{212} AEF, p.169.

\textsuperscript{213} Hayward was a relatively experienced musician having been awarded a number of certificates when at school. Rawnsley, pp. 54-55.

\textsuperscript{214} See: F. H. Hayward and A. Freeman, (1919) The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction, pp. ix and x. By way of explanation on the sexist comment above (which is very much of its time), women teachers were not expected to be as academically minded as male teachers and in the pupil-teacher scheme, for instance, were expected pass needlework whilst the boys were expected to study Euclid (geometry). Women teachers were also paid less and were therefore cheaper to hire than their male counterparts. See: Lawson and Silver, (1973) A Social History of Education in England for more information.
adult” for children of five, or eleven or thirteen. However, Hayward believed that Herbart’s theory of apperception\textsuperscript{215} was critical to apprehend the learning process: “we must acquire, in dealing with this subject, a philosophy of impressions… which can be received even when facts, reasons, and principles cannot be understood. In other words, children would take away with them impressions that would help them build their understanding of concepts over time.\textsuperscript{216} Hayward also emphasised that Herbart lay great importance on the humanities, on fairy tales, legends, biographies and history: “it is these subjects – and these only – which store the mind with such apperception material as makes man morally sensitive.\textsuperscript{217} Hayward explains this theory further in \textit{Education and the Heredity Spectre} (1908):

That this material be so re-organised and enriched that every moral idea be copiously illustrated, though not to the exclusion of other ideas, aesthetic, utilitarian etc. Up to the age of about twelve, the use of this material need not be accompanied by

\textsuperscript{215}Here Hayward is referencing Herbart’s Theory of Apperception. Apperception, simply explained, is the assimilation of new information based on previous perceptions. Thus, in order to learn a concept, the student must relate to the new concept by assimilating it within existing information, knowledge, experiences or concepts. However, apperception cannot be applied if it cannot be perceived. See Ernest N. Hendreson’s article on ‘Apperception’ In: \textit{A Cyclopedia of Education} Available at http://www.studyplace.org/wiki/Apperception [Accessed 7.30.15].

\textsuperscript{216} \textit{AEF}, p. 319.

\textsuperscript{217} Hayward, (1904) \textit{The Secret of Herbart}, p. 62.
any argumentative or systematic elucidation of the implicit moral ideas, though there will inevitably be casual elucidations. Our pupils will be acquiring a moral terminology, or – what is much the same thing – accumulating apperception material for moral judgment.²¹⁸

The above illustrates both the depth to which Herbart’s theories permeated Hayward’s thinking and also the level of detail he took time to give to educators who questioned the Celebration method. In Document 2: A Summary Statement of the Celebration Case in Fifty Clauses is an example of this. In this document, Hayward sets out his “constructive” proposals to the problems that were identified. In his words, this document “contains a good many ideas for our educationists and (I add) our clergy to go with” and that this is “the most useful thing I have ever written and … [is] an important contribution to education”.²¹⁹ The second document, Hayward states, would be the judge of whether he would “stand justified as an educationist” even though there was little chance of him winning “the laurels as a philosopher or neo-theologian”. What is evident in the above is that Hayward was flexible enough to propose alternative solutions and he understood the challenges faced by the


²¹⁹ AEF, pp. vii-viii.
practitioners and the realities of school life. He was not dogmatic in his approach to the Celebration method.

Disillusionment with the Education Committee of the LCC

Hayward uses a large part of his autobiography to present his “grievance” or “impeachment” by the Education Committee claiming, “I feel no shame at my Failure, accompanied as it has been by the complete failure of my colleagues, and yourselves, to propose anything better.”220 His Memorial Celebrations, he states, were “my largest measure of practical success” even though they “receive little or no notice in these pages”.221 In his view, the Committee members were abysmally incompetent and there was no one willing to take a decision. There is no ‘Director of Education’ in the country, he claims in anger:

We in England have no such man, nor any substitute for him, nor any substitute for him, nor nay conception of what we should expect of him, nor any feeling that his advent is near; we have no Seat of (even provisional) Authority and Initiative in Education ; in fact, no Brain Centre ; and our people, parties,
and professions when confronted by any difficult educational problem simply pass the ball.\textsuperscript{222}

Hayward was clearly frustrated at the lack of direction from his leaders and his displeasure at their avoidance of his proposals is obvious in the autobiography. He writes that he is concerned more about the nation than himself at the lack of attention he faced: “if I am myself a human Failure unadjusted to realities, I must try to grin and bear it. Our nation, however, may meanwhile pay a heavy penalty”.\textsuperscript{223}

The lack of leadership by the Education Committee, Hayward went on to write, is likely to leave the country with a hundred per cent of its population as pacifists. In this statement, Hayward is of course alluding to the lack of a formal syllabus for citizenship education. This was particularly relevant as the debate on raising the school leaving age was on going even though the age was not raised until 1947.\textsuperscript{224} The question, Hayward asks his superiors, is “whether you desire that any contribution to citizenship, world peace, and spiritual culture shall come from your

