**Introduction**

This third review of periodical literature on the history of education, considers work published in 2018 and included in the History of Education Society's new online database, *Exe Libris*, which was relaunched at the 2019 Conference at UCL.\(^1\) Our aim is twofold: to permit longitudinal analysis for those consulting this review in consultation with its predecessors, and to highlight key trends in the field. The principles behind data collection remain the same: to hand-search a fixed list of journals and to assign relevant categories and periods from those lists. Categories necessarily overlap and capture certain aspects rather than others, for instance, differences between the constituent countries of the United Kingdom may be harder to discern. Nevertheless, the potential for comparison across the range of work is considerable. One innovation made is that we have adjusted some of the headings used in this review in order to reflect the focus of the work adequately, for instance introducing a generic heading of 'inequality and difference' which encompasses intersecting issues of race, gender, class and other social divisions.

Alongside reflexive work, historians are addressing the place of the sub-discipline more generally. Continuing explorations of new sources and methodologies have related to learning in a broad sense encompassing complex political, social, cultural, scientific, and economic forces.

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economic, religious and emotional changes. Questions of methodology and theory are discussed by several articles under different headings. A few examples illustrate this. The place of theory in the field is addressed directly by Roland Sintos Coloma, considering how historians of education deploy critical theory in their work.\(^2\) Scott Eacott refutes the idea of a theoretical turn in the history of education as argued by Richard Niesche.\(^3\) A methodological paper by Sian Vaughan, on sonic mining to explore the history of the Birmingham School of Art, suggests that the field is anything but conservative.\(^4\)

Concerns about the relation of history of education to teaching have been raised, perhaps poignantly given the earlier role of history of education in teacher education which no longer prevails in many countries. Rob Freathy and Jonathan Doney ask fundamental questions about the neglect of research on the teaching of the history of education.\(^5\) Nele Reyniers, Pieter Verstraete, Sarah Van Ruyskensvelde and Geert Kelchtermans consider critically the teaching of the history of education, asking whether practices are driven by ‘a concern to meet students’ expectations and interests…than by content’.\(^6\) These two pieces, then, arguably reflect broader anxieties within the history of education, a perennial concern to defend what

sometimes feels like a field of study under threat but, in reality, continues to mine rich and productive seams of research.

The statistical tables, calculated by the same method as previous years, indicate general consistency. In terms of the chronological focus (see table 1), it is encouraging to see more use made of the chronological range of the history of education with ancient, medieval and early modern topics attracting more scholarly attention than in 2017: together 14.8% compared to 6.4%. This shift is partly explained by a tilt away from the contemporary and historiographical, which were a feature of the various reflexive special numbers discussed last year: just over one third, 34.9%, of articles were concerned with the period from 1964 to the present, and 17.3% rather than 25.4% were concerned with historiographical subjects.

Table 1. Chronological distribution of articles included in the Exe Libris database, 2017-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chronological grouping</th>
<th>2017</th>
<th>2018</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient (pre-500)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval (500-1500)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-1750</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-1868</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>1869-1910</td>
<td>59</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-1963</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-present</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historiography</td>
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<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General histories</td>
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<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number published</strong></td>
<td><strong>295</strong></td>
<td><strong>249</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1. This table follows the format of the previous literature review to enable direct comparison. 2. Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be placed in more than one chronological category. 3. As articles may have more than one category ascribed to them, the numbers and percentages sum to number higher than the number of articles or one hundred. 4. Figures for 2018 are calculated prior to upload.
In terms of geography (see table 2), more articles have been assigned to categories concerned with the British Empire, its colonies, and the Commonwealth, 15.7% against 7.6%; and nearly one third are concerned with comparative topics. The most striking geographical characteristic, however, is that just over half of articles were concerned with ‘other countries’ that are not part of the British Isles, following a focus particularly on a number of continental European countries, although other continents and countries are increasingly featured.

Table 2. Geographical coverage of articles included in the Exe Libris database, 2017-2018: selected categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical area</th>
<th>2017</th>
<th></th>
<th>2018</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England and Great Britain</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales/Scotland/Ireland</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire, colonies, Commonwealth</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>50.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative and international</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number published</td>
<td>295</td>
<td></td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1. This table follows the format of the previous literature review. 2. Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be assigned several areas. 3. Figures for 2018 are calculated prior to upload. 4. With the exception of ‘Wales/Scotland/Ireland’, the categories in the table are amalgamations of categories used in Exe Libris. For example, ‘England and Great Britain’ combines ‘England’, ‘England and Great Britain’, ‘England: general’ and ‘England: specialist studies’.

Finally, selected subject areas are highlighted in table 3, revealing more work on race and ethnicity, and less attention on universities. Whereas in 2017 reflexive articles considered universities implicitly and explicitly in the context of neoliberalism, these same impulses and logics are explored in terms of education policy and school leadership, partly reflecting special issues in recent years.

Table 3. Articles on selected subject areas in the Exe Libris database, 2017-2018

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2017</th>
<th></th>
<th>2018</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
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<tr>
<td>Childhood and youth</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches, religions and education</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local administration</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private and 'public' schools</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race and ethnicity</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role and status of teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textbooks</td>
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<tr>
<td>Women and girls’ education</td>
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<td>5.1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth movements</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number published</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: 1. This table follows the format of the previous literature review to facilitate comparison. 2. Neither numbers nor percentages sum, because articles can be assigned several subject areas. 3. Figures for 2018 are calculated prior to upload. 4. Gender here means ‘Genders in education’ rather than ‘Genders compared’. 5. ‘Local administration’ is the category ‘Local administration, school boards, LEAs’. 6. ‘Policy’ is the category ‘The state, policies, planning, administration’; the overlapping ‘Policy and administration: general’ is not included in this table.

**Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern History**

Despite a relative lack of new work on the period prior to 1750, there were interesting articles on the technology of reading and writing and on Christian identity. Lisa Kaaren Bailey opens up the 6-7th century world of Caesarius of Arles whose preaching and vocation emphasised scripture in the formation of Christian identity; lay engagement with the Bible was to be nurtured by sharing skills of exegesis with his lay congregation.\(^7\) Richard Calis and his colleagues take a long-run approach to how one family explored the intergenerational communication facilitated through marginal annotations in the Winthrop family’s library of books 1580-1730, revealing

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not only the religious life of the family, but ‘how they learned to read’. Michael Green examines the educational influences of the Huguenots who established schools and academies for the elite as well as their own children, attempting to stem the rapid tide of assimilation. Huguenots proved to be formidable tutors, imparting Calvinist morality, erudition and, crucially, the French language while also fostering cultural exchange and escorting young men on the grand tour.

The significant exception to the dearth of work on medieval and early modern periods relates to histories of universities. George Shuffelton examines the evidence for medieval friendship networks based upon old members of Oxford and Cambridge universities, inspired by the alumni associations that later became commonplace.

