

Outdoor Education:
**Its origins and institutionalisation in
schools with particular reference to the
West Riding of Yorkshire since 1945**

Lynn Cook

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of PhD

The University of Leeds

School of Education

July 2000

The candidate confirms that the work is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my thanks to Professor E. W. Jenkins of the School of Education for his supervision throughout the period of study. His comments on the numerous drafts and his constructive suggestions as to the approach and style of the study greatly assisted me in bringing this study to its present form.

I am thankful to all the people who gave their time so willingly and helped me in obtaining the necessary information for my study.

Finally thanks are due to my husband Sam, my family, friends and colleagues without whose patience and faith in me this study would not have been completed.

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers an account of the origins and institutionalisation of outdoor education with particular reference to the West Riding of Yorkshire since 1945. It begins by describing what was understood by the term 'outdoor education' in the period from about 1890 to 1944 and relates this to its political, social and educational determinants. It then draws upon this broad, national account to focus attention on the origins and institutionalisation of outdoor education in the West Riding since 1945. Through an account of Bewerley Park, first as a camp school and later as an outdoor pursuits centre, the thesis explores how, under the influence of Alec Clegg, outdoor education was used by the West Riding to mitigate social and economic inequalities. Later, under the influence of Jim Hogan, outdoor education was also used to give substance to the belief that children should be treated equally and on their individual merits.

The examples of practice in outdoor education presented in this thesis have, it is argued, been supported by a rhetoric that draws upon four major themes. These are imperialism, the physical well-being of the population, the stemming of moral decline and the narrowing of class and/or gender divisions. It is suggested that these themes might be grouped into two broad categories associated with a rationale that is either principally educational or social. The educational rationale of outdoor education focussed, in the early years of the century, at least, on character training and education for a class-based leadership and was largely associated with education through the physical - *mens sana in corpore sano*. The social rationale of outdoor education sought to address such matters as poor health, juvenile delinquency, preparedness for armed conflict, economic decline, industrial management and class tensions. The emphasis here was on personal development, co-operation and collaboration, and the exploitation of the potential of outdoor education in promoting social cohesion, if not social control. For the West Riding, there was never any doubt that outdoor education should be used within a programme of personal and social development or that the 'personal' development was for 'social' ends. In the West Riding, this thesis suggests, outdoor education was a means of offering children a set of standards of behaviour and morality which Clegg, and those sympathetic to his views, thought they should acquire for purposes of minimising social disruption.

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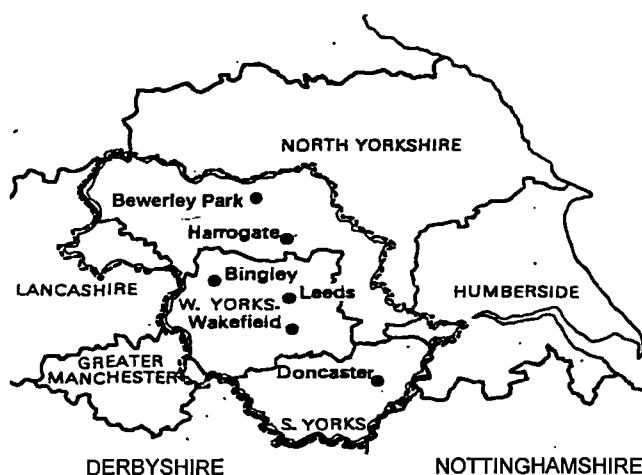
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ABBREVIATIONS

B.Ed.	-	Bachelor of Education
CCPR	-	Central Council for Physical Recreation
CNAA	-	Council for National Academic Awards
CSE	-	Certificate in Secondary Education
DfEE		Department for Education and Employment
DES	-	Department of Education and Science
HMI	-	His/Her Majesty's Inspectors
LEA	-	Local Education Authority
MA	-	Master of Arts
M.Ed.		Master of Education
MSC	-	Manpower Services Commission
MP	-	Member of Parliament
MLC	-	Mountain Leadership Certificate
MLTB	-	Mountain Leadership Training Board
NAOE	-	National Association for Outdoor Education
NASUWT	-	National Association of School Masters and the Union of Women Teachers
NC		National Curriculum
NCC	-	National Camps Corporation Limited
NYCC	-	North Yorkshire County Council
OfSTED		Office for Standards in Education
OP	-	Outdoor Pursuits
OTC	-	Officer Training Corps
PSE	-	Personal and Social Education
PGCE	-	Post-Graduate Certificate in Education
QCA		Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
ROSLA	-	Raising of the School Leaving Age
TVEI	-	Technical and Vocational Education Initiative
UCNW	-	University College of North Wales
WRCC	-	West Riding County Council
WR Ed.	-	West Riding Education Committee
YMCA	-	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	-	Young Women's Christian Association
YOPs	-	Youth Opportunities Programme
YTS	-	Youth Training Scheme

INTRODUCTION

This thesis offers an account of the origins and institutionalisation of outdoor education with particular reference to the West Riding of Yorkshire since 1945. The West Riding Local Education Authority (LEA) was large and progressive, with 1,300 schools, a teaching force of some 13,000 and a pupil population which exceeded 300,000.¹ The figure below shows the boundaries of the former West Riding of Yorkshire and its location in relation to the revised county boundaries following the 1974 reorganisation of local government.



The West Riding Boundary before 1974 is indicated by -----

County boundaries following 1974 reorganisation are indicated by _____

Figure 0.1 - Map to show the Former West Riding boundary and the County boundaries following government reorganisation in 1974

The thesis begins by describing what was understood by the term 'outdoor education' in the period from about 1890 to 1944 and relates this to its political, social and educational determinants. It then draws upon this broad, national account to focus attention on the origins and institutionalisation of outdoor education in the West Riding of Yorkshire since 1945. Although reference is made to outdoor education in some West Riding schools, limits upon time, the availability of evidence and the length of the thesis have meant that for much of the post-1945 period, it is Bewerley Park Centre which is the focus of attention. Bewerley Park,

however, was the West Riding's principal outdoor centre and, following local government reorganisation in 1974 when the West Riding LEA was abolished, Bewerley Park Centre continued to offer outdoor education. This study considers briefly the extent to which the rationale of the West Riding was continued by the consortium of LEAs which assumed responsibility for Bewerley Park beyond 1974.

The thesis addresses three broad research questions. First, what was the political, financial and other response of the West Riding LEA to the notion of outdoor education and what rationales were offered for the commitment of the LEA to this work after 1944? Secondly, what was the part played by Bewerley Park Centre in fulfilling the aims of the West Riding with regard to outdoor education and how did some other West Riding schools incorporate outdoor education within their programmes? Thirdly, and more briefly, how did outdoor education, as viewed by the West Riding LEA, compare with that provided in some other parts of the country?

Chapter 1 describes the ways in which, in the early years of the twentieth century, a public school education was seen as offering the best training for leaders of the British Empire. The chapter shows that the practice of education in the outdoors was closely associated with the Platonic ideal of education through the physical, *mens sana in corpore sano*, and was, therefore, intimately associated with public school games, athleticism and 'muscular Christianity'.² In addition to Imperialism, this first chapter also identifies physical well-being as an enduring theme underpinning any understanding of the development of outdoor education. It provides details of the charitable and government support given, in the early decades of the twentieth century, to school journeys, camping and camp schools, for children in the elementary sector of the class-divided education system, especially for children from heavily industrialised areas. Chapter 2 explains how, in addition to seeking to improve the health of schoolchildren, walking and camping were found to provide opportunities for the expending of excess energy and for teachers to form

closer working relationships with their pupils. Consequently, activities in the outdoors came to be acknowledged as a means of helping address a perceived problem of a decline in moral behaviour, the third of the themes underlying an understanding of the development of outdoor education. This chapter also draws attention to a fourth theme, that of the narrowing of divisions of class and gender. Although this theme is not developed in detail, a number of initiatives which aimed to bridge the gap between the social classes are described, as are initiatives which served to support class distinctions. The ideas of Kurt Hahn are also introduced.

Chapter 3 demonstrates that, as the likelihood of conflict with Germany increased in the late 1930s, the fitness of young people for war re-emerged as a government priority. This chapter indicates that notions of character training, associated with the education of boys in the public school system, can be identified in the Norwood Report which underlay much of the thinking behind the 1944 Education Act. Chapter 3 also includes biographical details of Sir Alec Clegg, the Chief Education Officer for the LEA of the West Riding of Yorkshire from 1945 to 1974, and gives an account of the response of the Authority to the relevant sections and clauses of the 1944 Education Act. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 explore the way in which the West Riding LEA's rationale for outdoor education was manifest at Beverley Park, an institution that, between 1945 and 1974, changed from a Camp School to, first, a junior field-studies centre and, subsequently, to a centre with a curriculum based on outdoor pursuits. Developments at Beverley Park are put into the wider national context. Chapter 4 includes details of initiatives which involved using outdoor pursuits with children from secondary modern schools in the West Riding. It also gives an account of the development, in the mid-1950s, of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. The chapter suggests that the promotion of outdoor education in the 1950s reflected attempts to address the 'youth problem' at the time when 'teddy boys' and 'rock n' roll' were becoming features of teenage life and a concern to those in positions of authority. Chapter 5 describes the way in which

support for outdoor education was included in three seminal Reports published in the early 1960s, namely those of the Albemarle, Wolfenden and Newsom Committees, and suggests that the promotion of outdoor education was encouraged by possible social problems anticipated by the abolition of National Service. Chapters 6 and 7 continue to explore the use of outdoor education as a means of countering some of the features already identified with perceptions of moral decline in the so-called 'swinging sixties'. The experiences of pupils at Bewerley Park and other LEA residential centres for outdoor pursuits are used to examine the extent to which Bewerley Park was an atypical centre for outdoor education. Chapter 8 explains how, in the 1980s, the 'Catch 'em Young' project, based on the character-training principles of Hahn, aimed to deter potential delinquents from vandalising property but ultimately faltered because it was out of tune with the prevailing social and political climate.

Some comments on the interpretation given to outdoor education in this thesis are appropriate here, not least because, as Chapter 7 shows, the attempt in the 1970s to define outdoor education in the context of the school curriculum led to considerable tension and difficulty. Interpretations of outdoor education vary widely. References in the early twentieth century to 'education-out-of-doors' in English education included all activities that took place outside the classroom.³ Excursions into the country, hiking, camping and scouting were all early examples of education in the outdoors, but, since 1945, mountaineering, canoeing, caving and climbing have also become activities for schoolchildren and have been gradually introduced into the secondary school curriculum. Team games are by convention excluded from any of the commonly used definitions of outdoor education and are not, therefore, discussed in this thesis. As the twentieth century progressed, some advocates of outdoor education felt that elements of challenge and endurance must also be present, with the result that specific references to risk and adventure feature in definitions from about 1970. At a conference called by the Department of

Education and Science (DES) in 1975, outdoor education was described as ‘an amorphous field’, including under its umbrella environmental education, a range of physical activities from observing the environment to ‘adventure’ challenges and survival in a rugged outdoor environment, as well as residential experiences and the development of ‘attitudes and relationships’.⁴ A working paper produced by Her Majesty’s Inspectors (HMI) in 1979 described outdoor education as covering ‘educational activities concerned with living, moving and learning out-of-doors’.⁵ HMI did not view outdoor education as a subject but as providing significant opportunities to complement the more formal learning planned by a school, as helpful in instilling respect ‘for oneself, through the meeting of challenge (adventure)’, ‘for others, through group experience and the sharing of decision making’ and ‘for the natural environment through direct experience’.⁶ In this thesis, outdoor education is defined in practical/operational and historically contingent, rather than philosophical, terms. It is understood to be that which schools, or other institutions with a more formal commitment to outdoor education, described and identified as education based on the rugged outdoors. In addition, for convenience, use of the term ‘outdoor education’ has not been restricted to the period from the late 1960s when it secured a place in English educational discourse, apparently from the United States.⁷ Also, the terms ‘outdoor pursuits’ and ‘outdoor activities’ have both been used. It should be emphasised that there is no intention to use one of these terms for pursuits with recreational aims and the other for activities intended for educational purposes.

This thesis is grounded upon a variety of published and unpublished sources and upon different kinds of data. The principal published sources are books, journals (including the views of outdoor education expressed by a number of key figures), *Hansard*, Board/Ministry of Education and other government reports and biographical accounts. *The Bulletin of Physical Education*, the *Times Education Supplement* and, from 1969, the publications of the National Association for

Outdoor Education - *Outdoors*, the *Journal of Adventure Education* and *Adventure Education* – contain many articles which serve to indicate a range of initiatives in outdoor education as well as identify shifts over time in professional concerns. Some local official documentation has inevitably been lost over the years due largely to the relocation of archives following local government reorganisation in 1974 and a concern about the fire hazards of storing quantities of paper in buildings constructed of wood as at Bewerley Park. Although attention in the study is necessarily focused on the West Riding of Yorkshire, developments here are placed within the wider national context and some comparisons are made with developments in outdoor education in other LEAs. Some recognition is also given to the interchange of ideas between those working in other areas of the United Kingdom, particularly Scotland, and the United States of America, although in no sense can the thesis be regarded as a comparative study.

The principal unpublished sources are personal diaries, private accounts of the views of outdoor education written by several key figures, transcripts of interviews with influential personnel, papers and reports of conferences, private correspondence, dissertations, documents, inspection reports, minutes of meetings, oral evidence, school logbooks, course programmes, course materials, record books, leaflets and pamphlets. Much of this material is held in libraries, particularly that of the University of Leeds, or in public archives, particularly those of Leeds, Wakefield, Bradford and the Public Record Office. Access was negotiated on agreed terms to private papers held by key figures within the West Riding and/or Outdoor Education, their relatives and/or colleagues and by past and present members of staff who taught in some schools and at Humphrey Head, Buckden House and Bewerley Park Centres, institutions that provided outdoor education in the West Riding. The purpose of the interview and the use that might be made of any data obtained were carefully explained in advance to each potential interviewee. Each was also informed that the interview would be transcribed and told that if he or

she wished to see either the transcription or the use made of the data, the necessary arrangements would be made. Interviewees were also given the opportunity to remain anonymous, although none chose to do so. Individuals named in the interviews who had been pupils at Beverley Park Centre have been anonymised to protect their identities. Some of the interviews also led to the discovery of hitherto unknown written documents and photographs, thus contributing to the already rich supply of unpublished material available.