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{222} \textit{AEF}, p. viii.  \\
\textsuperscript{223} Ibid., p. x. The capitals letters and italic are Hayward’s and clearly demonstrate Hayward’s anger and worry at the state of affairs.  \\
\textsuperscript{224} It is important to note that in the early part of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, as Keating (2011) states, “patriotism” and ‘citizenship’ were inextricably linked; most people who were interested in these issues felt that it was impossible to have one without the other. A patriot was a good citizen; a good citizen must be patriotic”, p. 764.
\end{flushright}
educational staff or not”. Clearly he is exasperated. He reminds them again of the Memorandum on Citizenship which he circulated to the Board in 1933 proposing the implementation of the five Celebrations in schools. He asks the Committee whether the Memorandum will remain a ‘dead letter’:

But unless you yourselves have a real notion of what education should achieve, are precise in your interrogations, and follow up the answers to them by referring them to me for further comments (which may be devastating) another fiasco can safely be predicted. And clearly you will not do the above

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225 AEF, p. xi. The importance of teaching citizenship education and inculcating patriotism was discussed and debated among educationists from as far back as the debate on the purpose of education. However, citizenship and patriotism were spoken about in the same breath and there was much imperialist propaganda between 1890 and 1914 according to Heather’s account of citizenship education – see: “The History of Citizenship in England” in Curriculum Journal (Spring 2001), 12:1, pp. 103-123.

E.E. Kellett (a schoolmaster at the Leys School, Cambridge), wrote thus about “The Teaching of Patriotism” in The Journal of Education (March 1900):

“Among countries of the first rank, indeed, England seems to be the only one which has not yet realised the importance of regulating, from the very first, the noble, but dangerous, passion of patriotism. We leave it to grow up in a haphazard and unenlightened manner, to be the sport of Jingo newspapers and of frantic mob-orators, to be divorced from all knowledge of the true nature of England’s greatness, and to be associated with a blind contempt for other nations”.

things unless a goodly number in your ranks have lucid or at least open minds and are very much in earnest.\textsuperscript{226}

He ends this diatribe by issuing an invitation to the inspectors to debate the matter over five, ten, fifteen or more evenings “or until exhaustion intervenes”, and then ends by thanking the members for their courtesy and apologising for “any errors of fact, judgment or taste” in the book, ending with “I hope that sooner or later we shall find out what education means”. The bitter sarcasm or irony is relentless in the text. He appears to be beyond caring about the possible long-term repercussions of his tirade in this autobiography. Perhaps he had given up after 1932 when he stopped editing the \textit{Celebration Bulletin}, and when his afore mentioned \textit{Memorandum} of 1933 had been ignored.

The next address is “To the Public” and it is much shorter - only two pages long. Hayward begins by urging the public to appraise the outcome of his attempts to get moral and citizenship education taught across the curriculum through the use of his Celebrations. They provide, he asserts, the perfect formula to embrace the problem of not making the teaching too mundane and trying at the same time to ensure that ethical values were inculcated in children. He asks the public to read \textit{Document 2: A Summary Statement of the Celebration Case in Fifty Clauses} and quotes

\textsuperscript{226} \textit{AEF}, p. xii.
from Milton’s elegy *Lycidas* to warn them that the eclipse will inevitably lead to a curse of darkness in education if action is not taken sooner:

Ingratiatingly, therefore, I remind editors and reviewers that they are in the same fatal and perfidious bark,

Built in the eclipse and rigged with curses dark

as myself.

Then Hayward’s bitterness at being let down by so eminent a group of people, including his masters at the LCC is once again portrayed:

Re-read the chapter, I ask, and reflect that, if Freeman and I were wrong, you too, with your simple-minded approval, connivance, or purgatorial chastisement – very slight this last – were wrong also.

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228 AEF, p. xv.

229 Ibid.
For eighteen years have passed, time enough for grand educational achievement, and a critical time, too; and what has come of the reviewed and the reviews?\textsuperscript{230}

The rest of the text follows in the same vein. Hayward attempts to redeem himself, though not very well, when he opens Chapter XVIII. \textit{Two Gleams of Hope} with the following words:

I have no desire to be unjust either to the Board of Education or to the London County Council; both bodies round about the years I have reached were sufficiently interested in the civic problem to engage in a little brain work and emit a little print. But the feebleness of the process gives a \textit{prima facie} justification to the Fascist complaint that our so-called democratic system cannot commonly “get things done.” The reply is that until education has come effectively to the assistance of democracy, and indeed of human nature in all its aspects, democracy will continue to fail in the way indicated though that may be better than the total suppression of free discussion or that the segregation of thoughtful people in concentration camps.\textsuperscript{231}

\textsuperscript{230} \textit{AEF}, p. 160.