William J. Courtenay analyses the supplications from the University of Cambridge to the Pope in the fourteenth century which reveal the importance of legal studies, particularly civil law, which he suggests was a result of Edward II’s founding of King’s Hall with the aim of preparing scholars for positions in the royal administration. Eric D. Goddard outlines the importance of demographic pressures during the Hundred Years War on the University of Paris which attempted to cling on to its university privileges.

Thomas Sullivan provides an account of the portrait panels in the new library of the Collège de Sorbonne, featuring 25 individuals who had supported the college. Janice Gunther Martin argues for the importance of orations on university

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ceremonial occasions to provide evidence about the learning and rhetoric valued in university culture in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{14} Stefano Gattei looks into marginalia and refutes the claim that Galileo annotated a copy of the 1546 Latin translation of Philoponus’ commentary on Aristotle’s \textit{Physics} by Guglielmo Doroteo.\textsuperscript{15} Pietro Daniel Omodeo traces the biography of John Craig, a Scottish mathematician and physician, who travelled across Europe to academic and cultural centres of the Renaissance before returning to Scotland and England with many new intellectual ideas.\textsuperscript{16} Salvatore Cipriano exposes the range of opposition to the 1638 National Covenant in Scotland that resisted reforms to the Church and held to strict Presbyterian discipline. Opposition is shown to be more widespread than previously understood, a factor which partly explained the subsequent tight regulation of higher education in the 1640s.\textsuperscript{17}

A range of sources are deployed in research on universities. David McOmish offers an overview of the Scientific Revolution in Scotland and identifies manuscripts which shed light on new methodological approaches and theories; he argues that key educationists made contributions to scientific progress.\textsuperscript{18} Berthold Kress reveals the importance of iconography, focusing on seals and maces, to the Holy Roman Empire which convey the purpose of a university as well as the relation between the

university and the ruling authority. William Gibson analyses a volume of poems, Strenæ Natalitiæ, published in 1688 to celebrate the birth of the Prince of Wales, and identifies both naïve and prophetic poems, many of celebration, but also undertones of muted expression and equivocation.

The Recent History of Universities

A superficial drop in the number of articles assigned to the history of universities (table 3), is accounted for by the high number of short pieces incorporated into two special journal numbers last year. Research on universities in the past two centuries has been stimulated by their growing importance in the twenty first century. For example, in response to the 2017 Higher Education and Research Act, G. R. Evans provides an overview of the changing definitions of a university, which has never fully been defined in English law, noting how research was gradually incorporated from the nineteenth century as was a widening curriculum involving science and humanities as well as more recent additions of media studies, management and sports science.

The role of key individuals provides insights into the growth and changing nature of universities. M. Andrew Holowchak outlines the philosophical and educational thought of Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the University of Virginia, who outlined a national system of education based upon basic education for all and higher level

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education for the intellectual and moral elite.\textsuperscript{22} Michael J. Turner analyses the case of Beresford Hope, MP for Cambridge University and a conservative opponent of university reform in Victorian England. Despite being on the ‘losing’ side, his work provides insights into our understanding of religious connections, teaching, research and administrative changes.\textsuperscript{23}

The 1960s is considered a significant source of contemporary debates. Scot Danforth provides an analysis of the emergence and development of disabled student activists at the University of California, Berkeley, the Rolling Quads, who challenged the paternalism of the university and expanded into the most influential disability rights organisation in the USA.\textsuperscript{24} David S. Busch’s account of the Peace Corps in the early 1960s argues that staff and volunteers soon found that prevailing methods of education were inappropriate to development work abroad, and elaborated their own pedagogy that was nevertheless infused with notions of modernist citizenship that acted as a limitation on international volunteerism in the period.\textsuperscript{25}

Recent institutional and policy history attracts some attention. Jennifer Baldwin assesses the marginal yet significant role of Arabic in Australian universities which contrasts with the attention accorded to Asian languages.\textsuperscript{26} André Brett highlights the

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way that, in response to government policies fostering a unified national system of education in Australia, the Victorian College of Pharmacy was able to withstand pressures from state and federal governments and negotiate a better merger deal with Monash University. Charlotte Lauder reviews the history of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (IASH) at the University of Edinburgh over its nearly 50 year history, highlighting the importance of such institutions to the history of education. Helen Kingstone’s oral history of Trinity and All Saints Colleges, established in 1966 and which subsequently became Leeds Trinity University (LTU), notes the loosening ties to Catholicism and the shift from a public inclusive role to a more private one, exposing mixed feelings about Catholic inclusion and exclusion.

The past-present relation and contemporary implications are drawn out by many studies. The ‘corporatisation’ of the US university is historicised by Cristina V. Groeger who argues that the period 1890-1940 witnessed the close interaction of higher education and corporate management in legitimating the meaning of academic merit in relation to credentialised inequalities, based upon skills and knowledge and also race, gender and class. Martha Smith-Norris and Jennifer Hansen examine the graduate programmes in humanities at the University of Saskatchewan between 1990-2015. In contrast to public debates about the efficacy and viability of these courses, students completed their studies in a timely manner with low attrition, and went on to secure a range of relevant employment outcomes.

although they also identified that women tended to fare less well on all these measures.\textsuperscript{31} Robert Troschitz assesses university prospectuses from 1940 to the current day and charts changing assumptions: from presenting a source of authority to gradually reflecting on the aims of higher education; from the 1980s, offering a route to employability; and, from the 2000s, actively promoting an instrumental view of education in which universities became service providers subservient to its 'customers'.\textsuperscript{32}

The \textit{History of Education Quarterly} invited a number of authors to reflect on the recent assaults on academic freedom and its precarious position today. Joy Ann Williamson-Lott, notes that the independence of institutions and academics has depended on a range of contexts and proclivities of governments.\textsuperscript{33} Timothy Reese Cain highlights the tensions faced by universities which recognise the quality of an academic but shy away from their views for fear of offending established interests, historical issues which remain pertinent today.\textsuperscript{34} Vania Markarian uncovers the implications of the authoritarian government in Uruguay after June 1973, including the removal of leaders and a considerable number of faculty members. The student movements of the 1980s led to a re-evaluation of these changes.\textsuperscript{35} Hans-Joerg Tiede makes parallels between contemporary threats to academic freedom and

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those in the 1930s, which directly relate to the capacity of academics to build tenure. Qiang Zha and Wenqin Shen relate difficult debates over academic freedom in Chinese universities, in which the government plays a key role but aspires to research excellence, to historical traditions of Confucianism. They speculate that a new form of academic freedom may be gestating. Beth le Roux outlines the limited acceptance of academic freedom in apartheid South Africa which was undermined somewhat by the lack of toleration of certain groups and critics leading to the conclusion that such debates are crucial to maintain social justice. Anne Corbett and Claire Gordon, using the example of the Central European University in Hungary, which has been under threat from Viktor Orbán’s ruling Fidesz party, argue that academic freedom in Central and Eastern Europe is more tenuous than previously assumed. They emphasise the need to reassert the autonomy of universities from the state.