Using a wide range of sources to explore the development of outdoor education in the West Riding since 1944 allowed a fuller and richer account to be given than might be constructed simply from published documents. A number of unpublished or private sources suggested themselves, for instance, the Minutes and records of the LEA, school-based documents and the personal accounts of those involved as administrators, teachers/instructors or pupils. Each necessarily provided a somewhat different perspective and each necessarily offered a partial account of outdoor education in the West Riding in the period under study. While the complementarity of, and differences in, the sources could be turned to advantage, it was also sometimes possible to use the various sources to corroborate much of the data obtained. In only a few instances has it been necessary to rely on one kind of source and, where this is the case, an added measure of caution has been invoked in attaching significance to the data. A fuller knowledge of the approach and source material used in this thesis will allow other researchers to conduct studies of different regions and so explore the wider validity of information and conclusions. To try and ensure that the conclusions were secure in relation to the information collected, a record of the materials and processes involved in the enquiry were maintained so that an 'audit trail' could be conducted. For example, the conclusion that, for Clegg, outdoor education was a means of offering children in the West Riding a set of standards of behaviour and morality, was based on information collected from letters, papers and speeches written by Clegg and, from the

Handbook, Minutes and Reports of the West Riding Education Committee. See particularly, Chapter 4, p118,⁸ Chapter 5, p.160⁹ and Chapter 6, p.184.¹⁰ Written records and interviews with people appointed by Clegg and with those who taught at Bewerley Park, served to establish the security of the findings. See, particularly, Chapter 6, p.183.¹¹

There were several reasons behind the decision to augment, by using interviews, the account of outdoor education that could be established from published and unpublished written sources. Interviews with a number of those who were active in outdoor education during the period with which this thesis is concerned often generated a different perspective upon a number of events identified from the written sources. In addition, the interview data made it possible to accommodate the experiences of a number of those who had been pupils or teachers at the West Riding's Outdoor Centre at Bewerley Park. The data also generated information and provided more detail about events that received no more than a cursory mention in the published sources. There are, of course, significant limitations in constructing an understanding of the past using techniques associated with oral history. In particular it is important to recognise that the interviewee is in the present and acknowledge that this, therefore, reshapes his or her telling of the past. It was also recognised that the influence of culture, ideology and myth upon an individual's understanding of the past may change the way in which events are perceived. The ability of oral evidence to 'fill gaps' needed to be seen in the context of how reliable memory can be and whether a person's account was representative of a period or group. Bias in recollection also needed to be recognised and minimised. It was also important to recognise that an interview, like other sources, is mediated, a negotiation between the researched and the researcher. Wherever possible, therefore, information from interviews was supported by written evidence, for example, information gained from the logbooks kept by pupils and examples of written materials used by teachers. As Swain notes, oral history is a two-way

process and in some instances the subjectivity of the data collected can act as an advantage because it allowed the researcher's own subjectivity to be questioned.¹²

The oral evidence collected has been evaluated, compared and cited along with other material. 'Memoing' of written evidence and ongoing analysis of interview notes and tape transcriptions provided accurate records and stimulated reflection. It also helped to suggest patterns in policy and practice and identified where additional data needed to be collected to counter any challenges to validity. Categories in the interview agenda were determined *a priori* using a concept map of the domain drawn from the researcher's familiarity with outdoor education and Bewerley Park Centre. The intention was for relevant issues of major concern to respondents to be determined and an idea of the language and terminology used in relation to outdoor education to be established. The categories used in the concept map were; *activities* - their rationale, date and location, their place in the curriculum, methods of teaching employed and expected learning outcomes; the *people* involved - the principles behind the selection of groups to be the recipients of outdoor education, the gender and social, geographical, educational and ethnic backgrounds of those selected; the *motivation* of, and *influences* on, policy makers, administrators, teachers and pupils and the *attitudes* and *qualities* that each of these valued. Initially, it was intended to devise a structured, self-completing questionnaire based on two or three interviews so that a quantitative analysis could be made. However, after trialling this strategy with informed, but not directly-involved, people, it became evident that full interviews would generate a much richer collection of data than could be obtained from a written questionnaire. The strategy of hierarchical focusing was chosen in preference to fully-structured or completely open interviews because it allowed respondents to frame their own contextualised accounts while preventing interviews from becoming too lengthy and difficult to analyse. Interviews were conducted using a skeleton structure of prompts to guide the respondent from the general to the

specific and this also allowed notes to be made of spontaneous and prompted responses (Appendix 1).

Those interviewed were selected in accordance with the following criteria from personal contacts and from names supplied; age, experience, length of service in outdoor education and gender. This generated a sample of twenty eight direct interviews and eleven telephone interviews, plus forty three talks with ex-pupils who returned to Bewerley Park to pay a nostalgic visit. In addition, correspondence was exchanged with six people, five of whom had taught at Bewerley Park, and with Ted Owens who became the Chief Education Officer for North Yorkshire LEA in 1974 after serving as an Assistant Education Officer to Clegg in the West Riding LEA. The interviews with four members of the Camping Advisory Committee of the Ministry of Education/DES, six teacher trainers including Colin Mortlock (Charlotte Mason College, Ambleside) and Barbara Roscoe (University of North Wales, Bangor), and three senior managers from LEA outdoor centres outside the West Riding, helped the rationale of the West Riding LEA to be placed in a wider perspective. Respondents from inside the West Riding included five involved at a senior level in policy-making, administration and/or the implementation of policies for outdoor education, and twenty one of the one hundred or so staff identified as having taught at Bewerley Park between 1945 and 1980, including three of the four headmasters or acting headmasters - Gerald Cole, acting headmaster from 1964 to 1965, Mike McEvoy, headmaster from 1965 to 1975 and Mike Barrand who became headmaster in 1975 following the demise of the West Riding LEA in 1974. Further interviews were conducted with six teachers or headteachers from West Riding schools in which outdoor education had played an important part in the curriculum of the 1960s and early 1970s, and with Wally Keay, responsible for training teachers in outdoor education at Bingley College of Education in the West Riding.

Although a high percentage of those approached responded, it must be recognised that the majority probably held 'sympathetic' memories of their outdoor

experiences. The gender balance of those contacted and interviewed, forty men and ten women, reflects the balance of men and women in post at various times throughout the period of study. A higher proportion of men than women were in positions of authority, with only men as heads of LEA outdoor centres during the period with which this study is concerned. Although there was a more even gender balance of teachers in post, information was obtained from twenty seven interviews or correspondence with men and from only six women. This is possibly a reflection of the proportion that responded positively to their experience and/or remained actively involved in outdoor education. No significant difference in the numbers of male and female ex-pupils that returned to visit Bewerley Park has been noted.

It was not possible to contact all of the key figures involved in the development of outdoor education in the West Riding. Clegg, Jim Hogan (Clegg's Deputy Education Officer from 1959 until 1973, returning in 1974 to oversee the demise of the West Riding following the appointment of his successor to the Inner London Education Authority) and Norman Ledbetter, (the headmaster of Bewerley Park Camp School between 1945 and 1964), died in the 1980s, but interviews with their close family members supplied some information and allowed access to private papers. Other omissions from the potential range of interviewees stemmed from limitations of time, on the length of thesis, and the focus of the research on the West Riding LEA. Although the sample may have limited the breadth of this study, the picture is unlikely to have been significantly distorted by the constraints referred to and it was not the intention to give a full picture of all aspects of outdoor education. Had the range of interviewees been extended or the interview questions enlarged it might have been possible to have given more consideration to, for example, the place of girls in relation to outdoor education, the experiences of those with physical and/or mental disabilities or those from ethnic minority groups. In order to make the length and focus of the thesis manageable, not all the information from the interviewees was used, for example, information from question 4, about the personal

attributes respondents felt they brought to outdoor education was not used to the extent that had originally been anticipated.

In order to interpret, structure and conceptualise the qualitative data, the categories on which the interview agenda was based were used to construct matrices to throw light on the research questions. While accepting that the original purpose and quality of the documents needed to be taken into account, the data obtained from these sources supplemented those collected through other methods. Because the documents available extended back in time, they provided something of a longitudinal dimension to the study and much of the data has been presented in chronological form in order to identify and analyse major shifts in policy and practice. The text manipulation facility on a word processor allowed two-dimensional matrices to be put together in order to display and compare issues. Time-ordered, establishment-ordered and conceptually-clustered matrices helped establish a 'causal network' to indicate variables and the relationships between them.¹³ Conclusions were drawn from noting recurring patterns, and by relating and linking variables. From the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data, it proved possible to comment upon wider issues such as the trends associated with the social and moral outcomes and purposes of outdoor education, the role of individuals and LEAs in promoting different forms of outdoor education and the various interpretations and expressions of outdoor education at different times and in different places. Finally, it should be noted that although reference is made from time to time to the ideas of Goodson, Hargreaves and Layton, no attempt has been made to explore fully events in the West Riding in the light of these perspectives. The theoretical position is that of a historian rather than a sociologist or a curriculum theorist. Broad theoretical perspectives are, therefore, eschewed in favour of the interaction of people, ideas and events in the historical contexts in which they are located.

References

- ¹ Hogan, J. (1986) Address at the funeral of Sir Alec Clegg, January 25th, private papers.
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- ³ Board of Education, Special Reports and Inquiries on Educational Subjects Vol. 21, *School Excursions and Vacation Schools*, (1907-8).
- ⁴ DES (1975) *Report of the Outdoor Education Study Conference* (The Dartington Conference) N496 London: HMSO 1.
- ⁵ DES (1979) Curriculum 11-16: Supplementary Working Paper by HM Inspectorate - Outdoor Education.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ Reference is made to outdoor education in a number of books describing the use of the outdoors within remedial programmes, used in the United States with children from inner cities, in the 1950s.
- ⁸ Clegg, A. B. (1964) Letter to Norman Ledbetter on his retirement as Headmaster of Bewerley Park School, 7th July, WR Ed. Committee (1963) *West Riding of Yorkshire Education Committee Handbook*, 139 and WR Ed. Committee (1953) *Ten Years of Change*, 71-2.
- ⁹ Central Advisory Council for Education (Newsom Committee) (1961) minutes of meeting 16th/17th April, P.R.O. ED. 146/45.
- ¹⁰ Clegg, A. B. and Meeson, B. (1973) *Children in Distress*, 1st ed. 1968, Middlesex: Penguin Education, preface, Clegg, A. B. (1965b) 'Physical Education in its relation to examinations and to the General Subjects Curriculum', *Bulletin of Physical Education*, (December) 4, Clegg, A. B. (1965a) Opening address to Outward Bound Conference, Harrogate, 6th May and Clegg, A. B. (1962) Opening address, 'Attitudes', North of England Education Conference, Southport, January.
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CHAPTER 1

The Early Twentieth Century Background:

Imperialism and Physical well-being

Although the term outdoor education is relatively new, the idea of using the outdoors in the education of children has a long history. Associating physical fitness with character is a long-standing feature of education¹ which has been traced back at least to Tudor times.² Others suggest the connection between adventurous experiences and learning about oneself originated in ancient Greece,³ Hunt going so far as to argue that the ideas of Plato served as the philosophical foundation for all adventure education in the late twentieth century.⁴ In the fourth century BC, Plato proposed that physical, as much as literary, education should aim at the development of character.

Excessive emphasis on athletics produces a pretty uncivilised type, while a purely literary and academic training leaves a man with less backbone than is decent.⁵

And so we may venture to assert that anyone who can produce the best blend of the physical and intellectual sides of education and apply them to the training of character, is producing harmony in a far more important sense than any mere musician.⁶

The type of education that developed from the educational theory of *mens sana in corpore sano* (a sound mind in a sound body) can be seen most vividly in the organised sport on which British public schools so prided themselves in the nineteenth century. Arnold of Rugby and Thring of Uppingham are both associated with the nineteenth century emphasis on intellectual and physical growth and with the new attitudes to moral training and the development of character.⁷ The Harrow Mission was founded in 1882 to give the upper classes a chance to exercise their perceived obligations by teaching the lower classes the moral virtues. It is a strand in the development of outdoor education that, as subsequent chapters will demonstrate, is evident in the Scouting Movement at the beginning of the twentieth century and the Prince of Wales Camps in the 1930s, whereby the lower classes

were to learn from their 'betters' the 'English ideals of manly diligence, high thought, courage and fair play, and the Christian virtues of simple living, purity, selflessness, chivalry, generosity, brotherly love and humility'.⁸ Arnold's aim, it has been suggested, was to produce 'Christian gentlemen' who were disciplined, socially responsible and self-reliant.⁹ This ideology strongly influenced practices in outdoor education, particularly outdoor adventure education, so that, as Barrett and Greenaway acknowledge, the physical approach to 'character building' and 'moral development' was not new when Baden-Powell founded the Scout Movement in 1908 or when Kurt Hahn founded Outward Bound in the 1940s.¹⁰ The belief that physical activities in the outdoors can provide an effective means for character building has continued to the present day.¹¹

Examples of practice given below suggest that in the late nineteenth century the idea of education in the outdoors was a response to a variety of social and political concerns which came to be manifest in, and eventually buttressed by, more narrowly educational considerations. Among the concerns were four broad notions relating to Imperialism, notably a readiness for war to defend the Empire, the poor physical health of the population, perceptions of moral decline among the young and the weakening of social distinctions of both class and gender. Whether seen as a means of character building, of character remediation or of 'opening windows' in the narrow lives of schoolchildren,¹² the idea that schools can influence the physical and moral behaviour of children is central to the use of the outdoors in their education. Hopkins and Putnam note that by the beginning of the twentieth century the expression 'character training' had come to stand for 'an emphasis on all-round personal development and the belief in the value of service and leadership in the context of a school or community'.¹³ McCulloch considers that fundamental to the notion of character training is the belief that the behaviour of adolescents can be moulded by the intervention of adults in order that their 'characters and energies' be channelled into 'new and potentially more positive directions'.¹⁴

The four broad themes identified above are integral to any exploration and understanding of the development of outdoor education after 1944. As a preliminary to the main study, two of the themes, Imperialism and physical well-being, are examined in some detail in this chapter while issues involving outdoor education and moral decline, social class and gender are discussed in the second chapter.