\textsuperscript{231} \textit{AEF}, p. 159.
A barbed comment to the Administration about its apparent bureaucracy begins the above. Mussolini was in the assent in Italy and Mosley had, by this time, visited him and established the British Union of Fascists and the BUF youth movement. Hayward again emphasises the role of education in the developing democratic citizens who were intelligent enough to hear the warning bells of doom ringing across Europe. In doing so, Hayward once again makes reference to the 1870 Cowper Temple settlement, stating that it stood in the way of reopening important questions relating to moral education and education for citizenship, allowing those in charge to shunt responsibility. He brings before his readers evidence of failed attempts by the Board of Education and the LCC to tackle the issue despite a drop in the number of people voting and the request of various political parties to consider teaching the duties of citizenship “without political bias” (his quotes). The outcome of the pressure from the public resulted in LCC inspectors assigned to prepare a Report which only made a brief reference to Hayward’s Celebration method. However, the report never reached the Education Board, according to Hayward.232 The Chief Inspector of the LCC at the time, Dr. F. H. Spencer, “in almost as his last official act [before his retirement]” recommended to the Education Committee that Celebrations of the Nation, City, and Borough should be encouraged in school as a contribution to the teaching of civics. Spencer, in fact, highlighted Hayward’s contribution in his memorandum thus:

232 Ibid., p. 160.
One of our Inspectors, Dr. Hayward, has done admirable work in advocating the collective celebration of great events, or persons, in schools. There is no doubt that, suitably handled, the celebration method (Whether or not used under this name) is a valuable means of arousing interest and directing fine emotions to great subjects.  

The LCC in the following year issued a circular to schools advising them to celebrate Empire Day as Commonwealth Day in order to emphasise the brotherhood of nations. However, these, as far as Hayward was concerned, were half measures. His belief and passion in a better education system for England was at the heart of his disappointment. As early as 1902, in his book Reform of Moral and Biblical Education on the Lines of Herbartianism, Hayward voiced his concerns about the education of the adolescent:

Unless a revolution is effected in our educational system;
unless the schools take once for all as their motto, “character-forming” in the Herbartian sense; unless our best men come to feel that here and not yonder is the vitally important spot in the body-politic; here where positive moral forces should work, not yonder where remedies and punishments and charities seek to cure evils which spring largely from emptiness of mind – unless

233 AEF, p. 161.
something of this kind happens speedily, the débâcle will be upon us. Indeed, is it not already coming?\textsuperscript{234}

Clearly Hayward believed that the purpose of education was to fill the mind with moral values. In fact, the aim of the teacher was to form character through moral instruction. Although all subjects should focus on this aim, history was the most powerful of these because it has as its subject matter – man.\textsuperscript{235} However, unless educators were trained adequately, all was lost. Hayward believed that few teachers would recognise a principle or theory of education, and the idea of a science of education was simply, ‘a dream generated by the fumes of metaphysics and tobacco in the heads of German visionaries’.\textsuperscript{236}

The above is, of course, sarcastic. Hayward had clearly lost his patience with the education establishment. One could almost forgive him this for he

\textsuperscript{235} This was because,

\begin{quote}
Morality only appears at the human stage of development, only then, at least does it appear in any very obvious form. Atoms and molecules are not moral, and learning about atoms and molecules … is not learning about moral goodness, or contemplating it. But human being as they appear in history are moral (or immoral); and if a child is led to observe the relations of these persons and hears the judgment favourable or unfavourable passed by the teacher upon them, its moral sense develops.
\end{quote}

From Hayward’s 1902 publication, \textit{The Reform of Moral and Biblical Education}, p. 165 (quoted in Rawnsley, p. 196).  
\textsuperscript{236} Rawnsley, p.187.
had been trying to promote his ideas and his grand solution for over thirty-five years! However, this tone is evident in other writings too. Rawnsley provides examples of these in her thesis – one of them being from Chapter XI of *Reform of Moral and Biblical Education*, where Hayward, very early on in his career (the book is published in 1902) severely rebukes the teaching profession for the misplaced advocacy of patriotism in what he deemed to be an inappropriate manner.\footnote{Rawnsley (p. 188) highlights this in her reading on p. 31 of *Reform of Moral and Biblical Education*.} But Hayward has the last word in this autobiography – and he accepts his failure as he so clearly explains in *The Man Who Failed*.\footnote{What follows are mini summaries of the three sections that comprise Hayward’s autobiography.} He was clear that (1) the already crowded curriculum could not have allowed his proposals to come into fruition; (2) that his proposals required some injection of funds in the form of printing costs for distribution of content to the children - which was refused; (3) that his official career had come to an end and his efforts to circumvent the problems caused by the “religious difficulties’ and the Cowper-Temple clause would be relegated to oblivion; and finally (4) that the politics of his post within the establishment did not give him the authority to implement his ideas.\footnote{Hayward felt strongly about this lack of power and was critical of the administration. This is most evident in his 1912 publication, *Educational Administration and Criticism: a sequel to the “Holmes Circular”*, (London: Ralph Holland).}
Chapter V: Conclusion

According to Lillian Thompson, Hayward described himself as having “the outlook of a mole, the interests of an ox, the initiative of an oyster, the enthusiasm of a jelly-fish, and the hide of a rhinoceros.” Whether or not this is really an accurate description of Hayward or one he wanted to portray of himself we will never know. What we do know from the analysis is that he was single-minded about the Celebration method - and had a hide as thick as a rhinoceros’s to weather the incessant storms of rejection during his long career. Was Hayward’s neglect due to his ‘idealist’ leanings? I think not, for I have already demonstrated his willingness to be flexible. Furthermore, he addresses the criticisms he received on the Celebration method in Document 2.