Finally, Catherine Manathunga, Mark Selkrig and Alison Baker, reflect on an installation at Victoria University, utilising a Foucauldian history of the present and an aesthetic and emotive reading of the university, combining text, image and sound, which critiques the marginalisation of certain voices and dominant neoliberal discourses, themes that are also apparent in the history of policy and schooling.

Schools and Education Policy

Policy, identity and inequality are connected in complex ways. Johannes Westberg, Ayhan İncirci, Merja Paksuniemi and Tuija Turunen consider the advent of national education strategies in Finland and Turkey 1860-1930 in key periods of state formation, focusing on the links between education and military policy. In the early nineteenth century, Alex R. Tipei traces the complex and slippery meanings of the concept of ‘civilization speak’ among intellectual leaders from south-east Europe. While it was initially used as a means of extracting support from west European patrons, it was later refashioned into an instrument of nationalism in the Balkans. Heather Jacklin uses the idea of a social imaginary to understand changes in education policy over time and applies ‘the logic of policy’ to the Cape Colony and apartheid South Africa. Annemarie Augschöll’s work looks at the transgenerational consequences of fascist Italy upon minorities. Tal Gilead re-thinks key ideas on educational economic productivity in the context of privatization. Russell Grigg argues that the increased political interest in the resurgence of national identity was expressed through its support for the celebration of St David’s Day in Welsh schools and resulted from the desire of the Welsh Department to exert a greater influence.

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Teachers themselves have provided a topic of extensive study, ranging from very detailed scholarship to discursive and reflexive pieces. At the heart of this lies a question about the relationship between the state and educators. For example, Narciso De Gabriel's work looks at disciplinary procedures against school-teachers in Galicia 1859-1910, and the complex bureaucracy this involved as well as the attitudes of caciques (local dignitaries) and political patronage in organising appointments, promotions, and preferments. As Josephine May shows, the representation of teachers in Australian television programme Marion (1974) reveals the gendered nature of postwar school leadership. Jiří Zounek, Michal Šimáně and Dana Knotová consider primary schools during the Prague Spring and the political ramifications for the operation of schools after invasion. Jackie M. Blount's US History of Education Society Presidential Address considers gendered notions of teacher empowerment with reference to the work of Ella Flagg Young in early twentieth century Chicago, who advocated for the kind of places schools could be 'if

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freedom, individuality, and community were truly honored'.\textsuperscript{50} Pia Pannula Toft, Merja Paksuniemi and Johannes Westberg consider the role of school teachers in the lives of Finnebørn, Finnish children evacuated to Denmark during World War Two, including the reintegration of this young, newly bilingual group.\textsuperscript{51}

A few articles consider pre-schools. Eric Luckey looks at the educational thinking which underpinned the establishment of public kindergartens in St Louis, Missouri, in 1873.\textsuperscript{52} In a more focused way, Yukiyo Nishida considers the application of Friedrich Fröbel's pedagogy in kindergartens in late nineteenth-century Japan, and Michael Friedman in British ones 1851-1924.\textsuperscript{53} A useful counterpoint to this is provided by Anna K. Danziger Halperin on the 1972 white paper, \textit{Education: A Framework for Expansion}, produced by the Department of Education and Science when Margaret Thatcher was Secretary of State, which justified expansion on economic grounds.\textsuperscript{54} Suzanne Manning assessed the impact of changing early childhood policy in Aotearoa New Zealand since 1989, highlighting the way that three key policy reports reflected the trend towards human capital theory and the educationalisation of early childhood. Block play is centred between acceptable early childhood and school pedagogy.\textsuperscript{55}

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\textsuperscript{54} Michael Friedman, "Falling into Disuse": The Rise and Fall of Froebelian Mathematical Folding within British Kindergartens', \textit{Paedagogica Historica}, 54: no. 5 (2018): 564 - 587.
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Historians of education remain fascinated by religion across a broad historical period. In Britain, Akira Iwashita looks at the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church and what its formation says about the role of evangelism in the formation of liberal education policy in the early part of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{56} In a similar vein, Justin Biel’s work on the 1840s and liberal imperial thought, stresses the colonial context of a push towards state neutrality, with particular reference to the education of chaplains. Zach Souter seeks to write John Angell James back into the history of Sunday schools for his contribution to more professional approaches among those working in them.\textsuperscript{57} In the decades which followed James’s work, Christopher F. McCormack considers the role of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland in Education.\textsuperscript{58}

A special number of the \textit{Journal of Educational Administration and History} discusses educational leadership in relation to Islam, framed by Melanie C. Brooks in her editorial, in terms of ‘new spaces for dialogue’, against ‘nationalist rhetoric, fearmongering, and heightened socio-political tensions’.\textsuperscript{59} Brooks and Agus Mutohar present a conceptual framework for Islamic school leadership applicable in different geographical and cultural contexts.\textsuperscript{60} The scope for enhancing our understanding across time and space is considerable. Khalid Arra and Kussai Haj-Yehia look at educational leadership characteristics identified in writings from the Islamic Golden

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Age (8-14th centuries CE). Tesfaye Gemadech Gurm looks at Ethiopian school leadership over the last 110 years. Deena Khalil and Amaarah DeCuir consider what Islamic feminist school leadership might look like and how female Muslim school leaders pursue Islamic feminism. In addition, Maysaa Barakat shows how, in recent years, Muslim minorities in the US have turned away from public schools to private ones, and raises questions about the erosion of the rights of this group. Through oral history, Miriam D. Ezzani and Kelley M. King ask how Muslim educational leaders, rather than classroom teachers, responded to Islamophobia in US public schools.

Research on school leadership necessarily responds to the neoliberal assault and managerial impulses found across public education as well as the relation between past and present. Richard Niesche’s overview of research on educational leadership contrasts a technical ‘what works’ instrumentalism with the development of critical theory in educational leadership, making reference to Foucauldian notions of discourse. Jane Wilkinson and Jeffrey S. Brooks introduce a special issue of the Journal of Educational Administration and History on ‘The past, present and future of educational administration’ where they raise the question whether school leadership

under Donald Trump’s presidency is being refigured from social justice to ‘leadership based on propaganda rather than compassion, and on economic elitism’, or whether more incremental changes are actually occurring.67 The ways in which school leaders balance different demands in the context of the ideologically driven school autonomy in the anglophone world and Sweden since the 1980s is addressed through the analysis of some Australian cases by Brad Gobby, Amanda Keddie and Jill Blackmore.68 Eugene A. Samier contends that a new zeitgeist has emerged, ‘a troubled era of disenchantment’ which has profound consequences for education.69 Scott Eacott contemplates the use of relational approaches to how school principals use their time, offering a new way to think about literature on this topic.70 Taken together, these diverse articles point to the need for historians of education to explore further the meaning and practice of managerialism in educational institutions since the late 1980s, and how the history of education can inform wider discussions about this dominant paradigm as well as recent inflexions of it in relation to populism in an age of austerity.