Imperialism and the needs of the British Empire

Imperialism and the needs of the Empire dominated much political and social thinking at the end of the nineteenth century when there was a confident and widespread belief that England had a divine mission to 'bring the benefits of higher wisdom to the lesser breeds'.¹⁵ The prevailing racial and cultural hierarchy equated the races of mankind with the 'Great Chain of Being' in the animal kingdom; that is, white at the top and black at the bottom with only white Europeans and their descendants, white Americans for example, achieving the goal of higher civilisation thus far. The remaining people were either in the 'savage' or the 'barbarous' stage.¹⁶ Notions of superiority were instilled into public schoolboys as they learnt that they were part of a special élite with privileges, rights and duties to lead. Papillon's otherwise critical review of the public school expressed the widely-held opinion that public schools should 'fairly take credit' for instilling character in those who had done a 'yeoman's service to the Empire'.¹⁷

A manly straightforward character, a scorn for lying and meanness, habits of obedience and command, and fearless courage. Thus equipped he goes out into the world, and bears a man's part in subduing the earth, ruling its wild folk, and building up the Empire.¹⁸

The concept of 'muscular Christianity', whereby physical activity and sports were seen as ingredients for the development of moral character and the fostering of patriotism,¹⁹ and the associated notion of athleticism, a complex of ideas and feelings created through ritual and symbol,²⁰ were integral to the British public

school. 'Play up! play up! and play the game'²¹ is a quotation that encompasses notions of team-spirit, loyalty, leadership, determination, endurance and courage; the qualities supposedly engendered by the public school ethos. The Clarendon Commission (1864) credited the character-building qualities of games with moulding 'the English Gentleman', while Warre, Eton's headmaster in the 1890s, believed that games were the means by which boys learnt 'fortitude, self-rule, public spirit' and 'firmness in defeat'.²² The belief that endeavour on the games field matched that of battle was common and it allowed sport to dominate public school routine.²³ The idea was established that those who excelled in games would also give inspired performances in that 'jolliest of all sports, war'.²⁴

Pascoe²⁵ and Papillon²⁶ give detailed accounts of the way in which thoughts and personalities were governed by what was considered 'good form', how authority was obeyed without question and initiative rarely encouraged. Such conformity allowed Shaw and Wells to charge public schools with failing to produce men 'capable of serving as leaders in reforming and changing the British Empire', while Ruskin and Kipling felt that the lack of morally independent leaders had accounted for the near disaster of the Boer War.²⁷ Musgrove argues that by the late-1890s, public schools had become victims of their own ideology and that organised games had placed 'formidable restraints and moral burdens' on pupils.²⁸ He suggests that self-confidence was destroyed rather than generated in the post-Arnold public school, which he sees as characterised by a total lack of privacy and a pressure to conform.²⁹ He uses Francis Chichester, the man who flew solo across the Tasman Sea in 1931 and later sailed single-handedly around the world, as an example of someone who 'would shake with fear' if asked to speak to more than a few people 'because the terror of doing or saying anything which would not be approved of by a mob code, was so rooted in me'.³⁰

Abbotsholme, an early progressive school for English boys between eleven and eighteen 'belonging to the directing classes',³¹ was founded by Cecil Reddie in

1889 in an attempt to ‘rescue the upper classes from the stupefied overconformity of the public schools’.³² Reddie held the Empire in high esteem and aimed to prepare boys for colonial life. The development of tolerance, moral and intellectual values, willingness to co-operate and self-discipline, were among Reddie’s aims for the school.³³ Such qualities were to be nurtured in a Spartan atmosphere amidst elegant surroundings through a regime intended to give boys ‘the manly bearing and independent habits’ needed to fit them for life.³⁴ The daily routine started with a cold bath at ten past six in the morning followed by drill, and then prayers in the chapel where there were carved portraits of Dante, Cromwell, Goethe, Ruskin and other heroes of Reddie, the headteacher.³⁵ Afternoons included football and cricket, bicycle excursions and walks, or sometimes estate-clearing, boat- or furniture-building, and farming. They might also include swimming, where it was not unknown for the headmaster to stand, cane in hand, on the bridge high above Derbyshire’s River Dove, urging boys to plunge in.³⁶

Aspects of this ‘progressive’ school were eventually adopted by Kurt Hahn (1886-1974), a political refugee from Nazi Germany, who established the progressive public school Gordonstoun in 1934. Some of Hahn’s ideas, particularly those associated with a badge for physical fitness and service, were embraced by the Outward Bound movement (1941) and the Duke of Edinburgh’s Award Scheme (1956). Hahn’s conception of education was simply, according to Richards, ‘to develop a righteous man (*sic*) who is vigilant and an active citizen, who has a sense of duty to his fellow man and to God’.³⁷ Like Reddie, Hahn was inspired by the educational and political precepts of Plato and, in the period leading up to the Second World War, he made ambitious plans to cultivate a moral leadership that would not give way to corruption.³⁸ Hahn’s ideas about the use of education as a preparation for future citizens in service to the state developed from his reading of Plato during long periods of semi-dark isolation forced on him because of the severe sun-stroke he suffered in 1904. They were reinforced at Oxford where he undertook

two periods of study, 1904-06 and 1910-1914.³⁹ This was not his first experience of the English education system. In 1903, when sixteen, he took part in a walking tour of the Dolomites with two English boys from Abbotsholme School⁴⁰ who introduced him to Leitz's *Emlohstobba*.⁴¹ Team-spirit and the readiness to sink personal interest in a larger loyalty were qualities from English public schools much admired by Hahn.

Reddie reflected a widely-held view when he told the Bryce Commission (1895) that there should be three types of school to suit three 'grades' of people.⁴² Reddie's proposals for different schools originated from Plato's belief in the existence of three distinct classes in society, each of which should be educated in a different way. Reddie proposed that there should be the school for '*muscle-workers*... the school for the Briton whose work requires knowledge of the modern world... and the school for the Briton who is to be a *leader*'.⁴³ At the beginning of the twentieth century the education system in Britain was clearly divided by class, although it was essentially a two not a three tier system that had been established. Distinguished on the one hand by public and grammar schools intended for the aristocracy and middle class and on the other by elementary schools for children of the working classes, Musgrove suggests an understanding of this powerful dualism is fundamental to an understanding of the nature of English education.⁴⁴ The gulf between elementary and secondary schools caused Eaglesham to claim that Morant, through the 1902 Education Act, and subsequent Codes of Regulations issued by the Board of Education in 1904 and 1906, had achieved a standstill in elementary education and promoted 'education for followership'.⁴⁵ Education provision using the outdoors was very different for children in elementary schools to that in public and grammar schools. In elementary schools, despite Baden-Powell's Scout Movement and the Cadet Corps, attempts to introduce methods of character building associated with public schools usually emphasised 'duty' and 'following' one's leader.

The mass education system was in large measure devised by those who had themselves been through the public school system. Morant, Permanent Secretary at the Board of Education from 1902 to 1911 and largely responsible for the 1904 Regulations, was accused, in *The Schoolmaster* of pursuing ‘a course most disastrous to public education’.⁴⁶ His view of elementary education was based on a strong sense of social hierarchy and, like Prime Minister Balfour, he doubted the abilities of the masses. The various reports and Codes produced by officials at the Board of Education suggest that patriotism and service to the state were important ideals that should be applied equally, if in a suitably adjusted form, to children in elementary schools. The task of the elementary school teacher was to⁴⁷

implant in the children habits of industry, self-control, and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties; they can teach them to reverence what is noble, to be ready for self-sacrifice, and to strive their utmost after purity and truth; they can foster a strong respect for duty, and that consideration and respect for others which must be the foundation of unselfishness and the true basis of all good manners...⁴⁸

The introduction of team games, though rarely rugby, to the elementary school might appear to have been a liberal measure but it can also be viewed as a method of encouraging conformity. The 1906 Code called for part of the afternoon period to be devoted to ‘cricket, football, hockey and rounders’ in order that an ‘*esprit de corps*’ be developed among pupils.⁴⁹

Victory or defeat, their individual success or failure, will be far less important than ‘playing the game’, and from their pride in ‘the school’ and its good name will spring a stronger love of fair play, the power to give and take which counts for so much in the rough and tumble of life.⁵⁰

After the Boer War, the realisation that Britain could no longer automatically pride itself on the calibre of its fighting men brought rallying cries of ‘national efficiency’ and ‘imperialism’.⁵¹ Notions of national efficiency, a Fabian idea associated with the Webbs,⁵² influenced the 1902 Education Act.⁵³ An important figure in the Board of Education at the turn of the century was Sadler, one of whose Special Reports on Educational Subjects promoted the use of the outdoors for educational purposes. Saddler’s support for the notion of national efficiency is shown in his

writings of 1901 in which he described an education concerned with duty, conduct and moral aims.⁵⁴

The Officers Training Corps, was promoted by some for its ability to instil in boys at public and secondary schools, discipline, patriotism, self-reliance and competitiveness.⁵⁵ Drill was regarded as the chief means of training but stress was increasingly laid on such things as bridge-building, map-reading, scouting, signalling and rifle shooting, with an additional emphasis on an annual camp. A proposal to put Cadet training into elementary schools as an official part of the curriculum was based on suggestions that a course of military training ‘was the best antidote to the excess of individualism’, and would give ‘cohesion to the nation’ and ‘shape to a sense of citizenship now vague and formless’.⁵⁶ In addition

the cadet corps would serve as a constant object lesson in the subservience of the boys to the group and of the group to the company.⁵⁷

Scouting was a product of the social and political climate prevailing at the turn of the century. Baden-Powell intended his ‘self-contained system of education’ to counter national inefficiency by transforming, through character training, lower-class youths into serviceable citizens for the Empire.⁵⁸ The wish to encourage patriotism among the lower classes was one motive of Baden-Powell who conceived the Boy Scout Movement as a remedy for what he came to identify as Britain’s moral and physical as well as military weaknesses. The relief of Mafeking apparently caused more pleasure in England than any other Boer War event⁵⁹ and Baden-Powell had been hailed a hero in 1900 after leading the defence of this small South African town for 217 days. People, therefore, listened when Baden-Powell extended his unorthodox training ideas to boys. The ingredients for Scouting were in Baden-Powell’s mind before he returned to England in 1903;⁶⁰ he combined them with ideas from Smith, the founder of the Boys’ Brigade (1890) and from Seton, whose scheme for Woodcraft Indians aimed to promote education in the American outdoors.⁶¹

Gathering boys round the camp-fire allowed the scout leader to relate inspiring stories of heroism. Discourses on patriotism were particularly recommended by Baden-Powell.

People say that we have no patriotism nowadays, and that therefore our Empire will fall to pieces like the great Roman Empire did, because its citizens became selfish and lazy, and only cared for amusements.⁶²

Although Baden-Powell stated frequently that his scheme did not have military associations, the adoption of the military term 'scouting', his advice to boys to 'Be Prepared' for future tests of the nation's strength,⁶³ his references to Germany as 'the natural enemy of this country' and his call for boys to learn how to 'shoot and drill',⁶⁴ suggest otherwise. In addition, half of the Executive Committee of the Boy Scout Governing Council were serving or retired Army Officers, including two prominent members of the National Service League, (1902-1920) a militarist extra-parliamentary pressure group dedicated to the introduction of conscription.⁶⁵

Attracted by the chance to emulate the exploits of pioneers and defenders of the Empire, thousands of enthusiastic boys joined the Scout Movement. Out of grimy, overcrowded towns, the countryside gave boys 'a taste of the wild'.⁶⁶ In their imagination, sites relatively near to urban areas became frontier land opening up opportunities for challenge and adventure.

At Easter in 1908, four patrols, Hounds, Wolves, Peewits and Tigers, set out for a day on Bowcombe Down. Transported by means of two broom handles threaded through rope, their 'trek-cart', a three-ply tea-box cut down, was painted grey and lettered, 'Lieut.-General Baden-Powell's League of Boy Scouts - 1st Newport Troop'. It was laden with four cooking tins and 'a neat little square tent of unbleached calico' made by the scout leader's wife. A cyclist Patrol accompanied the main party and on the way practised moving through country reputedly that of hostile Indians.⁶⁷

Hiking further afield extended the possibilities for endurance training, adventures into the unknown and camping. Enrolment in Scouting, officially founded in 1908, was rapid and widespread; membership had reached 100,000 in England by 1910 and over a million by 1922.⁶⁸ Parents of the 'respectable,

newspaper-and-Bible reading working class',⁶⁹ attracted by notions of self-improvement within the Scout Movement, willingly allowed their sons to join. The growth of the Movement was helped by the publication of affordable literature and many boys eagerly awaited each four-penny, fortnightly edition of the handbook, *Scouting for Boys* (1908), and *The Scout* (1908), a weekly paper which reached a circulation of over 100,000 in its first year,⁷⁰ and in which Baden-Powell included his own digest of world news.⁷¹ During World War I, Baden-Powell eagerly flaunted his patriotism. *The Times History of the War* (1919) credited Boy Scouts with forming 'an integral part of the machinery of national defence' by acting as orderlies, guards, despatch runners, nurses, giving air raid warnings or acting as auxiliary coast guards.⁷² Praise, associated with support and service, was typical of that awarded to the lower classes from which the majority of scouts were drawn; it was, it seemed, left to the public schools to provide the heroes of World War I.

When news of courageous deeds and acts of self-sacrifice came from the 'front' in 1914 a wave of patriotic enthusiasm swept the country,⁷³ and critics of the public schools were silenced for a time.⁷⁴ Early successes reinforced the application of jingoism through games and athleticism by those who believed in Britain's right to be militarily and economically supreme.⁷⁵ In many public and preparatory schools the brave deeds of ex-pupils were regularly celebrated with medals.⁷⁶ As proof that they were 'doing their job', long lists of names were regularly added to each school's roll of honour.⁷⁷ Paul Jones, whose posthumously published letters manifested the spirit that animated many, was described by an ex-schoolmaster as 'the very embodiment... of all that is best in the public-school spirit, the very incarnation of self-sacrifice and devotion'.⁷⁸ Jones had looked forward to war as he had looked forward to the 'rough and tumble of a football match'.⁷⁹ He considered the 'sordid horror' necessary since

England must have no rivals; and, to conquer one's rivals in a world where only the fittest survive, one had to be stronger, more disciplined and more cruel than one's enemy.⁸⁰

However, the image of armed conflict as a glorious adventure could not survive the reality of the Great War; Sassoon, Graves, Owen and Sorley were among the poets who wrote with 'bitter honesty and savage cynicism'⁸¹ of the 'extermination in the trenches'.⁸² The style of leadership that taught unquestioning obedience to one's superiors came in for renewed criticism. Reactions against fierce patriotism caused some to urge schools to embrace internationalism, brotherhood, tolerance, class sympathy and a hatred of militarism.⁸³

The ideas which gave credence to the reform of teaching in some post-war progressive schools were endorsed by Dewey in his writings on character education⁸⁴ and by the New Education Fellowship founded in 1921.⁸⁵ Dorothy Revel, who taught in several progressive schools in the 1920s and 1930s, believed traditional public schools educated children to be 'adventure-hungry grown-up children who allowed themselves to be driven out to be cannon fodder'.⁸⁶ Her views were shared by other pacifists who also believed that children gained knowledge from their own discoveries and experiments. Camping, she thought, would allow children opportunities for tree-climbing and hut building as well as the chance to fulfil their natural instinct to hunt.⁸⁷ The ideas of Revel and other pacifists involved in progressive public schools associated with woodcraft groups are described in Chapter 2. However, the ideas did not reach the mass of the population, and the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders, which reported in 1926, drew heavily upon the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century 'discovery' of adolescence as a social problem.⁸⁸

Throughout the period between the wars it was not uncommon for 'leisure' to be seen as an underlying or culminating cause of juvenile delinquency. Young people's spending power, their habits of 'idling', going to the cinema and gambling all came in for disapproval; the cinema because it did nothing to develop an '*esprit de corps*', allowed young people to escape from grim reality and to aspire to a life-style beyond their 'station', and gambling, because it was said to encourage the

philosophy of ‘getting something for nothing’ rather than promoting the idea that ‘hard work gains its just rewards’. The New Education Fellowship’s discussion document *‘The Problem in England’* (1935), identified leisure as ‘both a portent and a challenge’ and suggested that education had the opportunity to introduce a new democratic culture.⁸⁹ Evidence of anxiety among policy makers to control the leisure time of young people comes from some of the legislation of the late 1930s, and the notion that physical activities in the outdoors could counter the slide of adolescents into juvenile delinquency was expressed more frequently as the threat of war increased. A committee, under the chairmanship of Kenneth Lindsay, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, was established and requested to ‘act quickly and with a minimum of restrictions’ in establishing local area youth committees, giving guidance and administering the payment of grants.⁹⁰ The local committees aimed to encourage young people to find ‘new constructive outlets for leisure hours and for voluntary national service’.⁹¹ Two Board of Education circulars, *The Service of Youth*⁹² and *The Challenge of Youth*,⁹³ aimed to stimulate LEAs and voluntary organisations into increasing the facilities for recreational, social and physical training⁹⁴ and, like the Physical Training and Recreation Act (1937), signified a blurring of the division between physical training and recreation.⁹⁵ The Physical Training Grant Regulations emphasised the need to provide camps and training facilities for outdoor activities and permitted grants to be made to voluntary organisations. In 1938 the Central Council for Recreative Physical Training, later the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR), was founded and started a ‘Fitness for service campaign’ which encouraged all boys and girls to join pre-service organisations. Preparation for war is an obvious interpretation of the motives for these actions and Gosden draws attention to parallels between the British government’s desire to enlist state aid to bring about greater physical fitness among young people, with the growth of state youth movements in totalitarian countries such as Germany and Italy in the 1930s.⁹⁶ However, the President of the Board of Education claimed the somewhat different

physical fitness schemes in Sweden and Czechoslovakia were the models taken.⁹⁷ Notes relating to the preparation of the Boards of Education's 1940 Circular 1529, emphasise that 'fitness for service' should not mean that physical recreation should develop on military lines.⁹⁸

Physical well-being

Early twentieth century analyses of army recruiting data revealed evidence of extensive poor health in much of the population.^{99/100} The findings were confirmed by an Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904) which concluded that the lack of fitness was largely preventable. After over one third of potential army recruits had been classified as unfit for service in 1903, it was generally agreed that if the needs of the Empire were to be satisfied, a scheme to improve physical fitness and robustness should start with children. Between 1906 and 1914, expenditure on social services roughly doubled as social and educational policy became a growing part of the new Liberal Government's responsibility.¹⁰¹ School meals were introduced nationally in 1906 and from 1907, when the School Medical Service began, LEAs were required to medically inspect children in elementary schools.