Hayward appeared to be unconcerned about the repercussions of his polemic style of writing on his personal and professional reputation. At least that is how it appears to me from my present-day lens on him. An anonymous review of Hayward’s *The Psychology of Educational Administration and Criticism* provides an example of how his work was received by some contemporaries:

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The *Psychology of Educational Administration* is a most portentous education squib. It is so long [600 pages] that it almost fails to go off. Perhaps it would be better likened to a prodigious cracker the which, by its everlasting fizzing and banging, effectually deafens the ear to more serious sounds; or maybe the powder of the thing is damped by a relative antiquity, for the “Holmes Circular,” which is the ostensible cause of the production, and is not omitted even when the author turns to other things, has long done to the dustbin of forgotten indiscretions. The author is a veritable Don Quixote out to tilt against every one and every office. There is none good, no, not one; they are all filled with the lust of their own egoism – that is the perpetual cry of the writer. In small does it would be funny, and taken between the ingestion of serious matter; it is capable of raising broadsides of inextinguishable laughter. There is no class that is not pilloried, and the medical profession does not escape; only we think that with his freedom of pen and biting sarcasm the author could have gone one better than to quote the length of a play by Bernard Shaw; he has not done himself justice. Yet there are occasional gleams of surprising good sense in his writing, for at the end of the indictment of our profession there is written, “The doctor has invaded the school. Teachers should beware. Unless they have something better to oppose to the invader than tradition,
experience, and the like, they will rapidly find him usurping
scholastic functions.241

The book in question was a rebuttal to the criticism on school inspectors
contained in the infamous Holmes-Morant Circular of 1911.242 However,
the insulting tone of the review, no matter the subject of the book, must
have jarred. But the book also had some positive reviews,243 an indication
that all did not dislike Hayward and he did have some friends - they were
just not in high places (apart from his life-long supporter, Professor

241 Anon. (1913) 'Review.' The British Medical Journal 2 (2760), pp. 1386–
1387.

242 For background information, see Richard Aldrich (1978) ‘The Holmes-
Morant Circular of 1911: A Note.’ Journal of Educational Administration
and History 10 (1), pp. 36–40.

243 Another anonymous review from the same year, describes the book as
unique in the following way:

This unique book is described on the title page as a "Sequel to
the Holmes Circular." From this one might infer that it is largely
controversial in its character; as a matter of fact the author has
gone far beyond the limits indicated by his sub-title, and has
produced a keen, clear-cut analysis of the factors involved in
school supervision. The Holmes Circular furnishes an
admirable text for the discussion, but we venture to predict that
Dr. Hayward's book will be remembered long after the circular
that inspired it has been forgotten. Aside from the vivacity and
freshness of its style, the chief merit of Dr. Hayward's book is
the balance that it preserves—an expression of the clear
perspective through which the author views a most complicated
and difficult problem.

422–424.
One can only surmise that his tone and his manner towards his superiors, which is most evident in the autobiography though evident in earlier works, was the reason for his downfall. Those in high office appreciate humility, and persuasion is an art – one that requires a writer to have, as Aristotle advised, ethos (credibility or ethical appeal), pathos (an appeal to reader’s emotions) and logos (persuading through reasoning). I believe Hayward managed all three but the lack of humility (ethical appeal?) in his tone would have been grating on his superiors. Although there are many examples of this type of polemical writing during this period, Hayward did not hold a high enough position or have the same reputation as some of these writers. Further, I am also convinced that it is not Hayward’s working class background that led to his oblivion because he did experience some acceptance mid-way through his career. F. H. Spencer, the Chief Inspector for Education at the LCC, was also from the same background and managed to hold high

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244 It was John Adams who had encouraged Hayward to apply for the Assistant Inspector post, and it was on Adams’s recommendation that Hayward got promoted to becoming District Inspector in 1920.


246 George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Well immediately spring to mind – and the socialist publications, *The New Age* and *The New English Weekly*, for instance, provide examples of this polemical style of writing by both men.
office – he was in fact, Hayward’s superior. However, perhaps his political leanings (towards socialism) were problematic for his superiors.\textsuperscript{247}

Rawnsley links the rise and fall of Hayward’s reputation to that of Herbart’s in England, stating that unlike Pestalozzi and Froebel, Herbartianism declined after the First World War.\textsuperscript{248} She suggests that perhaps Hayward should have been remembered as the Herbartian \textit{par excellence} instead of Adams for Hayward managed to demonstrate in practice what Adams theorised in his book. Considering the historical context of the time, we must also remember that the second decade of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century was an immensely active period among educationists. With all the progressive ideas on education, Herbartianism may have appeared old-fashioned especially in comparison to Froebel and Montessori’s initiatives. This may have been the reason why Sir Michael Sadler, who knew Hayward’s work from his association with the Moral Instruction League, did not include Hayward (or Gould) in his encyclopaedic list of British educationists, pioneering teachers, educational philosophers and administrators.\textsuperscript{249} Surprisingly though, even the key text for teachers, \textit{Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools},

\footnote{247} Hayward himself wondered if he would have been more successful under a Labour (socialist) regime than a Conservative government. See: Rawnsely, p. 272.