‘Education is future-oriented’, posit Christine Mayer and Karin Priem in their editorial on avant-gardes in History of Education.71 Indeed policy must look forward by its very nature, and a considerable number of articles fit around this theme, across a long historical period, from the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Vegard Kvam looks at

the socio-political function of Norwegian educational legislation and what it meant for vulnerable children 1814-1900, pointing to the broad ramifications of educational policy.\textsuperscript{72} One approach to this topic is to consider how ideas spread. The Dalton Plan was disseminated so quickly that by 1922, after two years, it existed commercially as a product in the United Kingdom; María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster follow its progress from the US and ask how it moved so speedily.\textsuperscript{73} Many creative people and intellectuals fled the Nazi regime for the United Kingdom bringing abundant cultural riches with them, and Ian Grosvenor follows the modernist school-building projects by émigré architects in 1930s England, decades ahead of the school building that they would ultimately influence.\textsuperscript{74} Marianne Helfenberger takes the fabric of schools themselves as an archive of assumptions and planning for climate, considering especially heating and ventilation systems as presented in World Exhibitions up to 1930.\textsuperscript{75} Hsiao-Yuh Ku’s work on Shena Simon and English secondary education reform in the decade after 1938 points to the continued importance of ideas of democracy.\textsuperscript{76}

Reconstruction after the Second World War provided a fertile period for educational policy and for developments in the history of education. A roundtable on Bernard Bailyn presented in the \textit{History of Education Quarterly}, situated his seminal

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Education in the Forming of American Society in the 'non-ideological' context of postwar liberal consensus. In the different postwar context of Soviet Estonia, pedagogues would suffer at the hands of an authoritarian regime. Vadim Rõuk, Johannes L. van der Walt, and Charl C. Wolhuter use cultural trauma theory to explain the difficulties faced, and resilience theory to show how they were overcome. Tracy Chui Shan Lau follows a similar line looking at the politics of Education in Hong Kong in the colonial era, from World War II to handover, and the role of education in nation-building in tense times of flux.

The postwar establishment of US dominance within the context of the Cold War provides a further strand to research on this period. Sissel Bjerrum Fossat's work on Danish study visits, supported by the Marshall Plan, were designed to teach Danish people how to move towards US cultures in business and consumption. Barbara Hof looks at the educational reforms initiated by the shock of Sputnik in 1957, as educational technology was promoted in both capitalist and communist societies, with particular consideration of Germany. The Cold War cast a shadow on classrooms too, and Marjorie Heins’s work on the Keyishian v. Board of Regents

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case in the US Supreme Court saw a reaction against the Red Scare and ended requirements of loyalty to the US state.\textsuperscript{82}

Wider sites and forces of learning have also been interrogated in relation to education and schooling. José Soto-Vázquez, Francisco Jaraíz-Cabanillas, Ramón Pérez-Parejo and José Gutiérrez-Gallego present a detailed statistical analysis of schools in Extremadura in the second half of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{83} The recent flourishing of emotional history has a bearing on this topic too: emblem books are taken by Jeroen J. H. Dekker and Inge J. M. Wichgers to show how, across confessions, parents sought to teach children how to regulate their emotions in the early-modern Dutch Republic.\textsuperscript{84} In postwar West Germany, Nadine Rossol examines state organised traffic safety events which aimed to instil democratic values and mutual respect but contrasted with the continued shunning of traffic rules by many citizens in order to illuminate contrasting assumptions about the state.\textsuperscript{85}

Historians of education continue to work with broad cultural sources. Inês Gomes takes the natural history collections accumulated in Portuguese secondary schools from the late nineteenth century, considering their development, classroom use, and their future through a material cultural approach.\textsuperscript{86} John Alexander McIntyre gives an account of Rosemary Benjamin’s Theatre for Children in Sydney 1937-57, which


blended English progressive education with Soviet influences, and drew upon symbolic sources such as myth and fairy tales to help children deal with difficult unconscious material.  

87 Catherine Burke’s work on Sir Alec Clegg, the West Riding’s Chief Education Officer and his relationships with Australian progressive educators around the Second World War reveals networks influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement and concerned with democratic post war schooling.  

88 Deborah Golden, Ora Aviezer and Yair Ziv focus on the ‘junkyard’ (chatzar grutaot) which developed in Israeli kibbutz in the 1940s and 50s and became an established part of the kibbutz educational landscape. Artefacts from the adult world were left for children’s free play, a practice which derived from pedagogical, ideological and cultural factors.  

89 Craig Campbell’s interview was part of a special issue of History of Education Review, and his editorial co-authored with Dorothy Kass considered the role of museums and educational historians in narrating and explaining educational pasts.  

90 Eloise Wallace and Kay Morris Matthews offer some ‘signposts’ for museums and academics to work together effectively.  

The interconnections between childhood, youth, and learning is a perennial topic.

Yasin Tunc examines the emergence of a modern child rescue institution, Çocukları Kurtarma Yurdu between 1930-50, and identifies competing motivations including mental hygiene, progressive vocational education and humanitarianism, with the aim


of constructing sound and economically productive republican citizens out of ‘abnormal bodies’. Mariko Omori highlights how the psychologist Lewis Terman, utilised intelligence tests in early twentieth century California to identify and segregate immigrant children as feebleminded. Despite subjective influences on his sampling methods, such children were deemed incurable which led to permanent separation from mainstream classrooms. Mustafa Gündüz’s work on militarism in Turkish education, investigated how the young were prepared for military service from 1926-47, with lasting consequences. Mariano Momanu, Nicoleta Laura Popa and Magda-Elana Samoilă provide a historical overview of ‘family life education’ in Romania, a term coined in that country. They chart processes of secularisation and adjustments made during Communism and subsequent influence of western models and practices.