Rowntree's (1901) and Booth's (1907) surveys had found that many families in the rapidly growing industrial towns were living on incomes insufficient to meet the physical needs of their children¹⁰² who were thus likely to be driven to crime.¹⁰³ Lack of sun and fresh air, together with inadequate food, made those living in damp, over-crowded conditions particularly vulnerable to tuberculosis.¹⁰⁴ The crusade against poverty, a political feature of the time,¹⁰⁵ resulted in the Board of Education and Benevolent Societies working together to improve children's health. Charities and churches organised excursions and supported the School Journey Association, formed in 1911, to promote journeys, especially those for London children.¹⁰⁶ From this year the London County Council agreed to pay the travel expenses of teachers in

their employ who conducted approved 'excursions' during school term-time.¹⁰⁷ In the West Riding of Yorkshire, 'ameliorating the defects found in the health conditions of scholars' was stimulated by extending invitations to 'local philanthropists and outside workers of both sexes' to sit on the District Sub-Committees of the Education Committee.¹⁰⁸ Although the West Riding had no open-air schools of its own, children for whom it was considered fresh air would be beneficial were sent to schools controlled by other authorities and the costs met by the West Riding LEA. During World War I, the 'tendency to illness' of children was a matter for grave concern for the Bradford School Board, and Open Air and Camp Schools were used extensively by that Authority.¹⁰⁹

The Board of Education's Annual Report for 1907/8 indicates that considerable numbers of children from inner city areas spent several weeks in the country; for instance 1200 children from Manchester, 160 girls from Poplar and 506 children from Leicester.¹¹⁰ A farmhouse, on ten acres of moorland above Barnsley, was used throughout the summer of 1910 to give boys, twenty at a time, a taste of the country. Margaret McMillan had long campaigned for children from London's docklands and, despite her reservations concerning the motives of Morant at the Board of Education,¹¹¹ she made something of an ally of him in order to gain recognition for her ideas about ways in which the health of poor children could be improved.¹¹² She brought her ideas to Bradford where she 'preached the gospel of Socialism'.¹¹³ McMillan was the only one of three candidates nominated by the Independent Labour Party elected to the Bradford School Board. Her mandate, she claimed, was 'to fight the battle of the slum child'.¹¹⁴ Among McMillan's strategies for improving health was the notion of camp schools.¹¹⁵ Schoolchildren from the city are reported to have been taken to Bolling Hall, Daisy Hill and Grange Road between April and September and the visits continued during the war. After the war Pinewood Camp School was among the establishments used.¹¹⁶ From its foundation in 1890, Keighley's Cinderella Club, a charitable mission associated with a

Methodist Sunday School, had sought to alleviate the distress of poor children. Successful summer outings led the committee to make enquiries about the 'working of the Bradford and Halifax summer camps' and two experimental camps under canvas took place in 1907 and 1908. The Cinderella Club's holiday home, situated on Humphrey Head in Morecambe Bay, opened in 1909. In 1922 the Education Committee took responsibility for the running of Humphrey Head and between its opening and 1949, when a 'protracted period of controversy between Keighley Education Committee and the West Riding Authority' resulted in its closure for about six years, an estimated 8,000 boys and girls were accommodated.¹¹⁷

A private member's bill introduced by Rea, Liberal MP for Scarborough, in 1907 attempted to require LEAs to provide vacation schools as part of their requirement to provide treatment as well as medical inspections within a school medical service. However, due to pressure of time the Bill failed, and the government sponsored Bill, subsequently the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, introduced the cheaper alternative of only requiring LEAs to medically inspect children. Open-air schools were reserved for children most severely affected by malnutrition, tuberculosis, anaemia and bronchitis. The Board of Education allowed local authorities to claim grants to cover expenses for some children; perhaps, as Cruickshank has suggested, this was because it was thought the costs would be recovered by substantially cutting the annual death toll of 50,000 from tuberculosis.¹¹⁸ Newman, who has been described as 'a public servant who by his work saved more lives than were ever lost in our national wars',¹¹⁹ considered that ten per cent (600,000) of children in elementary schools were in need of open-air education. In his 1916 report he expounded the physiological advantages of the open air.

The open-air school is a simple and economical way of applying a method of natural education to the susceptible body and mind of the child, who is also insensibly taught under such favourable conditions to recognise and value some of the fundamental principles which underlie a hygienic way of life.¹²⁰

Bradford's first open-air school for delicate children opened in 1908.¹²¹ By 1910, there were three open-air schools in London and one each in Sheffield, Norwich, Halifax and Bradford, the last accommodating 120 children.¹²² Two years later, Newman's annual report referred to schools for cripples from Liverpool (Roby Hall), Barnsley (Ingburchworth) and Keighley (Humphrey Head). Cruickshank (1977) considers that to be selected by the School Medical Officer for an open-air school transferred children to a different way of life. The emphasis in lessons was on out-of-school activities, such as gardening, bee-keeping, constructing ponds and paths, nature study, practical geography and dancing as well as games.¹²³

School excursions, camp schools and the like were the principal means of bringing a taste of the country to poor urban children and all these relied heavily on the good-will of teachers and financial contributions from parents. Money was usually collected over a period of months. For example, boys from the Bank Meadow School in Manchester paid two or three pence a week into the School Bank for their week-long expedition to the High Peak of Derbyshire. The cost to children was the not insignificant sum of eight shillings and six pence and, to their teachers, one guinea.¹²⁴ A call for a central charitable fund to be established, supplemented by a state grant and by contributions from 'boys and girls of the richer class belonging to famous schools', went unheeded, as did the suggestion that railway companies should subsidise fares.¹²⁵

Holiday or school camps could be provided by LEAs under legislation within the Education Acts of 1918 and 1921. In the growing number of camp schools, children were weighed and measured on entry and exit, with the addition of extra pounds and inches judged a major criteria for success. Notions of national efficiency are present in the 1933 *Syllabus for Physical Training in Schools* which stated that the development of good physique was 'vital to the welfare and even survival of the race', in order to 'promote normal growth, health and strength'.¹²⁶ The *Syllabus* also stated that physical training would 'lay the foundations of

wholesome out-of-door recreation' in the face of 'restricted environment... confined atmosphere... unemployment, poverty, or economic distress'.¹²⁷ Good posture was given a high priority by the *Syllabus* because, it suggested, 'the child who has learnt to stand straight and hold his (*sic*) head up has, other things being equal, a better chance of making his way in life than his stooping, weak-kneed brother.'¹²⁸ Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, when poverty and unemployment were significant if markedly regional, the School Medical Service continued its work to improve the health of children in elementary schools.¹²⁹

Army training in the Great War was credited with improving the health of recruits.¹³⁰ However, military drill did not become a major part of the elementary school physical education curriculum immediately after World War 1, partly because of Newman's promotion of therapeutic exercises, games, dancing and swimming.¹³¹ Nevertheless, introducing militarism into schools was one interpretation of Clause 17 of Fisher's 1918 Education Act which allowed LEAs to provide facilities, including camps, for schoolchildren. A 'demonstration camp' was among the vacation courses organised in 1891 by the Board of Education¹³² which saw camping as an effective way of getting large numbers of elementary school-children, usually boys, into the country. Newman's 1917 report suggested that.

Masters and boys (*sic*) are brought into new social relationships which must make for better understanding in the class-room, and points of character are revealed which otherwise would never have been noticed. Life in a camp is, in fact, a character test. Boys have opportunities of displaying initiative and taking responsibility in the capacity of tent or mess captains, or in charge of 'fatigues'.¹³³

Newman's 1919 report discusses the advantages of flexibility, freedom and the possibilities for adventure given by camping in tents, compared with the more extensive use of permanent sites with huts used for sleeping, dining and washing. A series of official pamphlets beginning with *Notes on Camping* (1920)¹³⁴ was published for several decades, first by the Board of Education and from 1944 by the

Ministry of Education. His Majesty's Inspectors (HMIs) advocated camping not only as a way of promoting physical fitness and affording unique opportunities for mental and moral development but also for

the creation of a spirit of comradeship which has no thought of any element of military training.¹³⁵

By 1939 it was reported to Parliament that twenty camp schools were providing physical and moral benefit for about 1400 children, about half of whom were 'under-nourished and weakly'.¹³⁶ The Camps Act (1939) legislated for fifty permanent camps to be constructed, maintained and managed by a National Camps Corporation under the auspices of, significantly, not the Board of Education but the Ministry of Health. As the Bill progressed through Parliament it was described as 'an important step in our campaign for better health and fitness among the people' and as having a two-fold object, namely to supplement accommodation available for evacuation and to provide school camps for children in peace time.¹³⁷

In the early years of the twentieth century, physical hardiness was nurtured for boys in public and preparatory schools through team games, steeplechases, hard beds and plunges 'naked into the school swimming pool'.¹³⁸ Although Reddie sought to fit the socially élite for political leadership, war and the rigours of life in the colonies without resorting to athleticism¹³⁹ at Abbotsholme, the early progressive public school he founded in 1889, boys were subjected to harsh conditions so that qualities of endurance could be developed. Reddie's emphasis on fresh air, on daily exercise and healthy clothing owed much to his knowledge of the Scottish public school Loretto where, under the headship of Almond, fitness and toughness had been encouraged for several decades.¹⁴⁰ Ideas passed from Loretto to neighbouring Fettes, where Reddie was a pupil and later a master. A volume of *Suggested Reforms in Public Schools* (1885) written by a Fettes housemaster, Cotterill,¹⁴¹ was to determine much of Abbotsholme's daily routine. Cotterill suggested life was to be simple and spartan since he thought luxury led to moral and

physical decay. Physical tasks were essentially exercises in co-operation, with opportunities for boys to do work previously done by servants.¹⁴² German order and discipline captivated Reddie who had studied in Göttingen in 1883. Reddie visited Professor Leitz who introduced him to *Landerziehungsheim*, the country home schools organised for poor children from Berlin. Thirteen years later Leitz came to teach in Abbotsholme and *Emlohstobba*, later read by Hahn, is the glowing report of the work he saw.¹⁴³

In the 1930s, the supposed declining health of the nation's children concerned Hahn who devised programmes of physical fitness for potential leaders, first in Salem, a German boarding school and later in his progressive public school for boys in Scotland, Gordonstoun. Miner, in his account *The Creation of Outward Bound*, records how the influence of friends in Britain, including that of Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald, allowed Hahn to be released from prison in Germany following his public decrying of fascist ideals.¹⁴⁴ Hahn's 1934 radio broadcast on the 'philosophy of fitness',¹⁴⁵ attracted attention because of the success of Salem's competitors at meetings of the Schools' Athletic Cup at the White City.¹⁴⁶ Although Hahn published a number of articles and leaflets privately, his ideas gained a wider audience through publication in *The Times*.¹⁴⁷ The reports were made possible through the intervention of an Oxford associate of Hahn's, the then assistant editor of the newspaper Barrington-Ward.¹⁴⁸ Barrington-Ward used his position to reveal his sympathies with those eager for post-World War II education reform.¹⁴⁹ Salem was a residential, co-educational school founded in Germany by Hahn under the patronage of Prince Max of Baden, following the Great War. The school's origins reflect both post-war German reconstruction and, ironically, pre-World War I British Imperialism. Designed to train intellectual and aristocratic citizens for leadership, it encouraged boys to put 'right' actions before expediency and the 'common cause' before personal ambition.¹⁵⁰ Although the distinction between a Platonic élite and a fascist master race was clear to Hahn when founding Gordonstoun in the 1930s, he

did not find it easy to convince critics who were mindful of Hitler's leadership training, supposedly designed on the English public school model.¹⁵¹ Humberstone notes that Hahn 'rendered women invisible' although she acknowledges that there may be some truth in the suggestion, made by Duindam, that in the translation from German to English, references to women may have been omitted.¹⁵²

The potential for sadism by those applying the rules Hahn devised for Gordonstoun is seen in the fifth of the six rules which governed the work of the staff.

5. Make the children meet with triumph and defeat. After you have replenished their tanks of vitality, by discovering and maintaining their strength, but not before you should tackle their weaknesses. Cripple a child for adult life by waiting on a child's inclinations and gifts and arranging for an unbroken series of successes which may make him or her happy.

Our business is to plunge the children into enterprises in which they are likely to fail so that we can teach them to overcome defeat.