\footnote{248} See: Rawnsley, pp. 348-9.

\footnote{249} A list such as this would have been a useful source for historians of education to identify who were the most influential educators during this period.
published by the AEC in 1936 (two years before Hayward’s retirement) ignored Hayward’s contribution to citizenship education.\footnote{250}

Hayward had also attempted to single-handedly wrestle with another powerful establishment - the Church. Hayward, in his desire for inclusivity and respect for other cultures, promoted the use of non-Christian material in his Celebrations. This may have caused some uneasiness among the clergy, particularly as the Church had lost its power in influencing state education. Hayward was, no doubt, a troublesome educationist as far as the establishment were concerned.

Despite the above, Hayward’s unique contribution to moral education and education for citizenship using the Celebration method, needs a re-evaluation. This is particularly important given that very little research on the pedagogy of this period has been undertaken. If we consider Hayward’s multi-disciplinary and holistic approach to the curriculum, it is reminiscent of the work undertaken during the ‘Golden Age of the Curriculum’ by Lawrence Stenhouse in England, with the Schools Council Humanities Curriculum Project, and even Jerome Brunner in the U.S., with the MACOS Project. Like Hayward, Stenhouse used a variety of materials for presentations on themes to do with moral values and citizenship; and Brunner does the same but also places learning within a different culture in order to engender acceptance and respect.

\footnote{250} Ibid.
Heater in 2001 stressed that political, social and pedagogical causes have hindered the successful embedding of citizenship (and moral values) education in the curriculum. Hayward in his autobiography provides clear evidence of the problems this can cause but he has gone much further. He has provided a pedagogical solution. I maintain that Hayward was clearly ahead of his time. He was, like his mentor Arnold, a humanist, who promoted inclusivity and global citizenship at a time when England was very much insular in its outlook. In addition, Hayward did not separate religious instruction from moral education and education for citizenship per se and saw education as developing children spiritually, morally and culturally. Our present government appears to want the same but has, in trying to appease different communities in Britain, drawn an artificial division between religious education and citizenship thereby re-creating the equivalent of the “religious difficulty”, and perhaps


The government wants a curriculum that promotes spiritual, moral and cultural development among the young. However, if we can draw lessons from this autobiography, separating religious instruction and citizenship is perhaps not the best way to do this if a respect for different cultures, traditions and races is the agenda.
even exacerbating the present-day tensions. Maybe it is time to reconsider the issues afresh; learning lessons from Hayward’s tried and tested method. In Hayward we have a pedagogue who successfully demonstrated that it is possible to have a curriculum that embodies moral values, education for citizenship and religious instruction using Herbart’s theory of apperception and “many-sided interests”. Ultimately, it is up to us, as historians of education, to give Hayward a hand in reaching up to his pedestal. Let us not let the Hayward’s sharp pen get in the way of this re-appraisal as he asks of us in the *Postscript* to his autobiography (see Appendix III).

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253 Although religious education is one of the compulsory subjects, parents can withdraw their children from all or part of the lessons. Further faith schools and academies can set their own RE syllabus thereby enabling them to follow as narrow a syllabus as they deem appropriate. See: Great Britain. Department for Education., (2015,) *The National Curriculum* Available at https://www.gov.uk/national-curriculum/overview [Accessed 23.8. 15]
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Appendix I: The Hayward Collection

The Hayward Collection is a large collection of books and pamphlets held in the Special Collections of the Newsam Library and Archives at the UCL Institute of Education. The provenance of the collection has not been confirmed though it is likely that it came from the London County Council Library at the Inner London Education as part of a larger donation in 1990 when the ILEA was abolished. According to Antony Daws (a former ILEA librarian who transferred to the IOE with several collections), a reference library was established in 1874 at the School Board for London (1870-1904). The School Board for London became the London County Council from 1904 to 1964 and then the ILEA from 1965 to 1990.

Since Hayward was an Inspector with the LCC from 1905 to 1937, it is very likely that his library (though not complete as his library was dispersed after his death according to Rosalind Rawnsley)\(^{254}\) was donated to the LCC in the first instance, and then found its way to the IOE when the transfer took place. Claire Drinkwater, in her article, on the Historical Textbooks Collection, confirms that together with the textbooks, additional material was transferred from the ILEA.\(^{255}\)

The following is a list of books in the Hayward Collection at the Newsam Library and Archives, UCL Institute of Education. The Collection is reflective of the changes taking place in education from the start of state-funded education in 1870 to the early 1950s. Religion, secularism, humanism, philosophy, moral education, psychology and history are the subjects represented in the collection. The Collection includes the works of key authors on education such as Locke, Comte and Herbart and contemporary educationists such as John Adams, A. C. Benson, John Dewey, Catherine Dodd, J. J. Fitch, Gould, Holmes and Spencer for instance. There are also books on world religions including Hinduism, Judaism and Buddhism. There are many books on Christianity including


different parts of the scripture. The works of Annie Besant, Steward Headlam (members of the London School Board at one time), Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells also form part of the collection, as do the works of the early child Psychologists Hall and Luckens.