In addition to new approaches, there remains an interest in analysing specific education institutions. Hugh Pattenden analyses the alumni of Perse Grammar School in Cambridge in the First World War, placing them within a broader context. Donald P. Leinster-Mackay also takes a single school, the King’s School, Sherborne, and contends that under James Mosey it was a ‘complete sham’ ‘from the naming of the school to associate it with royalty and history’ down to ‘the book shelves of his

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96 See p.52 Noble Wright, ‘Review of Periodical Literature on the History of Education Published in 2017’.
study that were lined with imitation book spines rather than actual books.\textsuperscript{98} Even more specific is Clarissa Carden’s work on a mass escape from Westbrook Farm Home for Boys, Queensland, showing the lag between the kind of reformation offered by Westbrook and more modern thinking about education.\textsuperscript{99}

**Biography**

Biographical approaches have yielded results across a long timespan and broad historical range. Carole Hooper looks at Mary Mackillop’s time as a teacher at Portland Common School, with implications on her role in the dismissal of the headmaster when she was teaching there from 1863-5.\textsuperscript{100} A cluster of more conventional biographical studies focus on the twentieth centuries. Miguel Ortells Roca and Juan Traver Martí write about Leonor Serrano’s pedagogy by reconstructing her life during a formative period in her training.\textsuperscript{101} Maciej Łuczak, Tomasz Skirecki and Martyna Łuczak’s biographical study of Eugeniusz Piasecki offers the benefit of his own education as well as a study of his professional work as a prominent pedagogue of physical education.\textsuperscript{102} There is considerable scope in the production of (auto)biographical texts for both education and historical enquiry. A more unusual approach is taken in the presentation of ‘a revised conversation’ held

at the Australian and New Zealand Education Conference in 2017, between Lyndsay Connors and Craig Campbell, combining policy analysis and autobiography.\textsuperscript{103} Anna Frisone considers some 1970s radical feminist writing experiments conducted by a group of Milanese working-class housewives, and identifies a space for self-education through the production of reflexive texts.\textsuperscript{104} Peter Cunningham’s review essay on some recent biographies of progressive individuals includes discussion of ‘[b]iography as method’.\textsuperscript{105}

Biographies often infuse narratives with memory which need to be handled with nuance and care. Christine Trimmingham Jack presents an autobiographical-reflexive piece on her journey to becoming a teacher educator, sharing some considerations for educational oral history interviews.\textsuperscript{106} Beatrice Jane Vittoria Balfour considers the wounded memories, after Ricoeur, of the female founders of the Reggio Emilia educational approach.\textsuperscript{107}

Closely related to biographical studies, the body provides a significant research trend in history of education, including the way bodies experience education and the notion of affect influenced by queer studies.\textsuperscript{108} Kate Rousmaniere and Noah W. Sobe presented a special number of \textit{Paedagogica Historica}, concerned with ‘Education

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{104} Anna Frisone, “‘Wandering Thoughts’; The Writing Experience of Working-Class Housewives in 1970s Milan”, \textit{Gender and History}, 30: no. 1 (2018): 177 - 195.
\end{itemize}
and the body’, drawing on the 2016 ISCHE conference, including ‘[t]he regulation of bodies in educational settings [which] also frequently occurs through their embodiment as gendered, classed, raced, and sexualised subjects’.109 Mona Gleason asserts that embodiment is central to the history of education, and can help answer key questions in the field.110 Cynthia Veiga reflects on the role of education on bodies in Norbert Elias’s civilizing processes.111 This applies beyond formal educational settings: early Reformation theatre was explicitly educational, but involved what Luana Salvarani terms a ‘“site-specific” theatrical pedagogy of the body’.112 Tao Bak writes on the Melbourne Rudolf Steiner School and uses interviews to consider the alternative education offered there, centred on embodied knowing.113 Affective learning is the subject of Amy McKernan’s work on educational visits to two historic sites in Australia: Port Arthur and the Cascades Female Factory.114

One part of the scholarship on this has focused on student bodies. Marjo Nieminen takes a 1957 Finnish film Oma tytökouluni (My Own Girl’s School), and considers the representation of female bodies in the context of secondary schools.115 Christine Mayer’s shows how gymnastics and dance in Germany 1890-1930 sought to unlock

‘artistic and intellectual potential’ through modernist forms of ‘body education’ in Hamburg.116 Doriane Gomet and Michaël Attali explore the later adoption of sports into the scholarly curriculum in France compared with England.117 If the place of sport within academic life was contested, what about its effect on bodies? Rebecca Noel scrutinises concerns about producing healthy students in nineteenth-century New England and related attempts to reform common schools, focusing on spinal curvature, exercise, and school ventilation.118 Catherine Burke addresses feet and footwear, with special reference to the material, social and cultural significance of walking to school in shoes and removing them for dance lessons.119 There is also a symbiotic relationship between bodies and texts. Christian Roith’s work on the depiction of hands by Franciscan monk Bernardino de Sahagún in the Florentine Codex argues that this did not constitute an early ethnography as typically supposed, but rather was a tool to assist with converting indigenous people in the New Spain.120

Teachers’ bodies offer a further line of enquiry. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Christine A. Ogren looks at what happened to teachers bodies during the rest period of long summer vacations, considering the rural-urban divide, and gendered experiences of how teachers recuperated physically.121

Chmielewski’s work pursues this line, considering New York in the 1920s-1940s and the perceived problems in the fitness of teachers, in the context of eugenicist thinking.\textsuperscript{122} Iveta Kestere and Baiba Kalke delve into teachers’ bodies in Soviet Latvia, the propaganda images of teachers and the lived reality.\textsuperscript{123}

**Inequality and Difference**

The contested ways in which education functions to (re)produce inequality and difference, as well as challenge it, remains a key theme. Gender remains a key theme and the construction of the ideal woman has been one explicit educational motivation. Betül Açıklgöz shows how scientific housewifery was constructed in late Ottoman Empire home economics textbooks.\textsuperscript{124} Dana Ahmad demonstrates how the Arabian Mission in Kuwait, which arrived in 1910, saw ‘medicine as an inroad for evangelism’, spreading ideas about ‘educated motherhood and cleanliness’.\textsuperscript{125} A year later in Providence, the first Katherine Gibbs School was established, offering secretarial training, directed squarely at women.\textsuperscript{126} In print, the *Australian Women’s Weekly* presented normative notions of motherhood and childhood between 1930s and 1980s, which Heather Weaver and Helen Proctor connect to respectability and

Australian citizenship.\(^{127}\) Åsa Jansson looks at how dialectical behaviour therapy (DBT) was used to teach women the skills to regulate emotions, and ‘a life worth living’.\(^{128}\) In the early twentieth century, Sander Gliboff considers the complex and gendered attribution and non-attribution of work to Mathilde Vaerting in educational psychology.\(^{129}\) Chandra Lekha Singh explores Annie Besant’s work in Benares in establishing a school for high-caste girls, asking whether this education offered empowerment or conformity to idealised notions of Indian women.\(^{130}\) Md. Mahmudul Hasan uses the lens of gendered intellect to reconsider how Mary Wollstonecraft and Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain advocated female education.\(^{131}\) Christian Sandbjerg Hansen’s work on sex workers in 1930s Copenhagen deals with how women learned to conform to a very different image of femininity.\(^{132}\)

Joyce V. Ireland looks at charity schools funded by women in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Chester and Warrington as a useful activity deemed acceptable for female work.\(^{133}\) Mary Hatfield and Ciaran O’Neill show how girls benefited most significantly from the shift away from free-market provision to a new state-funded school system in nineteenth-century Ireland, as the new system was gender-

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neutral. By contrast to the widespread interest in femininity, less attention was paid to masculinity in the journals surveyed. Charles Holden considers how the racial and socially stratified of the University of North Carolina in the 1890s and 1900s offered a space in which more heterogenous ideas of masculinity could be expressed.