Hahn's association of character building with endeavour can be seen in Gordonstoun's school reports. Following the Abbotsholme model, comments referred to an '*esprit de corps*', a 'sense of justice', the 'ability to follow what the pupil believes is right in the face of discomfort - hardship, dangers, mockery, boredom, scepticism, impulses of the moment' and so on.¹⁵³ Hahn thought young people needed to test and prove themselves if they were to discover and realise themselves.¹⁵⁴ Learning to 'defeat his own defeatism' was to become an important maxim. Hahn believed that even physical 'duffers' could gain strength of character by finding hidden resources within themselves if they were allowed to increase their physical skill and stamina without the discouragement of failure commonly experienced in the compulsory competitions of traditional public schools.¹⁵⁵ 'Your disability is your opportunity' is one of the many phrases which, as Richards notes, has become popular with Hahn's many disciples.¹⁵⁶

Hahn was obsessed with the 'social declines' or social diseases which, in his opinion, occurred in society.¹⁵⁷ Much of his thinking was based on a pessimistic view of society.¹⁵⁸ He was convinced that adolescence was an avoidable malady and in his opinion a boy's soul at puberty was in special danger of being led away by the passions of his body.¹⁵⁹ Hahn believed that

the modern young have a pasture which is sour. But education can clean it up.¹⁶⁰

In his mission to prepare boys for leadership, Hahn self-consciously used the Platonic titles of *Guardian* and *Helper* at Gordonstoun where he placed a heavy emphasis on community service as well as cultivating 'character'.¹⁶¹ He was committed to changing society through educational reform.¹⁶² Although the Board of Education considered Hahn's suggestions for incorporating a Badge for physical fitness into the School Certificate Examination in England and Wales, it felt such an award was inappropriate because it did not want to make physical fitness compulsory.¹⁶³ Hahn reacted to the Board's alternative suggestion of encouraging physical fitness through 'incentives of one kind and another, including attractive facilities and propaganda',¹⁶⁴ by commenting that he saw the examination system as a 'potential source of inspiration' and not a 'necessary and deadening evil'.¹⁶⁵

In the early years of the twentieth century, lessons in physical training for boys in elementary schools and physical activities for boys in public schools were both closely associated with military training. Fletcher notes that drill exercises in elementary schools were derived from military routines and that, in public schools, ex-army sergeants took responsibility for physical training which was an almost para-military activity.¹⁶⁶ Hargreaves maintains that a 'blueprint' for the separate development of physical education for boys and girls was set in the nineteenth century. While boys were being 'pushed into worlds of toughness and aggression by playing organised games in public schools and performing military drill in elementary schools', girls, she suggests, took part in Swedish gymnastics and other

sports and games considered appropriate for girls.¹⁶⁷ The ‘bourgeois morality’ that Hargreaves suggests ‘penetrated’ sports for females in the early years of the twentieth century, was supported by medical and moral opinions. The virtues expected to be engendered through girls’ games are listed by her as ‘loyalty, co-operation, smartness, cleanliness, fairness, exemplary manners and a strict inner discipline of moderation, self-control and respect for authority; they can be contrasted with the traits she lists as associated with boys’ sports - physical prowess, courage, strength, endurance and aggression.¹⁶⁸ Girls who took up athletics were thought to sacrifice the ‘elusive aura of womanliness’, acquire a ‘bicycle face’, replace the air of ‘gliding’ with one of ‘striding’ and, worst of all, jeopardise their future offspring.¹⁶⁹ Madam Osterberg, from Sweden, was employed by the London School Board to promote physical education for girls. Her decision to ‘improve the race’ by giving up her work with poor ‘slum’ children and targeting instead the prosperous classes, so that she would be starting with physically superior stock,¹⁷⁰ reflected the interest in eugenics that prevailed in the late-nineteenth century. In the 1880s she decided to create a new female profession and founded a training college for the specialist teacher of physical education. Madame Osterberg saw her students as pioneers with a duty to purge all schools of the clubs and dumb-bells associated with military drill and, with them, the male sergeant!¹⁷¹

Although, as Hargreaves suggests, physical education in schools between the two world wars became more varied for both middle-class and working-class girls, it was still governed by assumptions about gender that had been dominant in the late-nineteenth century.¹⁷² Newman, Chief Medical Officer for the Board of Education, grandly described Osterberg as ‘the morning star of a reformation’¹⁷³ and in the early 1920s he expressed concern that too few girls were taught games. This was a time when the controversy about the effects of athletics on women re-emerged.¹⁷⁴ Kenealy, in a book published in 1920, wrote of the ‘sterile glint’ in the eyes of young women engaged in strenuous pursuits, of how hockey players were

‘incapacitated for lactation’ and of ‘grim-visaged maidens of sinewy build, hard and rough and set as working women’.¹⁷⁵ The same year saw the publication of the National Birth Rate Commission’s report which urged ‘women of the Empire to save the Empire’ by exerting themselves to reverse the trend towards physical activity. The prevailing debate on the quality of the race and national efficiency touched on several points concerning the role of women in society.¹⁷⁶ National efficiency encompassed notions of eugenics and of women’s maternal role. Kenealy was among those who sustained the belief in what Hargreaves describes as the ‘female energy thesis’. Deriving from social Darwinism and its key notion of ‘survival of the fittest’, Kenealy claimed that women had only so much energy and that to squander it on athletics meant there would be none left for their maternal duties.¹⁷⁷

This chapter has described a range of activities that developed from the notion of *mens sana in corpore sano* and were focused on character training, patriotism and the needs of the British Empire. The chapter has noted how the qualities which public schoolboys were expected to acquire through team games and cold showers, or alternatively through activities in the rugged outdoors along with the Spartan atmosphere that Reddie advocated, were the characteristics perceived as necessary to make them patriotic leaders for service in the Empire. The chapter also explored the ways in which children in elementary schools were encouraged to be patriotic with the intention of giving them the characteristics that would make them follow the guide of their leaders. The chapter concluded that there was a distinction between the aims associated with Imperialism and physical well-being for children in elementary schools and those in public and secondary schools. Notions of education for leadership were not, it seems, part of the character training promoted by the Board of Education. However, the 1906 Code of Regulations for Elementary Schools sought to develop an ‘*esprit de corps*’ amongst pupils by introducing them to team games and the Board gave its approval for school journeys, camping and the

Boy Scout Movement. Organised games, intended for ‘moulding the character and developing team spirit’, were among the public school ideals that the Board of Education later sought to introduce to children (mainly boys) in the elementary sector of education through the publication of the 1933 *Syllabus for Physical Training in Schools*.¹⁷⁸

Unquestioning obedience to superiors was as important in character building for public school boys at the beginning of the twentieth century as it was for the men sometimes described as ‘cannon-fodder’. The ability to take initiative has been regarded as an admirable quality, for leaders, from the beginning of the twentieth century when critics held the athleticism and team games of conventional public schools as responsible for the near disaster of the Boer War. The chapter indicated that the alternative ideas for character building of Kurt Hahn subsequently received some attention. As later chapters will demonstrate, Hahn’s badge scheme formed the basis of much of the outdoor education that took place following the 1944 Education Act. This chapter suggests, therefore, that by the early years of the twentieth century, the ground had been prepared for character training to be brought into the system of mass education.

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CHAPTER 2

The Early Twentieth Century Background: Moral decline, social class and gender

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, attempts to improve poor physical health, caused by anxiety about the 'fitness for war' of much of the population, encouraged the use of open-air schools, vacation schools, excursions, camping and camp schools and an account is given below of the way in which this provision came to be used in response to a number of social issues. Much of the provision was given official approval when it was deemed to have beneficial effects additional to that of improving the health of those children described as a social problem, usually those at the 'bottom of the heap'.¹ The account below supports the claim of Cleaver that outdoor activities have been credited with 'character healing' as well as 'character building' abilities.² Cleaver suggests that it was Spencer's idea that 'energy which is not expended through work or play can build up and result in an explosion of mindless aggression, vandalism and sexual misbehaviour', which underlies the theory that sport and outdoor activities can counteract delinquency.³ The ability of outdoor activities to modify the behaviour of those perceived to be disruptive has long been argued and goes some way to explain the range and breadth of aims encompassed in outdoor education in the later twentieth century.⁴ In the same way that the use of education in the outdoors for character-building purposes raises questions about whose character was to be built and for what purpose, so the use of outdoor activities for improving moral behaviour raises questions about the motives of those supporting the provision.

Moral decline and moral instruction

An alleged increase in indiscipline and immorality by the early years of the twentieth century had been attributed to the 'weakening of family life'⁵ accelerated by industrial change and the ongoing loss of close-knit village communities.⁶ Social distinctions had loosened and these, according to Heathcote in 1898, had resulted in a loss of 'respect for others' and of 'habits of obedience and discipline'.⁷ A series of booklets under the general title of *Essays on Duty and Discipline* (1910) had the support of Baden-Powell, Balfour, William Booth, Austen Chamberlain, Conan Doyle, Kipling and Stead. They expressed their regret at 'the very generally acknowledged growth of indiscipline among British children of all classes' and at 'the apparent gradual disappearance of the ancient British determination to overcome difficulties by the force of strong will'. They called for a return

to the high ideal of life and duty, which alone can give us men of character and grit like the men who made famous the Anglo-Saxon race by land and sea - as Builders of the Empire and Rulers of men.⁸

Concern about the way in which young people spent their leisure time was emphasised by several of the government Reconstruction Committees established in 1916. Social upheaval, increased affluence and disruption to education had been among the social and economic changes held responsible for the growing crime rate, identified by the 1916 Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment. The tendency to move between 'blind alley' jobs for 'high' wages was also held to contribute to adolescents' habits of foolish and mischievous extravagance and to affect the development of 'character and efficiency'. However, the committee members expressed the view that the employment of juveniles in munitions factories was not necessarily inferior, as work, to jobs done before the war.⁹

Towards the end of the nineteenth century a number of groups sought to influence the behaviour of different sections of the population, especially young

working boys. A National Sunday League strove to direct Sunday recreation 'into healthy channels'¹⁰ and a London School Board Regulation of 1894 called for more Bible teaching and 'instruction in Christian religion and morality'.¹¹ The Moral Instruction League, founded in 1897, was among the groups campaigning for the introduction of systematic teaching about virtuous conduct to be included in the elementary school curriculum. Character training in the League's view was the chief aim of school life.¹² Supporters were jubilant when 'to form and strengthen character' was identified as a prime aim in the purpose of the elementary school in the 1904 Code of Regulations¹³ and when the Code for 1905 stated that 'the good Moral Training which a school should give cannot be left to chance'.¹⁴ However, delight turned to frustration when it became clear that suggestions for systematic instruction were being disregarded in favour of the incidental moral teaching¹⁵ advocated by Sadler and the giving of instruction 'as fitting opportunity arises'.¹⁶

The teaching of elementary school lessons in the outdoors was first permitted in the Code of Regulations for 1906, with week-long excursions being allowed two years later.¹⁷ School journeys and camping excursions were seen as providing excellent opportunities for the 'right moment for words in season and wisely said'.¹⁸

Teachers were to

endeavour, by example and influence, aided by the sense of discipline which should pervade the School, to implant in the children habits of industry, self-control, and courageous perseverance in the face of difficulties.¹⁹

References to the moral experiences gained by children feature in almost all chronicles of elementary school journeys and camps. The anecdote below, made subsequent to a river bank ramble, is typical of many

The account would be incomplete without a passing reference to the sympathy which every school journey develops between teacher and taught. The moral result is of the highest value, it softens the relationship between master and pupil throughout the entire range of school work.²⁰

The building of good personal relations, the discipline, physical exertion, the novelty of the new and occasionally of challenges led de Montmorency, author of Volume

21 of the Special Reports on Educational Subjects, *School Excursion and Vacation Schools* (1907), to consider that

...the natural life (has) an important moral effect on poor little stubborn children. All minor decencies of life are brought home to them and made into habits'.²¹

...it is often found that so-called difficult cases develop new and fine qualities in the course of the journey, and one aim of the journey should be to deal with these cases.²²

Trainee teachers, working in annual camps organised by Newcastle-upon-Tyne's Armstrong College, were told to 'let all teaching be real' and 'not be overpowered by formalism', because 'the most important part of the experiment will be your relations with the boys'.²³ For a fortnight the student teachers were responsible for 'the religious and moral training, the health and instruction of the boys in a sense that is not implied in an ordinary school course'.²⁴ The 'self-sacrifice' of teachers and their role in helping form the character of pupils was acknowledged by the Board of Education²⁵ which presented long walks as a means of providing opportunities for teachers to impart 'cleanly habits of thought and action' which would 'tell upon the character quickly at such an impressionable age'.²⁶ The notion that children's ideals of morals and conduct would be raised more efficiently in a boarding environment was emphasised by both de Montmorency and Findlay. The latter looked forward to the day when large day schools in crowded cities would have a permanent 'camp' deep in the country so that elementary children could benefit from the 'advantages of corporate life, self-help and independence, which are the peculiar product of good English boarding schools'.²⁷

There seems to have been no shortage of schoolboys wanting to go on trips and plenty of adults willing to lead or accompany them. There are fewer accounts of girls taking part in school trips, although reminiscences from the turn of the century by girls at Bradford's Belle Vue School include swimming and excursions as part of the curriculum.²⁸ Catherine Dodd, described as an inspired and innovative teacher at the Owens College for Women at the turn of the century, used walking excursions

in rural Derbyshire as a contribution to bridging the school/home divide.²⁹ Dodd was influenced by Froebel and Herbert and gained much of her practical knowledge through her visits to Professor Jena in Rein in Germany. Her three-day excursions into rural Derbyshire with staff, students and children were used for observation and discussion of 'geographical, historical, biological and aesthetic topics'.³⁰ A champion of children who lived in the slums of Manchester, Dodd is credited by Robertson with importing the idea of the school journey from Germany. Despite Sadler's admiration of the work of Dodd,³¹ it is the school journeys with boys under the male leadership of students from Westminster Training College and Armstrong College that are most fully recorded. Groups of pupils were often quite large and usually consisted of boys from elementary schools aged between eight and thirteen years. For instance, Bellenden Road Higher Grade School in London took a party of forty eight boys from Standards IV to VII to the Wye Valley in 1906 accompanied by five leaders.³² Leaders were usually male but they sometimes included the headmaster and his wife. Miss Dibb, the headteacher of a school in Bradford took a party of Standard IV girls camping for a week in nearby Wharfedale. The camp was run on guiding principles with both camp-craft and country life emphasised. In the modified academic course 'diaries were written, art and craft developed and research into natural phenomena carried out'.³³ Fresh air and good food in conjunction with regular hours of sleep, it was claimed by the Bradford School Board, made this a healthy experiment for girls from the crowded city centre. Although the 'international situation' prevented the experiment from continuing after two years, the principles and curriculum, Bradford Corporation claimed, formed the basis of its camp schools.³⁴

Several learning theories, prominent in England towards the end of the nineteenth century, lent support to the moral claims for education outside the classroom. The ideas of Froebel, Pestalozzi and Herbart had a particularly strong influence. Moral improvement lay at the heart of Herbartian theory and, when the

1906 Code made moral instruction a compulsory component of the elementary school curriculum, teachers took their pupils out of doors so that their surroundings would develop in them a 'respect for beauty in nature'.³⁵ The notion that the prime aim of education was to develop the latent powers of each pupil in accordance with 'the laws of nature'³⁶ derived from Pestalozzi's 'naturalism', and it encouraged teachers to adopt methods which allowed pupils to develop individuality in an atmosphere of freedom.³⁷ As 'self-realisation' replaced 'mechanical obedience' as a central concept of citizenship,³⁸ the outdoors was increasingly utilised by progressive educationists. Those who wanted structure in their teaching might follow Herbart, whose 'five steps for instruction' were particularly advocated by training colleges.³⁹ Taking children into the country fulfilled most of the requirements of interest specified by Herbart. A school journey allowed children to collect information from observation, provided opportunities for working out the causes of things observed and fulfilled aesthetic requirements by raising 'lofty emotions' through contemplating 'the beautiful, the good and the true'.⁴⁰ In 1899 the traverse of the Don Valley by a Barnsley school was the focus of classroom studies.⁴¹ Their teacher had trained at Westminster College, where school journeys had been recommended since 1877 as 'the best method of teaching geography'.⁴² Support for using the countryside as a source of inspiration for lessons came from the Board of Education and in a 1934 publication *Education and the Countryside*, the Board commented that the 'isolated and disconnected nature ramble' had developed into a 'definite series of outdoor explorations'.⁴³ The provision of material to enable children to talk and write with confidence was one stated aim, another was the 'preservation of the social institutions of the countryside' because their 'processes' were considered 'fundamental to civilisation'.⁴⁴