**List of Books and Pamphlets**


*Chapters on the Aims and Practice of teaching*. (1897). Cambridge: Cambridge UP.


Eaton, A. H. (1912). *The Oregon System: the story of direct legislation in Oregon: a presentation of the methods and results of the initiative and referendum, and recall, in Oregon, with studies of the measures accepted or rejected, and special chapters on the direct primary, popular election of senators, advantages, defects and dangers of the system*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.


Ground, W. D. (1883). *An Examination of the Structural Principles of Mr. Herbert Spencer’s Philosophy: intended as a proof that theism is the only theory of the universe that can satisfy reason*. Oxford: Parker and co.


Hayward, F. H. (1938b?). *A Ballad of the Son of Man: a life of Jesus in the metre of the Saint Paul of Myers (1867), and based on Dr. Albert Schweitzer's eschatological interpretation of the Gospel story*. London: [s.n.].

Hayward, F. H. (1938c). *Schools, Religion, Democracy: nonconformists and their educational failure: the building of new Roman Catholic schools at the public expense, etc*. Chingford: [The Author].

Hayward, F. H. (1944). *The Manna and the Mammon: to the President of the Board of Education*. Chingford: [The Author].

Hayward, F. H. (1945). *The Broad Path to Educational Mediocrity: the subservience of some parties and educationists towards professional organisations (of teachers, clergy, - ) and towards educationally uncreative officials: some causes of the subservience and the uncreativeness*. Chingford: [The Author].

Hayward, F. H. (1946a). *Copious educational food, or equal educational coupons, or perhaps both?: to the new L.C.C. members, especially those belonging to the Labour Party and serving on the Education Committee*. Chingford: [The Author].


Montefiore, C. G. (ed.) (1899). *The Bible for home reading, with comments and reflections for the use of Jewish parents and children. Part 2, Containing selections from the Wisdom Literature, the Prophets and the Psalter, together with extracts form the Apocrypha*. London: Macmillan.


Appendix II: Eugenics Day Celebration

The main purposes of the celebration should be to surround parenthood with sanctity, even with glamour, and, on behalf of those who cannot be parents for many years, or perhaps at all, to convey the idea that there is a second parenthood, of ideas, influence, etc. The dangers of venereal disease are indicated vaguely, but full explicitness on this question, and an exact understanding of the relations of the sexes, are neither assumed nor attempted to be given. Adult organisations and medical and ethical literature will supply what is missing in explicitness. The celebration itself aims at creating an emotional background, a group of memory elements, and a sense of the vastness and gravity of the sex question.

The author does not pretend to be satisfied with the celebration. Except in the two details of employing (1) the old motif of the three fates and (2) the Beethoven biography and music, there is practically nothing that, he would suggest, cannot be greatly improved upon. Suggestions for the inclusion of poetical, symbolical, scriptural, and other material will be gratefully considered in the hope that, at a later time, an improved celebration will be issued. The Tennyson passage is more suitable for adults than for the young.

Possibly the celebration should follow, at a few days’ distance, one in honour of Charles Darwin, and should be followed, a few days later, by celebrations in praise of health (“Chadwick Day”), temperance and chastity (in the Britomart sense, not the ascetic).

It has not been thought well to crowd the Discourse Note with material. Frances G. Jewett's book, "The Next Generation" (Ginn and Co.), supplies in itself enough material for several discourses. The difficulty has been to make an artistic, shapely, impressive, and dignified whole. It is here, and not in the suggestion of facts to be set forth, that suggestions are particularly desired.

Diagrams of the evolution of the horse; portraits of Darwin and Mendel; types of pigeons and their ancestor, the rock pigeon; diagrams of the "Jukes-family" heredity; and similar apparatus will be necessary either in the

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256 The text is a copy (as it appears) published in the *Eugenics Review* (1919), 11, pp. 65–69.

257 Here Hayward makes reference to one of two characters in the 16th century epic-poem, *The Faerie Queene*, by Edmund Spenser. The characters in Spenser’s allegory have symbolic meanings - Britomart represents ‘Chastity’. For more information, see: J. E. Hankins, (1971), *Source and meaning in Spenser's allegory: a study of The faerie queene*. Oxford University Press. Hayward makes Spenser’s work is referenced later in the Celebration.
celebration itself or in preparatory and complementary exercises. Separately from these a portrait of Beethoven.

A SCHOOL CELEBRATION FOR “EUGENICS DAY”

D. = Director (Master or Mistress).
S. = Speaker (do.)
M. = Mother (do.)

Instrumental Music. First Movement of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony, played with the maximum amount of contrast between the first subject (“fate-knocking-at-the-door”) and the second consolatory subject. Stop at the beginning of the “working out.”