Access to higher level education for women was also a key theme in the literature reviewed this year. Antonio Fco. Canales considers the popularity of pharmacy for Spanish women, a trend unaffected by Franco’s regime or the tumult of the 1960s, grounded in varying notions of prestige between medicine and pharmacology. Rui Kohiyama explores the establishment of women’s history in Japan, including the role of two institutions: the Gender History Association of Japan and Science Council of Japan. Judith Harford highlights the role of the Central Association of Irish Schoolmistresses in Dublin and the Woman’s Educational Association in Boston in securing access for women to two prestigious institutions for women in the nineteenth-century, which required them to ‘straddled a conservative/progressive agenda in order to incrementally open up the privileges of a patriarchal space to women’. Post-suffrage pageants in England offered a site in which women could

present new, revisionist histories in which Jean of Arc could be invoked in a long-term struggle for women's rights.\textsuperscript{139}

Sexuality attracted considerable attention, in an area where both educators and learners could be immensely vulnerable. Jennifer Dominique Jones shows how, in the 1960s, the Johns Committee harassed and persecuted black male teachers accused of non-normative relationships, so yielding nuanced understandings of the racial and sexual politics and lived realities of the era.\textsuperscript{140} By contrast, Karen Graves explores how the justice system could support struggles for equality, looking at how the First Amendment – granting freedom of speech, and the Fourteenth Amendment, guaranteeing equality of protection under the law, have afforded protection to LGBT educators.\textsuperscript{141} David Malcolm explores the origins of the 1973 decision by the National Union of Students to campaign for gay rights, after discussions over the primacy of class struggle.\textsuperscript{142}

Gender was further implicated in histories of race which also interacted closely in colonial settings. Within this arena, the range of missionaries and religious inspired educational initiatives remains a central topic for the history of education. Clare Loughlin outlines the work of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) in the first half of the eighteenth century and its missions in the Highlands and Britain’s American colonies. As the latter became more important, the

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SSPCK focused equally on civilizing as well as Christianisation. Rebecca Swartz compares the work of two Britons working in Western Australia and Natal during the 1860s in order to elucidate the ways in which imperial debates about race and educability were shared across the empire and were differentiated according to local context. Pierre Guidi gives an account of French Franciscan sisters who travelled to Ethiopia in 1897 to create an orphanage, dispensary, leper colony and schools comprising freed slaves, orphans as well as upper class Ethiopian and European girls. Building on assumptions about gender, race and class, they developed relations with political elites which benefited the elites and furthered French imperialism. Felicity Jensz provides insights into common responses among diverse colonial governments, by examining the 1910 Edinburgh World Missionary Conference which attracted 1200 delegates from Protestant missionary societies.

As a site of contestation and struggle, the history of education in colonial settings varied considerably. Will Jackson assesses the complex processes of racialisation of children in Cape Town, South Africa, 1908-1933, highlighting connections with global changes that linked the ebbing of racial differentiation with the growth of hygiene, parenting and sanitation. Childhood became a crucial aspect of modern citizenship in which ‘colour’ and ‘mixing’ helped to define complex hierarchies. Saheed Aderinto illustrates the diverse meanings and importance of Empire Day in Nigeria in the early

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twentieth century which asserted an imagined citizenship of the British Empire and was the antecedent of Children’s Day.\textsuperscript{148} Víctor Fernández Soriano exposes how the authorities of the Belgian Congo imposed compulsory workloads on local communities which were claimed to contribute to the ‘education’ of the native populations until independence in 1960.\textsuperscript{149} In India, Gautam Chandra, Veerendra Kumar Mishra and Pranjali re-evaluate the educational contribution of Lord John Elphinstone as Governor of Madras from 1837-1842 which included the formation of Madras High School and two fundamental educational minutes; they challenge the post-colonial discourse that English institutions simply represented a ‘colonialist’ imposition.\textsuperscript{150}

Moreover, the gradual transition to post-colonial settings is an enduring topic of interest to researchers. Taylor C. Sherman analyses education policy in early post-colonial India that was characterised by democracy and socialism based upon self-help, ‘DIY socialism’, that, he argues, entrenched existing inequalities.\textsuperscript{151} Kay Whitehead offers an analysis of three British Women Education Officers, working in Nigeria as the colony was preparing for independence, who attempted to reconcile conflicting demands of British values, progressive education, English language instruction and the intricacies of Nigerian cultures.\textsuperscript{152} Anna Claeys views the


promotion of the Commonwealth and decolonisation as the continuation of empire by other means, through an analysis of history and geography textbooks used in English schools, from the 1950s to the 1970s.\textsuperscript{153} Hieronymus Purwanta’s critical discourse analysis of Indonesian history textbooks from 1975-2013 which were found to derive from modern historians who established western culture as an ideal and constructed Indonesian history as a process of Westernisation in which Dutch colonisers were the determining force acting upon passive Indonesians.\textsuperscript{154} Helen Raptis considered the ways British Columbia’s postwar education policy was distinctive in nurturing integrated schooling so that indigenous children could be educated in schools. Through oral history she uncovers the extent to which local stories of wartime work supported national narratives ‘unity of purpose and experience’.\textsuperscript{155}

US history is saturated with twin forces of capitalism and inequality with important implications for history of education. Matthew Gardner Kelly surveys nineteenth-century Oregon, in the marketing of land in a settler colonial context and the commodification of schooling, a much longer-run development than might be supposed. He notes the active construction of state and market, and the unstable distinction between the two.\textsuperscript{156} Derek Taira’s study of Hawai‘i shows education was a


site where native Hawaiian students contested Americanization from 1920-40. Michael J. Steudeman pays attention to the language used in the Reconstruction-era and the restriction of the US Bureau of Education, contrasting the antebellum advocacy of common schooling couched in terms of civil republicanism, and the subsequent specialised language of social science which was used to limit the vision and power of the Bureau. Sara Doolittle’s work on African American settlers in the Oklahoma territories shines a light on their legal challenges to resist late nineteenth-century efforts to segregate schools. John L. Rury and Aaron Tyler Rife deploy Charles Tilly’s notion of opportunity hoarding to consider how African Americans were excluded from Midwestern US urban schools. Amato Nocera addresses the experimental African American adult education programme in the Harlem branch of the New York Public Library in the 1930s which represented the coming together of white funding agencies, who believed in liberal adult education for democratic citizenship, and black reformers. While it could lead to an element of deradicalization it also contributed to widening the notion of liberal citizenship. Thomas Aiello charts how the battle to equalise teachers’ pay in the Southern United States was led