It was not only children from elementary schools who undertook excursions into the country. A number of educationists, reacting against traditional philosophies of education associated with public schools, were attracted to the

German *Wandervögel*, elements of which can be detected in accounts of some English school excursions.⁴⁵ Inspired by romantic notions of a return to nature and the simple life, small groups of students and intellectuals wandered the German countryside cultivating a spirit of independence, strength of body and a sense of social discipline and co-operation.⁴⁶ When transferred to progressive education movements in Britain it was the character-remediation properties of outdoor living, hearty walks, fitness and hardiness associated with an aesthetic and puritanical life that were extolled.⁴⁷ Bainbridge sees *Wandervögel* as the foundation of the German youth movement, *Jugendbewegung*, and it undoubtedly appealed to post-World War I progressive educationists who saw the development of initiative and self-discipline as the basis of character building. Hopkins and Putman note the way in which adventurous journeys have long been seen as a means of increasing self-knowledge and resourcefulness through both the ‘demanding nature of the task and the awe-inspiring setting’.⁴⁸ They also point to the symbolic qualities of epic myths such as the *Odyssey* and Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress* and the role these have played in suggesting that to achieve wisdom it is necessary for an individual to undertake a journey through time and life that is full of trials and tribulations.⁴⁹

Although there is a long history behind the assumption that sport, team games and, more recently, other forms of outdoor activities, can influence personality,⁵⁰ Cleaver suggests that, despite it being widely accepted as fundamental to the notion of character training, it is an assumption that lacks the support of empirical research.⁵¹ It seems that the idea that adolescence is an appropriate time for schools and youth organisations to intervene in the social and psychological welfare of young people was largely due to G. Stanley Hall (1844-1924), who promoted the notion that ‘improved’ development at the adolescent stage was the best hope for the future of mankind.⁵² Hall was one of the major figures in early American educational psychology, although his ideas about adolescence were, in many respects, simply a culmination of views that had been around in a less systematic

form for much of the nineteenth century. Hall's two volume work *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (1904) was widely read on both sides of the Atlantic and it established Hall as a leader of the contemporary youth study movement. In his book, Hall lent respectability to the ideas of recapitulation, the emphasis on adolescent 'storm and stress' and the overriding importance of puberty within adolescent development.⁵³ Recapitulation implied that every developing adolescent recapitulated the cultural history of the human race in the stage of his or her own physical and mental growth. By suggesting that adolescence was a time 'of storm and stress when old moorings were broken and a higher level attained', Hall encouraged the belief that some sort of profound change was likely to occur.⁵⁴

Hall's view of adolescence is reflected in the 1926 Hadow Report which included a reference to adolescence as a 'tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve'.⁵⁵ The Report suggests that the individual and national character would be strengthened by the 'placing of youth, in the hour of its growth, in the fair meadow of a congenial and inspiring environment'.⁵⁶ The Board of Education's 1933 *Syllabus for Physical Training in Schools* also reflects Hall's view as it gives support for 'walking tours, school journeys, and camps' to create in children 'a love of open air and a healthy way of living' especially 'during the period of growth, when body, mind and character are immature and plastic'.⁵⁷ The Spens Report on secondary education (1938) again shows the enduring influence of Hall's ideas.⁵⁸ The Committee thought adolescence was

...a very appropriate time for implanting fresh and wholesome interests and for bringing the children into contact with persons and subjects which may serve as desirable centres round which these (self-conscious) emotions may crystallise.⁵⁹

The Spens Committee stated that activities of a less formal nature were ideal for providing opportunities for older members to exercise 'due influence upon the growth and characters of the younger'.⁶⁰ The belief that children had

a tendency to follow a lead rather than to take it. The boy venerates some hero; the girl manifests an admiration for a Mistress,⁶¹

continued to give credence to the involvement of schools and youth organisations in the social and psychological welfare of young people. One function of teachers 'outside their classroom activities' was, according to the Spens Report,

to act as unobtrusive observers of the general school life - preparing to safeguard its moral qualities where these appear to be threatened.⁶²

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) was founded in 1844, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) in 1855 and the Girls' Friendly Society in 1875. However, it is the rapid growth in the number and membership of youth organisations at the turn of the century, especially those for boys, that reflects the eagerness with which the capable and increasingly confident working classes used opportunities for self-improvement. Youth organisations gave working class children access to activities associated with public schools and allowed them to enhance their 'respectability, morale, and sense of order and control over their own lives' in the same way that Musgrove suggests happened with access to mass schooling.⁶³ However, there was a section of the working class that proved hard to reach. Vacation Schools were established by philanthropically minded individuals or groups and one, operating in Leeds in 1906, selected the children from homes deemed to have the 'least to offer' in the holidays.⁶⁴

Several youth organisations, for instance the Boys Brigade and the Boy Scout Movement, promoted codes of behaviour, health and service. They attracted large numbers of boys, and some girls, between 1883 and 1914. To be true members of the Boys' Brigade, a code of behaviour had to be followed. Boys were advised to be

through and through with no sham about them; they must carry the spirit and principles of the Brigade into every part of their lives; they must not only obey their officers on parade, but their parents at home, their masters at work, their teachers at school, and, above all, they must give prompt and unwavering obedience to *God's will* in whatever *He* commands them to do.⁶⁵

The Boys Brigade was founded by the deeply religious disciplinarian William Smith who utilised his own military training to temper the behaviour of unruly teenage

working-class boys in his Glasgow Sunday School.⁶⁶ When he added drill, gymnastics and team games to religious instruction, it proved so successful that other groups soon formed and membership reached 18,000 by 1891. The movement spawned other groups, each with its own identity, including the Life Brigade which substituted life-saving instruction, marching, gymnastics, and stretcher drill for military aspects.⁶⁷ Camping, introduced to the Brigade movement in 1886, became an important feature of the movement and was valued as a means not only of giving the boys a holiday but of enabling an officer to get to know the boys better. A badge system was introduced in the early years, six for service proficiency and others for gymnastics, camping, wayfaring, arts and crafts.

The origins of the Scout Movement, as Loynes acknowledges,⁶⁸ reflect Baden-Powell's belief that training boys in 'self-reliance and true manliness' would prevent the 'wastage of youth', mischief and 'loafing'.⁶⁹ An experimental camp on Brownsea Island in 1907 was intended as a demonstration by Baden-Powell of how Scouting could instil public school values into members of the Boys Brigade.

We want to give him (the duller boy) some of the joys of life and at the same time, some of the attributes and some of the opportunities that his better-off brother gets, so that at least he shall have his fair chance in life.⁷⁰

Nine boys from public schools mixed with thirteen from Poole and Bournemouth Boys' Brigade. Although there was apparently no class prejudice, the Brigade boys found the public schoolboys 'prissily over-polite'.⁷¹ Baden-Powell's opinion can perhaps be judged by his reference to the Brigade boys as being 'duller'. Tracking, trekking and camping, modified forms of hunting and coursing, traditional upper-class pursuits, were to redeem 'hooligans', street urchins and 'wastrels'⁷² by promoting the public school ideals of 'obedience, cleanliness, temperance and loyalty'.⁷³ In practice, Scouting genuinely gave boys opportunities for adventure and physically tired them so they had little energy for criminal activity even supposing any had been intended.

Following World War I, when an atmosphere dedicated to achieving international understanding through harmony and consultation was evident, Baden-Powell changed the emphasis within Scouting from militarism to good citizenship, the first of a number of adaptations made to ensure the survival of Scouting throughout the twentieth century and beyond. Baden-Powell was convinced that a responsible citizenry could never be created by threats. His recommendation to teach by example, the sharing of activities by the teacher and the taught, and rules stressing the positive rather than the negative 'thou shalt not' were, apparently, novel to education at that time.

Discipline is not gained by punishing a child for a bad habit, but by substituting a better occupation, that will absorb his attention, and gradually lead him to forget and abandon the old one.⁷⁴

The Scout Movement attracted the attention of Newman at the Board of Education. He credited Scouting with making a 'triumphant contribution' to education and with being 'the greatest demonstration in practical education that the world has seen'.

A lesson of physical discipline, of educational adventure, of youthful training and glad obedience ...it trains men not for the classroom but for life.⁷⁵

The badge scheme taught skills that could lead to employment.⁷⁶

It is your duty to your country to improve yourself. ...Don't think of yourself, but think of your country, and your employers, and the good that your work is going to do to other people.⁷⁷

Scoutmasters were to be instrumental in encouraging boys to take a pride in their own efforts and to acquire new skills. In short, Scouting set out to prevent boys from becoming 'loafers'.⁷⁸ The 'doing' of a daily good turn became synonymous with Scouting and a good scout was the ideal citizen from the perspective of the establishment; loyal to God, King and country, trustworthy, helpful, thrifty, clean in thought, word and deed and satisfied with his place in the social structure.

Rousseau's belief that children should be allowed to blossom naturally and allowed full scope for individual development in natural surroundings influenced some of the progressive public schools,⁷⁹ especially those associated with the

woodcraft movements which were founded in the early decades of the twentieth century. Fundamental to the founders of these groups was a belief in the notion of 'Nature' as the great moral educator. The woodcraft movements differed from other youth movements in a number of ways. They were open to both girls and boys and most of the groups aimed to be genuinely democratic. The Order of Woodcraft Chivalry was founded in 1916 by Westlake who viewed industrialisation as stunting and distorting to the development of young people and drew on three main sources for inspiration; Hall's theory of recapitulation, the writings of Geddes, who was disturbed by the dilution of academic education in the development of a mass-education system, and Seton's development of woodcraft which he had used to regenerate the skills of some American Indian tribes. Immersing the child in the simple and primitive processes of nature, individual growth, Westlake claimed, would recapitulate the entire history of the living organism and, like the human race, evolve from the simple to the complex. A Quaker school in Somerset, Didcot Lodge, implemented Westlake's ideas in the summer of 1916 and a further test of the Order's methods was undertaken with a group of slum children in the East End of London.⁸⁰ Westlake, like Baden-Powell, wrote prolifically. Some of his published leaflets centred round four aspects which, interestingly, have similarities with those later to be adopted by Hahn in his County Badge Scheme; *Trial of Fitness*, *Trial of the Thinking Hand*, *Trial of the Adventurous Rover* and *Trial of the Homeland Guide*. The Forest School was inspired by Westlake, although it did not open until after his death in a car accident. It aimed to combine the beliefs and practices of the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry with ideas from the New Education Movement. The Forest School's chief educational facilities were said to be a wood and a river in Hampshire's New Forest countryside.⁸¹

Hargrave's Kibbo Kift Kindred, established in 1920, shared several characteristics with the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry. Both were associated with the Society of Friends and, although they both reacted adversely to the military

emphasis of Baden-Powell's Scout Movement, they sought inspiration from Scouting as well as from Seton's *Woodcraft Indians of America* (1902). The leaders were mainly middle-class intellectuals excited by the open-air in the German *Wandervögel* way.⁸² However, the elements of pantheist nature worship in their ceremonies identified them more with early nineteenth century Romanticism than with a popular socialist alternative to Scouting.⁸³

The Woodcraft Folk represented a breakaway movement from the Kibbo Kift; 'Be strong! Live kindly! Love the sun and follow the trail' was its law. It was intended to echo the Folk's faith in nature's regenerative powers as did their emblem, a sun rising between two fir trees.⁸⁴ The Woodcraft Folk, like the other woodcraft groups, emphasised camp life as an antidote to the evils of industrialism.⁸⁵ Extracts from a diary of events at the Woodcraft Folks' Easter Camp in 1926 give a flavour of the movement's activities and its socialist orientation.

The morning was perfect and gave promise of a great week-end. After refreshing ourselves on arrival at the camp site the afternoon was spent in pitching tents, digging garbage pits, putting up latrines, etc... With impromptu ceremony, and some lively songs the Mossbacks and a few children spent a jolly hour round the Council Fire in our famous pine copse over the stream at the bottom of the meadow.

We sang all the songs we knew and finished up in fine style with the Red Flag and the Internationale.⁸⁶

As has been noted above, throughout the twentieth century, 'life' in the 'healthy' outdoors was credited with 'character-remediation' as well as 'character-building' properties. Baden-Powell's missionary zeal extended to a campaign for clean-living so that, with a combination of propaganda and 'chilling' activities, he aimed to control the sexual activities of adolescent boys and convince them of the evils of tobacco and alcohol. Each Scout was to be 'Clean in Thought, Word and Deed'.

A Scout does not smoke. ...He knows that when a lad smokes before he is fully grown up it is almost sure to make his heart feeble. ...Any Scout knows that smoking spoils his eyesight, and also his sense of smell, which is of greatest importance to him scouting on active service.⁸⁷

Wasters like to stand about a bar talking and sipping - generally at the other fellow's expense - but they are wasters, and it is well to keep out of their company, if you want to get on and have a good time.⁸⁸

Like others of his time, Baden-Powell felt passionately about the assumed mental and physical dangers of masturbation. Hall gave evidence supposedly supporting facts about the 'grisly consequences of self-abuse'⁸⁹ and Baden-Powell threatened that such activity would result in 'idiocy' and 'lunacy'.