M. (recites).

How many a father have I seen,
A sober man, among his boys,
Whose youth was full of foolish noise,
Who wears his manhood hale and green:

And dare we to this fancy give,
That had the wild oat not been sown,
The soil, left barren, scarce had grown
The grain by which a man may live?

[Or, if we held the doctrine sound
For life outliving heats of youth,
Yet who would’ preach it as a truth
To those that eddy round and round?]

Hold thou the good: define it well:
For fear divine Philosophy
Should push beyond her mark, and be
Procures to the Lords of Hell.

Oh yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood.

- Tennyson's "In Memoriam," LIII.- LIV.

Music (above) is repeated.

D. : We, this day, looking back upon the past race of mankind, and seeking to know how we have come to be what we are, look also forward and hail the future, more glorious, we hope, than the past. And we ask from the Past and the Future what are the Duties of the Present.

Curtain is withdrawn and discovers Michael Angelo's picture of the Three Fates. Their three names, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos, should be printed beneath, and their general title, the Mocrae, Parcae, or Fates.

Music is repeated while the picture is being observed.

S. Discourse Notes.

Yes, you are looking at Michael Angelo's picture. The Fates! Clotho, spinning the thread of destiny; Lachesis, measuring it off into longer or shorter pieces; Atropos, cutting the thread with her shears. The Greeks used to believe that every one's life, even the life of the gods, was in the hands of these three mysterious goddesses.

And did you notice the music just now? The four quick knocks followed by a pause? Beethoven, who composed it, said that those notes represented "Fate-knocking-at-the-door"; or, shall we say, Atropos snapping her shears and preparing to cut the thread of someone's life?

Poor Beethoven! He knew something of "Fate-knocking-at-the-door!" He could never marry the lady he loved, and his nephew proved ungrateful to him. (Details.) What was worse, he became gradually deaf - what a terrible thing for the greatest of musicians not to be able to hear
his own music! And deafness was not all. *(Quote such details as are advisable: see below.)* No wonder he spoke of "fate." But he was brave, too, and said: "I will grapple with fate; it shall never drag me down" (1801).

But of course you know that there is no such thing as Fate or the Three Fates. They are simply words that stand for something we do not fully understand. What was the real cause of Beethoven's deafness and disease? Had he done anything foolish or wicked?

No, there is no proof that he had. I fear that the fault was with his father, who had been a drunken, immoral man. You heard those words of Tennyson about "wild oat" and "taints of blood." I fear that Beethoven inherited a disease called syphilis from his father. It was just as if Clotho, instead of supplying good thread when Beethoven was born, supplied thread of two kinds twisted together, a splendid thread of music and a bad thread of disease; and that Lachesis measured off 58 years of this mixed thread for Atropos to cut.

Where did Beethoven get his genius from? From his father, as he got his disease? From his grandfather? From his teachers, such as the great musician Haydn? These are great and solemn questions. Wise men are studying them earnestly.

*(Discuss briefly some of the facts bearing on biological heredity and social heredity (i.e., environment).)*

*[Note on Beethoven's deafness and disease].*

The post-mortem on Beethoven showed that the liver was shrunk to half its proper size, and was hard and tough like leather . . . . There were also marks of ulceration of the pharynx, about the tonsils and Eustachian tubes. The arteries of the ears were atheromatous (inflamed) and the auditory nerves . . . degenerated. The whole of these appearances are most probably the result of syphilitic affections at an early period of his life.

The pains in the head, indigestion, colic, and jaundice, of which he frequently complained, and the deep depression which gives the key to so many of his letters, would all follow naturally from the chronic inflammation and atrophy implied by the state of the liver, and the digestive derangements to which it would give rise, aggravated by the careless way in which he lived . . . .[But] his splendid constitution and his extreme fondness for the open air must have been of great assistance to him.

But before I tell you some of the things they have discovered let us hear that piece of music completely, remembering that those four quick
notes stand for the hard knocks of fate, and the other beautiful notes (second subject) stand for the more cheerful side of life. For there is a cheerful side; we are not quite helpless in the hands of fate.

_The First Movement is now completely played. At the end of it the curtain is restored._

_D. reads from the Scriptures selected passages._ (Proverbs, v. and vii., contain impressive matter, but the message needs to be broadened out. A cento of passages should be devised; will the Churches please supply?)

_S. Second Discourse Notes._

Now follows as much information as Speaker can wisely convey. Expatiate on the glory of improving the race either in stamina or in traditions: racial and personal poisons—alcohol, nicotine, etc. Close on an inspiring note. Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony closes on such a note!

_ALL (sing): "Out of the night that covers me" (Henley)\(^{258}\), or other

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\(^{258}\) These are the opening words from the poem ‘Invictus’ (Latin word meaning “unconquered”) by the Victorian poet, William Ernest Henley. The poem reads as follows:

Out of the night that covers me,

Black as the pit from pole to pole,

I thank whatever gods may be

For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance

I have not winced nor cried aloud.