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by black women but the press was dominated by black men and the gendered nature of their coverage exposed tensions within the black community.\textsuperscript{162}

Kevin Myers, Paul J. Ramsey and Helen Proctor argue that migrants, migration and human mobility, as a normal part of human existence, needs to become a central aspect of history of education.\textsuperscript{163} Alberto Barausse and Terciane Ânglea Luchese examine the nineteenth century Italian ethnic schools in Rio Grande do Sul which were subject to dual processes of nationalisation by imperial and then republican Brazil and also by the Italian government’s attempt to teach literacy, defend ethnic identity and resist assimilation.\textsuperscript{164} In the mid-nineteenth century, Paul J. Ramsey compares experiences in schools in Boston and Cincinnati in response to waves of migration.\textsuperscript{165} Josephine May explores the interconnection between the national and transnational in the biography of Vienna-born and educated Anna Marie Hlawaczek who became a headmistress in the colony of New South Wales from 1885-87 where there were considerable misunderstandings with the all-male administrators.\textsuperscript{166} Beth Marsden claims that the mobility of indigenous people in the Australian state of Victoria during the 1960s enabled them to resist the pervasive policy of assimilation in the structure of schooling.\textsuperscript{167} Bruno Gabriel Witzel de Souza’s path dependency

\textsuperscript{162} Thomas Aiello, ““Do We Have any Men to Follow in her Footsteps?”: The Black Southern Press and the Fight for Teacher Salary Equalization”, \textit{History of Education Quarterly}, 58: no. 1 (2018): 94–121.


methodology addresses the impact of German-speaking immigrants on education in the state of São Paulo, Brazil, the late nineteenth to the early twenty-first centuries. Human capital was found to increase as a result of the demand for schools and had a greater impact upon the private education sector. Olivier Esteves highlights the importance of the bussing of migrant children in 1960s and 1970s England, examining state policies to assuage white fears and the perceptions of ‘tax-payers rights’ as well as the experience of racism within schools.

Adult and informal education reveal further aspects of inequality. Barry J. Hake highlights the European dissemination of éducation permanente between the mid-1950s and late 1970s which involved the reform of initial and post-initial education and the development of ‘permanent education’ by the Council of Europe. In addition, Rosalind Crone makes imaginative use of prison registers to reconsider our interpretations of literacy and education among the labouring poor in mid-nineteenth century Suffolk. Brendan Duffy considers the educational progress stimulated by the adoption of Methodism, leading to a mid-century flourishing of working-class collective intellectual traditions amongst Durham miners.

Medical Education and Public Health


Professional education took a number of forms, not least in relation to medical education and health. Laurinda Abreu looked at tensions between the chief physician and the University of Coimbra 1495-1825, considering the extent to which personal interests might have trumped scientific ones.\textsuperscript{173} Alun Withey's work on sixteenth-century Cardiff and Wrexham identifies apprenticeships meeting the needs of medical professionals.\textsuperscript{174} Michael Stolberg provides evidence of an anatomical education in sixteenth-century Padua through Johan Konrad Zinn’s detailed manuscript notes.\textsuperscript{175} Scientific education more generally is considered by Francisco Malta Romeiras in his article on the role of Jesuits in pedagogic innovations in the natural sciences in late nineteenth century Portugal.\textsuperscript{176}

Medical education and scientific knowledge continued to be contested and debated after students graduated. Thomas Schlich and Audrey Hasegawa look at instructional literature to show how nurses reinforced gendered roles in the US from the 1870s-1930s.\textsuperscript{177} The education of nurses in British hospitals is the subject of Claire L. Jones, Marguerite Dupree, Iain Hutchison, Susan Gardiner and Anne Marie Rafferty’s article on education on wound sepsis, providing a more nuanced view of the relationship between medical knowledge and nursing practices than has


generally been supposed.\textsuperscript{178} Caroline Adams sees how trained nurses prevailed against orderlies and society ladies during the Second Anglo-Boer War.\textsuperscript{179} Fallon Mody follows the careers of some British-trained doctors who emigrated to Australia to explore medical networks.\textsuperscript{180}

Medical knowledge and training played a role in public health, as professionals sought to educate the public beyond formal learning environments. Geert Thyssen considers how open-air schools formed and disseminated ideas around health and hygiene.\textsuperscript{181} In the late nineteenth century, Alexandra Fair looks at sex education, sexual norms, and social hygiene at Hull House in Chicago under doctors Rachelle Yarros and Alice Hamilton.\textsuperscript{182} Alex Mold takes exhibitions in London between 1948 and 1971 to explore the relationship between medical officers of health and increasingly pluralistic notions of the public(s).\textsuperscript{183} Laura Newman considered clean milk competitions designed to educate those working in the dairy industry to apply scientific approaches to dairy production and processing.\textsuperscript{184} Avelina Miquel Lara, Bernat Sureda Garcia and Francisca Comas Rubí document how Segell Pro Infància sought to educate those working in nurseries and crèches in the fight against


\textsuperscript{182} Alexandra Fair, 'The Mind has to Catch up on Sex': Sexual Norms and Sex Education in the Hull House', \textit{Paedagogica Historica}, 54: no. 3 (2018): 249 - 265.


tuberculosis.\textsuperscript{185} Philip Kirby’s work considers the history of the term dyslexia, and the struggle to get the medical establishment to accept its existence.\textsuperscript{186} Daniel Deplazes takes autobiographical accounts of Swiss childhoods to consider the experience of corporal punishment in schools, so incorporating the voices of historical actors.\textsuperscript{187}

**Textbooks, Curriculum and Pedagogy**

Studies on pedagogy and curriculum also point to more diffuse insights in history of education and a broad range of material falls under this heading. Given recent historical interest in the body and bodily experiences, it is perhaps unsurprising that physical education has received considerable attention; it might be noted too the *International Journal of the History of Sport* is a substantial title which has supported historical research.\textsuperscript{188} Michael Krüger is concerned with the influence of Protestantism and notions of piety on gymnastics since the nineteenth century, making connections with Martin Luther and the Reformation.\textsuperscript{189} In the same period, Magdalena Zmuda Palka and Matylda Siwek, use the founding of the Sokol Gymnastics Society to explore links between Polish identity and gymnastics.\textsuperscript{190} In Argentina, the Mormon missionary Frederick Salem Williams set up an athletics club


\textsuperscript{188} Volume 35 (2018) comprised 18 numbers, published with five joint numbers as 13 issues and 1844 pages.


in 1938, and Ryan A. Davis makes connections between religion, education and sport.\textsuperscript{191} In China, Hujie Zhang, Fan Hong, and Fuhua Huang explore the role of educational missionary institutions from 1840 to the end of the Nationalist Government period.\textsuperscript{192} Raquel Mirabet and Xavier Pujadas explore attempts by the Spanish Francoist regime to indoctrinate people through sport in universities.\textsuperscript{193} Similar enquiries follow for the period after World War II, at the Deutsche Sporthochschule Köln (German Sport University Cologne), which Ansgar Molzberger shows was a mechanism for academic exchanges to recommence.\textsuperscript{194} Singapore’s physical education curriculum after 1999 saw a move to a ‘Games Concept Approach’, which is subjected to a Foucauldian analysis by Sheikh Omar Mohamad and Ho Jin Chung.\textsuperscript{195} Taken together, these articles elucidate the links between sport and education which occurs in most educational institutions and requires a grounding in rules and techniques.