A very large number of lunatics in our asylums have made themselves mad by indulging in this vice although at one time they were sensible cheery boys like any of you.⁹⁰

Boys were to be cured by 'bathing at once in cold water'.⁹¹

The notion that 'sexual impulses' could monopolise adolescents' emotional lives and cause them to seek 'insidious satisfaction'⁹² was a genuine concern of Hahn and, like Baden-Powell, he aimed to appeal to boys' supposed instinct for adventure as a means of discouraging homosexual activity. Hahn estimated that sixty per cent of boys 'have their vitality damaged under conditions of modern adolescence' and thought the answer was to 'kindle the non-poisonous passions' on the threshold of puberty so that the 'loutish years' could be avoided.⁹³ By cultivating a 'love of enterprise', a 'love of aloneness' and a 'love of skill', each child's *grande passion* was to be identified, and through the resulting 'love of the high hills' or 'love of the sea', children would maintain their 'untiring spirit of enterprise' and curb the sexual impulses that would otherwise absorb all their emotional energy.⁹⁴

According to Hahn, urban life destroyed character by pauperising experience. He maintained that four types of adolescent, the lawless, the listless, the angry and the sceptical were produced because of sedentary habits, confused restlessness, 'spectatoritis', the weakened tradition of craftsmanship, the ever-present availability

of stimulants and tranquillisers and 'unseemingly haste'.⁹⁵ Hahn believed that an education which transferred boys from a diseased to a healthy environment could preserve the 'treasures of childhood', joy in movement, curiosity, dedication, selflessness and thereby reverse the decline of compassion which he saw as the main weakness of contemporary democracy.⁹⁶ Gordonstoun, a country mansion in the north-east of Scotland, fulfilled Hahn's ideal. It was a beautiful house,⁹⁷ in a location which could accommodate an 'insulated institution'⁹⁸ where control could be exercised over young people's habits of smoking, drinking, reading undesirable books, indiscriminate listening to the radio and unrestricted visits to the cinema.⁹⁹ Pupils at Gordonstoun were asked to reach specific standards in a range of activities; sprinting, distance running, jumping, throwing, swimming and life-saving. In order to gain 'a much coveted' Gordonstoun Badge, pupils were expected to overcome 'disinclination and weakness' as well as exploit their strengths and aptitudes.¹⁰⁰ An expedition test was added to the badge requirements following the experiences of some members of staff who, having taken pupils on 'testing expeditions into the nearby Cairngorms', found that the 'prima donnas' of the track did not necessarily excel in bad weather on the heights.¹⁰¹ In due course, a 'project' which demanded patience and perseverance became an additional requirement of the badge.¹⁰²

Schoolboy participation in rescue services was pioneered by Hahn who professed that by risking his own safety for his neighbour, a youth would gain an entirely new attitude towards life. A passion for service to the community was meant to possess the soul of the young person so that every immoral or warlike instinct was smothered or redirected to new and peaceful channels.¹⁰³ Because Hahn was German and 'apt to be critical', he found it difficult to establish his schemes.¹⁰⁴ However, Brereton denies any suggestion that Hahn supported war. Like Rohrs and Tunstall-Behrens, Brereton viewed the quest for an 'equivalent of war',¹⁰⁵ as a 'war on war' or an attempt to harness boys' energies to an honourable peace. Sea and mountain rescue were seen as the ideal services because they

presented young people with a sense of isolation and insignificance in the face of Nature.¹⁰⁶

Social class and gender

The early twentieth century was a time, according to Mack, 'of reorientation, of realisation that an old world was dead and that new forces had arisen which required new attitudes and responses'.¹⁰⁷ Despite an influx of Labour members into Parliament, the 'us' and 'them' nature of the English education system, according to Musgrove, over-rode the changes in class structure, for instance the rise of a lower-middle class, which had been evident throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ It is suggested below that, as the twentieth century progressed, education in the outdoors was variously used to sustain and/or weaken social barriers and distinctions in society. Although reference has previously been made to the way in which some youth organisations provided working-class children with opportunities for self-improvement, it must also be acknowledged that Scouting was among the agencies that, as Musgrove suggests, allowed the upper classes to exert a degree of 'social control' on the lower classes during the rise of modern industrial-urban society.¹⁰⁹ Marxist historians and sociologists interpret youth organisations such as Scouting as agencies of class-cultural control and some have argued that theories of adolescence, including those of Hall, have allowed adults to impose repression, conformity, discipline and exclusion from the adult world in a deliberate conspiracy to confine adolescents to an inferior role in society.¹¹⁰ However, Musgrove argues that there was no compulsion for boys to become Scouts and that its leaders were more likely to be indoctrinated by its ideology than its followers.¹¹¹ In developing his argument that the working classes were not passive victims succumbing to upper-class ideologies, Musgrove suggests that opportunities such as the Sunday school could be used as a base from which to wage the battle for a fairer share in the new industrial society. Scouting, like Sunday schools, drew leaders from the working

class and it is this that has led Musgrove to conclude that the consumers could become controllers.¹¹² Despite the motives of some of those promoting Scouting, the Movement did give some adults and boys from the working-class the chance to develop qualities of leadership.

Ultimately, however, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Scouting was deeply conservative. Despite presenting itself as a progressive movement, its ideology was firmly rooted in 'the self-interest of the upper classes'.¹¹³ Baden-Powell's 'brick' metaphor incorporates a clear statement of social conservatism.

BE A BRICK

This means you should remember that being one fellow among many others, you are like one brick among many others in the wall of a house.

If you are discontented with your place or with your neighbours or if you are a rotten brick, you are no good to the wall...

Some bricks may be high up and others low down in the wall; but all must make the best of it and play in their place for the good of the whole. So it is among people; each of us has his place in the world, it is no use being discontented, it is no use hating our neighbours because they are higher up or lower down than themselves. We are all Britons, and it is our duty each to play in his place and help his neighbours. Then we shall remain strong and united, and then there will be no fear of the whole building - namely, our great Empire - falling down because of rotten bricks in the wall.¹¹⁴

The Scout Law was devised to make better citizens, reliable and upright men,¹¹⁵ but, according to Rosenthal, it was really intended to perpetuate the rigid class division within society by teaching the masses to be satisfied with their 'lot'.¹¹⁶ Reynolds suggests that common to the diverse group of men brought together through Scouting was a belief in Britain's existing social structure.¹¹⁷ Scouting gained support from those with power and money and from those who approved of a training in discipline designed to stabilise a society confronting profound economic and political change. Financial support for Scouting came from the *Daily Telegraph* which organised appeals that brought in £6,000 in 1910, and subsequently contributed £4,000 a year towards the upkeep of Scout headquarters. In 1911, a

dinner for likely supporters raised a sum of £3,500.¹¹⁸ The publisher, Pearson, provided an office, donated £1,000 and published *The Scout* as well as some versions of the handbook.¹¹⁹ While supposedly bringing activities previously confined to the élite to the working class, class divisions were in fact maintained and a code of behaviour supporting political stability established. From the start, the role of the upper class in Scouting was that of leadership. Advisory committees, composed of ‘gentlemen’, were to oversee patrols started independently,¹²⁰ and Scout troops in public and grammar schools were intended to generate leaders. Baden-Powell believed landowners and country gentlemen had a duty to protect working men from the exploitation of urban industrialists. He saw his duty in terms of leading by example and, in particular, in rescuing working-class boys who ‘loafed’ on street corners and drifted towards ‘bad citizenship’.¹²¹ In 1910, Baden-Powell wrote requesting an interview with Sir Robert Morant at the Board of Education. Baden-Powell explained that although the Boy Scout organisation had been formed with ‘the idea of affording a character training for boys of all classes, by methods which appeal to them’, the ‘moral side’ had been taken up to an ‘unexpected extent’ and he was anxious ‘to ensure the development of training is in the direction that would be desired by the Education Department’.¹²²

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, railway excursions and the bicycle allowed ordinary people to explore the countryside and a number of organisations supported the growing number of adults with the enthusiasm and sufficient money to spend time in the outdoors. The Cyclists’ Touring Club originates from 1878 and the Co-operative Holidays Association from 1891. In the late nineteenth century, leisure activities in the countryside were characterised by the class boundaries that divided society in many other ways. Mountaineering in the Alps provided the upper classes with an escape from their highly structured and eminently respectable home-based lives and Alpine skiing and tobogganing were later added to summer climbing. However, participation remained the province of those from major public

school and university backgrounds and exclusivity was encouraged by Henry Lunn who, having established Alpine Sports Ltd., saved members the embarrassment of having the label of his other company, 'Lunn's Tours', on their luggage. By 1900 his company had transported five thousand people on Alpine tours.¹²³ The Public Schools' Sports Club (1905) ensured members would, 'meet only their own sort' in the carefully selected Alpine resorts, which gave all the advantages of an English Club.¹²⁴ For the middle classes, North Wales and the Lake District provided a more convenient wilderness escape.¹²⁵

Following World War I, the countryside continued to provide leisure amenities which the working classes could afford, with youth hostels proving popular with walkers and cyclists. The increase in use of the outdoors is reflected in the number of countryside movements established; the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (1928), the Youth Hostel Association (1930) and the Ramblers' Association (1935). Towards the end of the 1930s people had begun to enjoy more leisure and, by 1939, eleven million people had secured holidays with pay.¹²⁶ Several early school climbing clubs, as well as walking and cycling clubs, were introduced into public and secondary schools by the many schoolmasters who themselves enjoyed outdoor activities. While many of the trips in the 1920s and 1930s followed well-worn routes, some masters led their charges into little known places on exploratory and geographical expeditions of considerable adventure and daring. The Public Schools' Exploring Society (later the British Schools' Exploring Society) was founded in 1932 with the aim of 'allowing young people to manage real experiences and to learn through doing' in addition to carrying out work of a scientific nature.¹²⁷

The early years of the twentieth century were a time when girls might be influenced by the suffragette movement. The franchise was widened so that from 1918 women over thirty could vote and in 1928 they, like men, could vote at 21. The Sex Disqualification Act of 1919 opened all professions to women and in the

same year the first women Member of Parliament took her seat. Five years later the first woman Minister was appointed. However, in the first half of the twentieth century a number of factors worked against the majority of girls taking part in outdoor activities. The notion that the route to a healthier nation was through better mothering was promoted by, among others, Newman at the Board of Education in the name of national efficiency. In 1923 the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education, investigating curriculum differences for boys and girls, proposed that education should enable children 'to earn their own living', 'to be useful citizens' and for girls, 'to be makers of homes'.¹²⁸ Hall's work on adolescence was cited with approval by the Board of Education Report¹²⁹ and the 1926 Hadow Report, *The Education of the Adolescent*, reinforced notions of differentiated curricula in the elementary sector. The Report recommended that there should be three types of school - modern, technical and grammar and included suggestions that the curriculum in a modern school should be of an essentially practical nature; practical instruction for girls 'should be planned with an ideal home in view and should include all branches of housework'.¹³⁰ From 1928 until 1952, when the House of Commons supported equal pay for equal work, no further legislative measures were taken to give women equality.¹³¹

It seems that the social and educational restrictions of gender and class prevented girls in elementary schools from taking part in outdoor activities; most were destined for domestic roles.¹³² However, girls and young women from the middle and upper classes became increasingly involved in sports. The idea that 'sports were fun' was infectious, Hargreaves suggests, and the exploits of a number of women were publicised in the national press, on radio and in popular women's magazines.¹³³ However, as Hargreaves recognises, throughout the inter-war years sports remained largely confined to upper- and middle-class women.¹³⁴ Adventure sports such as climbing, sailing and skiing, she suggests, provided settings for displays of affluence and social standing and allowed middle-class women to enjoy

the growing penchant for travel in Britain and abroad. Although Hargreaves notes that most women worked in an individual and *ad hoc* manner, the group of women who formed The Pinnacle Club in 1921 had a specific vision that it was possible to have mountaineering '*sans homme*'.¹³⁵ By 1934 the club had a membership of eighty and, Hargreaves suggests, had extended ideas about the 'physical ability and leadership skills' of women.¹³⁶

The role of guides compared with that of scouts suggests that adventure was not intended for girls, although in 1909 Baden-Powell had written about Girl Scouts and expressed his concern that they should not be treated as 'dolls'.¹³⁷ A number of girls had registered as Boy Scouts by the 1909 Crystal Palace Rally and by 1920, Jeal claims, there were more Guides and Brownies than there were Boy Scouts and Cubs in Britain.¹³⁸ Under the direction, first of his sister and then his wife, girls were to act as 'guides' in the background while their Boy Scout brothers led pioneering expeditions into adventure. Baden-Powell allowed his sister, Agnes, to promote girls as nurses, future mothers and guides to the next generation.¹³⁹ Agnes responded to a contrived letter, by warning mothers that

...short skirts might be suitable for vaulting gates, but 'violent jerks and jars' could fatally damage 'woman's interior economy',

adding that, because of 'violent exercise', there are 'more girls nowadays with hairy lips'!¹⁴⁰ Guiding was a carefully chosen word, as the 1918 handbook explains.

Girl Guiding has a double meaning. To some it means the fun of playing the games of Girl Guides; to others, the fun of "playing the game" in Guiding Girls.¹⁴¹

Speaking in 1957, Olive Baden-Powell claimed that her husband had not wanted the movement for girls to develop along the same lines as that for boys.¹⁴²

Boys dominate all references to Scouting as well as all other aspects of education in the outdoors for at least the first half of the twentieth century. Although it must be accepted that the term 'boys' was occasionally used as a generic term, there seems little doubt that boys were the main focus of attention. Because

girls were less likely to be regarded as criminally inclined and less subject to loafing they were not seen as such a threat to society.¹⁴³ The assumption that a girl's role was in the home probably accounts for the fact that, although 'Character', 'Health' and 'Service' were common to both Guide and Scout schemes, the emphasis for girls was undoubtedly on home-making skills with a special emblem being awarded to those who passed six associated badges. Camp-fire stories for girls substituted heroines for heroes, with Grace Darling and Florence Nightingale given as role models. It is women's caring role that Baden-Powell praised as Guides did their 'duty towards man' in the Great War.¹⁴⁴ The Zulu War song recommended to the boys for passing time when marching.

Een - gon-yam-a. Gon-yam-a. He is a lion, etc.¹⁴⁵

is replaced by 'Happy Housemaids' hymn singing.

BYBM¹⁴⁶ Bom, BYBM Bom, Point your toes as you march along.

The idea that the social and political élite could set an example for the working classes to follow was taken for granted by almost all those involved in organisations for young people. In the 1920s, the Duke of York's camps drew together boys from public schools and industry in a programme of social and practical activities¹⁴⁷ that owed much to Baden-Powell's experimental camp on Brownsea Island in 1909. King George's Jubilee Trust, founded in 1935, grant-aided organisations which used outdoor and recreational activities to promote the wiser use of leisure and aimed to 'help the young in body, mind and character to become useful citizens'.¹⁴⁸

Hahn's belief that a school like Gordonstoun should set an example and open its facilities to the community is demonstrated by his invitation to the headmasters of local schools and others in the vicinity to participate in the badge scheme. Dr. Zimmermann, a fellow exile of Hahn, was invited to help develop the scheme which by 1937 became known as the Moray Badge.¹⁴⁹ Two levels, Silver and Standard were introduced into each of three age categories,¹⁵⁰ Philip, later the Duke of

Edinburgh, gaining the Senior Silver Badge in 1938.¹⁵¹ When, in conjunction with Elgin Academy,¹⁵² the scheme was offered to boys in the surrounding district ‘boys of all types - farmers, fishermen, masons, clerks and apprentices, offered themselves for training’ and Gordonstoun, Hahn claimed, became the centre of local life.¹⁵³ Hahn reasoned that what was good for Morayshire was right for all counties in Great Britain and the scheme was made available nationally as the County Badge scheme. Dallow, Charterhouse and Malvern Schools as well as a day school in Derby introduced the scheme but it was not until Hertfordshire introduced it for girls as well as boys in their elementary schools and voluntary organisations¹⁵⁴ that the scheme moved substantially out of the boys’ public school sector. At this time the scheme was referred to as the Fourfold Achievement¹⁵⁵ and it promoted itself as a means of fitting boys and girls more fully for the responsibilities of life and citizenship. The scheme was unusual in maintaining independence of any religious organisation. The reason given for this was that young people could be trained to possess qualities of self-confidence and self-mastery to give them the strength of character to recognise such qualities in others and follow such leaders irrespective of a person’s religion.¹⁵⁶

Hahn’s educational system was made up of four sections; a training plan to maintain physical fitness, an expedition to test endurance, a project to include craftsmanship and, above all else, a spirit of service kindled through active participation in fire, sea or mountain rescue services.¹⁵⁷ Jim Hogan, who was later to become Deputy Education Officer in the West Riding, was appointed in 1940 as secretary to the County Badge Experimental Committee. His task was to promote a training scheme for boys, which would

develop qualities of self-reliance, observation, initiative, patience, endurance, determination, physical well-being and confidence of victory over objective obstacles.¹⁵⁸

However, when it became clear that insufficient money was available to pay his salary, Hahn told Hogan

this is the wrong time, Hogan - what we must now do is provide a compelling example. You must be the Warden of a school where we will offer an irresistible demonstration of training for the badge - in short, residential courses.¹⁵⁹

The school, at Aberdovey, became the first of several Outward Bound Schools. The badge scheme attracted relatively little interest until relaunched in the mid-1950s with support from the Duke of Edinburgh, since which time it has taken his name. Hahn used the outdoors to mould children and Gordonstoun's success with 'difficult' boys gave its activities, which provided opportunities for 'adventurous' experiences as well as opportunities to brave the harshest of elements and conquer natural obstacles, a reputation for being able to channel rebellious instincts.¹⁶⁰

Chapters 1 and 2 have shown that education in the outdoors has a long history and that it is sustained by multiple meanings and diverse rationales that are markedly socially and historically contingent. The examples given of outdoor provision have drawn attention to the way in which practice was usually a response to 'educational' or 'social' concerns and that, although these two aims are broad and sometimes overlap, they underpin the rhetoric of outdoor education. The first 'educational' aim was essentially the Platonic ideal that is associated with notions of education through physical activity. The second aim might be called 'social'. Here, outdoor education was seen as a response to social concerns such as poor health, juvenile delinquency, preparedness for armed conflict and/or class tensions. Before 1945, the education system had categorised children by social class, and issues such as 'whose' characters were to be developed and what 'leadership' meant within public education were relatively clear despite the extension of the democratic franchise which occurred in the first half of the twentieth century. It seems that the type of outdoor education children received depended to a large extent on social class and gender and that notions of the ideal character, for both leadership and for 'followership', could be traced to the social functions associated with public, secondary and elementary schooling.