Under the bludgeonings of chance

My head is bloody, but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears

Looms but the Horror of the shade,

And yet the menace of the years

Finds and shall find me unafraid.
Rousing song or hymn against fate.

Portions of the Fifth Symphony Music are played—some of the First and all of the Closing movement.

[In Spenser's Faerie Queen, Book IV., Canto II., there is a quaint employment of the Three Fates idea, but it is too lengthy for this celebration. On repetition of the celebration the passage might possibly be employed'. Goethe's famous account of his own heredity, "Vom Vater hab' ich die Statur . . ."]259 should be employed somehow. The question is, How?]

— It matters not how strait the gate,
   How charged with punishments the scroll,
   I am the master of my fate,
   I am the captain of my soul.

259 The English translation by Martin Greenberg (published by Yale University Press) of the first two lines of Goethe’s poem is “From father I get my physique”. The poem progresses on the same lines:

From father I get my physique,
   Also my earnest nature;
My story-telling bent, glad heart
   I have from my dear mother.
Great-grandpapa liked pretty girls,
   It shows up in me also;
Great-grandmama loved gold and jewels,
   A smack of that’s in me, too.
So if one’s a complex of traits
   Inborn and indivisible,
What’s there to call your own, poor . . . .

Appendix III: Postscript in An Educational Failure

TAKING A LAST LOOK OVER MY PAGES, I HAVE COME TO THE OPINION THAT THIS BOOK, AS TRUTHFUL A RECORD AS, IN THE TIME AT MY DISPOSAL, I COULD PUT TOGETHER AND CROWDED WITH WEAKENING APOLOGIES ON BEHALF OF THIS OR THAT GROUP, IS YET FUNDAMENTALLY UNFAIR. EXCEPT BY BEING THREE TIMES THE PRESENT SIZE IT WAS BOUND TO BE OR TO SEEM UNFAIR IF IT WAS ALSO TO BE TRUTHFUL, FOR, AS SAID ABOVE, IT SINGLES OUT ONE GROUP UPON WHICH THE CRITICAL BATTLE HAPPENED TO FALL AND LEAVES OTHER GROUPS MAYBE LESS COMPETENT AND DESERVING, ALMOST UNMENTIONED. I DO NOT, LIKE CORIOLANUS, “SEEK MEN’S HATE WITH GREAT DEVOTION THAN THEY CAN RENDER IT”; I WOULD RATHER HAVE LOVE AND RESPECT. THE OTHER AND BETTER SIDE TO MY STORY I WILL SEEK SOME DAY TO NARRATE. MEANWHILE I CLAIM TO HAVE NOT THE WHOLE TRUTH, EVEN IF, HERE AND THERE THE TRUTH MAY BE THAT OF SURMISAL (AS ON PP. 220-1) RATHER THAN OF DEMONSTRATION.

BUT WHEN I AM TOLD THAT IT WAS MY DUTY, ON RETIREMENT FROM OFFICE TO SINK INTO THE COURTEOUS SILENCE OF DEFEAT IN THE SURE AND CERTAIN CONFIDENCE THAT “TRUTH WOULD EMERGE AND RIGHT BE DONE IN THE END,” I THINK OF THE OCTOGENARIAN F. J. GOULD, STILL FIGHTING AN APPARENTLY HOPELESS AND ALMOST UNRECOGNIZED BATTLE; I THINK OF 1912, OF 1929, OF THIS EVERY YEAR OF RENEWED ADMINISTRATION GYMNASICS AROUND THE PRICKLY PEAR; I THINK OF “THE FUNCTION OF A CRISIS”; AND I SAY, “I KNOW MY ENGLAND WELL.”

ALL THE SAME, I BEG REVIEWERS (IF I GET ANY) NOT TO PERMIT THE CRITICAL CHAPTERS OF THIS BOOK TO OBSCURE THE CONSTRUCTIVE. MY BAD FORM AFTER A SHAM FIGHT THAT HAS RUINED MY PLANS MAY BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED; I WANTED TO BE A BUILDER OF PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING, AND THIS HAS BEEN DENIED ME. MAY APPARENT RANCIOURS AND REAL IMPEACHMENTS MAY BE MORE JUICY THAN CONSTRUCTIVE PROPOSALS, WHICH ARE NEARLY ALWAYS DRY; BUT IF OUR SCANTY EDUCATIONAL PRESS SHOULD ANNOUNCE A SCATHING ATTACK OR A MALICIOUS EXPOSURE AND SAY NOTHING ABOUT PRESSING PROBLEMS AND SERIOUS SUGGESTIONS THIS WILL BE BUT ANOTHER PROOF, HARDLY NECESSARY IN A YEAR OF WAR, THAT MAN’S RESIDUAL AND COMBATIVE ANIMALISM IS MORE POWERFUL AND FAR MORE INTERESTING THAN THE OPERATIONS OF THE SPIRIT.

THE PROMPT INDICATION OF ERRORS, IF ANY, IS ERESTLY SOLICITED.