The educational use of texts is a theme which spans most history of education. Rob Whelan’s work underlines how the recourse to ‘ancient histories’ helped to educate officials in the Theodosian Empire.\textsuperscript{196} Ulla Kypta, considers the Dialogue of the Exchequer c.1180, suggesting that it was ‘a guidebook on how to be, and how to

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\item \textsuperscript{194} Ansgar Molzberger, 'Academic Return to the Global Sport Community after World War II – The Installation of the Sport University Cologne’s First International Relations', \textit{International Journal of the History of Sport}, 35: no. 9 (2018): 805 - 818.
\end{enumerate}
think, as an Exchequer clerk’. Two articles by Clarissa Carden consider Queensland in the late nineteenth to middle of the twentieth century. One outlines the place of the Bible in Queensland through the Bible in State Schools League (1890-1916) to understand the balance between secularism and religion in state provision; another analyses the use of narrative imagery in moral instruction in early to mid-twentieth-century textbooks. Larysa Dmytrivna Berezivska shows how *Vilna Ukrainska Shkola*, an early twentieth-century Ukrainian educational journal, is a valuable source for a broad range of topics. Anthony Dermer likewise looks at *The School Paper* as a source for understanding educational reform early twentieth century Australia. Nazlin Bhimani considers the significance and spread of libraries in public elementary schools in light of the Hadow Report. In addition, Stephanie Spencer’s work using fiction set in girls’ schools underscores the value of analysing a wide range of texts and thinking broadly about where education happens.

If not quite textbooks, Ian W. Archer studies the Royal Historical Society’s venerable history of publishing over the last 150 years, including the bibliography, the Guides and Handbooks series. Quantitative analysis of the periods studied, the areas of

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study and the gender of those writing them, makes for an important discussion of what was being written and read, and by whom. In particular, data showing the changing gendered nature of authorship in the *Transactions* offers a fascinating perspective. All this exemplifies the history of the book and the important interface between print history and the history of education. Jody Crutchley, Stephen G. Parker and Siân Roberts point to this in their editorial ‘Sight, sound and text in the history of education’, where they state that ‘text is fundamental to the history of education because education often involves some type of reading, extracting of content or deciphering of meaning, and because historical methods tend to require the use of documentary evidence in their reconstruction of the past’.

Another theme which has emerged from the articles surveyed is of some difficult histories in the classroom. How nations address contentious aspects of their pasts often starts in schools and other places of learning. Stephen Jackson’s survey of US textbooks published between 1930-65 provides a clear narrative on this: that in the 1930s and 1940s, imperialism was celebrated in traditional accounts, but after World War II, this changed to a view that saw independence movements as driven by Western civilization rather than colonial actors. In a similar way, Sanne Parlevliet looks at how representations of the Dutch past changed in 1960s and 1970s children’s fiction. A forward-looking 1930s classroom initiative to get white students to look at African-American history through non-traditional classroom

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teaching materials forms the subject of Christine Woyshner’s article.\textsuperscript{207} Sean O’Connell’s work looks at a project where undergraduate students engaged directly with Belfast’s difficult histories – around deindustrialization and redevelopment.\textsuperscript{208} It is of course not only how things were taught which is important: George Götz’s work on whether or not the English Revolution was taught at all in West Germany in the 1970s and 1980s illuminates much wider questions of Geschichtsdidaktik, ‘a discourse about teaching history’.\textsuperscript{209}

A cluster of articles look at languages and this is often coupled with memories of learning. Karen Hulstaert works on memories of French being taught at school in post-independence Democratic Republic of Congo, where she uses oral histories to understand how this was an integral part of education.\textsuperscript{210} Vladislav Rjeoutski looks at the role of migrant teachers in Russia including language-teaching in the late seventeenth to the early part of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{211} In Australia, Catherine Bryant and Bruno Mascitelli consider the Saturday language classes of the Victorian School of Languages founded in 1935.\textsuperscript{212} Hungarian bilingual schools under the Soviet occupation, during the period 1945-1989, offer Agnes Vamos rich ways to understand government policies in both domestic and international contexts.\textsuperscript{213}

\textsuperscript{211} Vladislav Rjeoutski, ‘Migrants and Language Learning in Russia (Late Seventeenth–First Part of Eighteenth Century)’, \textit{Paedagogica Historica}, 54: no. 6 (2018): 691 - 703.
Chinh Duc Nguyen’s work on the local politics of English-language education in Vietnam also deals with the intersection of the domestic and the global.\(^{214}\)

Beyond written texts, cinematography presents another rich source for the history of education. Joyce Goodman’s article considers the intersection of internationalism and imperialism in relation to educational cinematography in the early 1930s.\(^{215}\)

Paula A. Michaels considers recordings of childbirths used in antenatal classes in the postwar period, looking at the shift from painless to more painful representations from the late 1960s.\(^{216}\)

Claire D. Nichols, Clare Hall, and Rachel Forgasz consider how audience practices have developed in orchestral concerts, and how members have received a cultural inheritance and indeed learned how to listen.\(^{217}\)

## Conclusion

The range of material included in this review testifies to the broadening and international interest in the history of education. The subject matter of such studies retain an interest in the development of education but incorporate increasingly wider topics theories, methodologies and sources, incorporating and moving beyond policy and institutional narratives. Increasingly they incorporate learning in a range of cultural and social settings including the classroom; the body and senses in histories

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of learning; and reflexive and explicitly theoretically informed accounts. History of education is one space where many of these different accounts can cross-fertilise one another.

Moreover, history of education takes place across diverse educational and disciplinary settings which helps to enrich the field. It necessarily has things to say about the relationship between past, present and future. The common and differentiated experiences of the Covid-19 pandemic are as yet unknown but will provide new perspectives and interesting material for historians to reflect on while also facing potentially destabilising challenges to some of institutional bases in which they work. One thing which is very clear from the periodical literature surveyed here is that historians of education are remarkable responsive to the biggest issues facing society while also examining pasts with no immediate connection to the present.