Like Chapter 1, this chapter concludes that a number of outdoor activities in place by 1944, for instance camping, the Boy Scout Movement and Kurt Hahn's badge scheme, provided a base on which character training in the mass-education system could be built. It seems, however, that while notions of education for leadership led to character training for boys in public and secondary schools, character training for children in elementary schools, in reality, meant little more than instilling moral virtues and obedience. However, the provision in elementary schools did afford useful opportunities for children from families aspiring to 'better' themselves. Later chapters will indicate the measures taken to use outdoor education to involve the children who were most likely to be perceived as a social problem and who proved harder to reach.

Boys dominated all references to aspects of education in the outdoors. It seems that, for the most part, adventurous activities in the outdoors were not initially intended for girls. The way in which the multiple meanings and rationales show a strong gender bias and have been the source of tensions and divisions among advocates of outdoor education will be explored briefly in later chapters. Following World War II and the 1944 Education Act, the class divisions described in this chapter gradually became more difficult to sustain and, as later chapter describe, social barriers and distinctions in society eventually weakened or dissolved and secondary schooling became largely a mass, rather than a selective, phenomenon.

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CHAPTER 3

The 1944 Education Act, Outdoor Education and the West Riding response

The 1944 Education Act established a framework which, by consolidating previous legislation and encouraging Local Education Authorities (LEAs) to increase the use of the outdoors for educational purposes, extended outdoor education within the statutory education system. Legislation within the Act reflects aspects of the two broad aims which this study suggests underlie the development of outdoor education. Firstly, there is the educational aim associated with notions of education through physical activities; *mens sana in corpore sano*. This aim of producing leaders who would be ‘disciplined, socially responsible and self-reliant’¹ is evident in the adoption of suggestions intended to prepare boys to be ‘fit for war’, and can be traced to the 1943 Norwood Report. Evidence of the second aim, more strongly related to social issues, can be seen in legislation included in the Act which responded to the social concerns of juvenile delinquency and poor health. Chapter 2 identified a number of the social issues, especially poor health and moral decline, and these remained priorities at a time when it was anticipated that the ‘problem of adolescents’ would be intensified by ‘drastic changes’² if there should be ‘a recurrence during this war of the social problem which arose during the last’.³ The evacuation of many thousands of school-children in the early days of the war had highlighted several social issues and led to greater recognition of the potential role of the countryside in the education of town children. Of particular interest in any study of the development of outdoor education is the way in which connections were made between residential education for the working classes, public school life, character building and outdoor activities.

This chapter will first examine those aspects of the Act which related to the use of the outdoors in the education of children. It will note changes made to these proposals as the Education Bill passed through Parliament and reveal the extent to

which legislation consolidated the framework established in the early part of the twentieth century. Secondly, the chapter will review the ways in which the LEA of the West Riding of Yorkshire used the legislation both to further central Government policies and to contribute towards the fulfilment of its own ideals for outdoor education, including the way in which this LEA used outdoor education to overcome what it saw as shortcomings in the 1944 Act. The chapter will also consider briefly the extent to which Goodson's theory that subjects can be viewed as 'socio-historical constructs of a particular time' holds true for outdoor education. Goodson maintains that school subjects are the outcome of historical, ideological and political factors but he also acknowledges the influence of groups and individuals in the continuance and promotion of a subject.⁴ This chapter will conclude, therefore, with information about Alec Clegg, Chief Education Officer to the LEA of the West Riding of Yorkshire from 1945 to 1974. Later chapters will demonstrate the extent to which outdoor education in the West Riding was strongly influenced by his beliefs either directly or indirectly, for example through the appointments he made, especially that of Jim Hogan.

The social, political and educational context of the 1944 Education Act

A combination of economic and political factors, some associated with the inter-war years of depression, meant the Board of Education was unable, or unwilling, to implement a number of educational reforms in the 1930s. As a result, Simon suggests, by 1939 there was an agenda of unfulfilled educational improvement waiting, including the planned raising of the school leaving age to fifteen which was postponed due to the declaration of war on the 3rd of September 1939.⁵ Simon identifies four strands to the demands for change increasingly being articulated as the war continued.

- i) Abolition (or at least effective assimilation) of the public school system towards the creation of a single, *national* system of education.
- ii) Abolition of the dual system. All schools under public control.
- iii) Raising the school leaving age to 16

- iv) Secondary education for all over 11. Abolition of fees in all secondary schools. A common code of regulations for all secondary schools (or, in a more advanced form, the establishment of the single, common or multilateral secondary school)⁶

A group of officials within the department, led by Wood, deputy secretary at the Board, and Cleary, permanent assistant secretary at the head of the elementary branch were, according to Gosden, energetic in pressing for change. However, others, particularly Williams, head of the secondary branch, were less convinced of the need for change.⁷ Simon suggests that changes made by the Board of Education were introduced merely as a concession to rising expectations and an awareness on the part of officials that their political masters might well change after the war.⁸ Gosden cites the Board of Education's failure to give LEAs guidance in providing education for children evacuated under schemes organised by the Ministry of Health, as just one example of the Board's failure to take a leading role in education.⁹ He suggests that it was evacuation that forced the Board to change its role from 'watching and advising' to 'planning and control'.¹⁰ Two days before World War II was declared, one and a half million people left industrial centres, about half of them school children travelling in parties with their teachers and voluntary helpers;¹¹ 40,000 children left Leeds alone in seven hours.¹² Dent described the way in which evacuation

lifted the lid to reveal a seething stew of social degradation hitherto unsuspected by increasingly comfortable and comfort-loving middle- and upper-working-classes which had for years been enjoying rising standards of domestic luxury and social amenity.¹³

The mass transference of thousands of school-children from industrial towns to the country in September 1939 was, according to Dent, significant because it was a time when one half of England learnt about the other half, when the middle classes were shaken out of 'a stupor of self-complacency' and when many complained that moral standards had declined between the wars.¹⁴

Reports of the way in which children from 'squalid and sordid' slums, some of whom 'almost equalled wild animals', became widespread.¹⁵ Although some

reports acknowledged that a large proportion of the children evacuated ‘satisfied all reasonable standards of behaviour’, others stated that children ate nothing that ‘demanded the use of teeth’, were ‘unused to sitting down to table’ and were ‘lacking in any knowledge of clean and hygienic habits’.¹⁶ A correspondent in *The Times* wrote of the complaints received about ‘half-savage, verminous, and wholly illiterate children... of wilful despoliation and dirt that one would associate only with untrained animals’.¹⁷ The report was followed by the comment that ‘the authorities, with plenty of time to prepare, seem to have failed both in the physical and psychological examination of the evacuees’,¹⁸ while at least one study suggested that such behaviour was due to a lack of training.¹⁹ Such reports did nothing to dispel the widely-held assumption that the social and political élite should set an example for the working class to follow.

Proposals for the post-war reconstruction of education were made in the early 1940s at a time when the war was not going well for Britain. It was only to be expected that ‘fitness for war’ and character training would feature in the proposals circulated in *The Green Book* of 1941 and used extensively as the basis for the 1944 Education Act. Gosden writes of the polarising effect of war with regard to aspects of education and suggests that, although schools found it more difficult to teach the children of socially inadequate families, schooling assumed a new importance among the socially aware.²⁰ By the time the Act received the Royal Assent, the social climate was so supportive that Dent felt sufficiently confident to proclaim that ‘inequalities, injustices and inadequacies’ would be gone forever and that ‘a new and better order in education and society’ would result.²¹

Although the Act is often given Butler’s name, the proposals for it had been drawn up by a group of officials at the Board of Education shortly before Butler became President of the Board in July 1941.²² Although a minority of the officials working on the proposals for post-war education saw a need - and an opportunity - for radical change, the majority were traditionalists ‘anxious to preserve what they

saw as essentially sound'.²³ Most were male and from the education establishment, a group described by McCulloch as 'the self-securing élite group in ultimate control of education, imbued with common values arising from their own public school education'.²⁴ Butler's role was made clear by Churchill; to 'introduce patriotism into schools' and 'to move poor children from here to here'. Later, so Wallace reports, Butler was told, also by Churchill, one of his important tasks was to be the provision of 'powder monkeys' for the gun sites.²⁵

Simon writes of the widespread critique of public schools that was a feature of the 1930s, a time, he maintains, when the schools were desperately seeking solutions to the problems of low intakes and consequent financial difficulties.²⁶ In the early years of World War II, following defeats in France and Belgium, doubts about the ability of public schools to train leaders echoed those expressed in World War I. In 1940, Clarke, then Principal of the University of London Institute of Education, put forward a case for a common education system as a means of achieving social cohesion. He argued that

we can hardly continue to contemplate an England where the mass of the people coming on by one educational path are to be governed for the most part by a minority advancing along a quite separate and more favoured path.²⁷

The Norwood Committee was appointed to 'advise' on the whole structure of secondary education and the Fleming Committee was appointed to consider how the association between public schools and the general education system of the country could be developed and extended. Both were established in 1942 following the publication of *The Green Book*. Simon suggests it was the Secondary Schools Examination Council that persuaded the Board to establish the committee²⁸ which was chaired by Sir Cyril Norwood, a classicist who had previously been headmaster of Marlborough and Harrow. A staunch supporter of traditions in English education associated with public and grammar schools,²⁹ Norwood had the right, as Chairman, to nominate members (in consultation with Williams the conservative head of the

secondary division at the Board of Education).³⁰ Character-building permeated the whole of the Norwood Report which has been described by McCulloch as portraying the ‘darker side of the 1944 settlement, the handbrake on a generally progressive reform’.³¹ By providing a ‘philosophical rationale’ for the tripartite system proposed in the 1938 Spens Report,³² it, arguably, sought to ensure that selection for secondary education and the élitist structure were not only maintained but strengthened.

Following evacuation, many children returned to their own homes within days or weeks. However, references to a ‘social experiment’³³ began to be made with regard to evacuation, and country life was credited with broadening the outlook of children whose lives had previously been confined to a few streets. Benefits to children were said to have resulted from their co-operation with children from very different backgrounds and from having adopted the supposedly ‘superior’ morals of country people. Country pastimes such as fishing, rambling, helping adults on the farm or garden were judged to be superior to street games such as throwing stones at empty cans.³⁴ A morale-raising brochure, *The Schools in Wartime*, from the Board of Education, juxtaposed the notion that values held by the middle classes were superior to those of the working class with benefits to be gained from supplying children with fresh air and good food. Photographs of smiling children in the brochure aimed to confirm statements that the English countryside had transformed the lives of children from the towns.

All the children have improved in physique, general health, poise and bearing during their stay in the country.

Increases in weight and height, rosier cheeks, greater physical strength, have been not mere fiction but sober fact.³⁵

The advantages, the report went on to state, were not all physical.

The experience of living for the first time away from home has given to many children a new poise and self-reliance, and more thoughtfulness for others.³⁶

Away from many of the books and the other conventions of learning associated with their town schools, evacuated teachers were able to break out of the formal structures that had previously constrained their teaching. Many found that the outdoors provided the materials needed for nature study and geography excursions and that consequently children's powers of observation were stimulated.³⁷ 'Activity and experience', recommended as the basis of teaching by the 1931 Hadow Report into Primary Education, became a reality and many teachers took the opportunity of making the curriculum more 'genuinely practical'.³⁸ Gosden considers that a number of factors worked against many camp schools providing a 'boarding-school life' for children from elementary schools. He suggests that the accommodation was unsuitable for permanent occupation, that there was friction between the National Camps Corporation - responsible for domestic arrangements - and education authorities - responsible for school matters - that few parents apparently saw any advantage of a boarding education for their children and, in some cases, the 'narrow-minded' attitude of teachers prevented them from taking full advantage of opportunities for 'real education'.³⁹ However, as the 1944 Education Act passed through Parliament, the knowledge of Members of the work of camp schools encouraged them to suggest such schools could provide the means for introducing children in the maintained system of education to a taste of public school life.

The 1944 Education Act and legislation relevant to the provision of outdoor education

The most important of the several sections of the 1944 Education Act that advanced the case for outdoor education in schools and youth clubs in England and Wales was Section 53. This made it the duty of LEAs to ensure that the provision for primary, secondary and further education included 'adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training'.⁴⁰ Barker has noted that Section 53 did not add appreciably to the powers given to LEAs by Section 86 of the 1921

Education Act;⁴¹ a provision first made by Clause 17 of the 1918 Education Act⁴² and amended by the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937. Section 53 did, however, convert the powers that had previously existed into a duty, which could be enforced ‘by mandamus under Section 99 on a complaint by any person interested’.⁴³ Despite its origins in legislation twenty five years earlier, section 53(1) quoted below, is sometimes cited as the legislation that opened the curriculum door to outdoor education.⁴⁴

53(1) It shall be the duty of every local education authority to secure that the facilities for primary, secondary and further education provided for their area include adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training, and for that purpose a local education authority, with the approval of the Minister, may establish, maintain and manage, or assist the establishment, maintenance and management of camps, holiday classes, playing fields, play centres and other places at which facilities for such recreation and such training as aforesaid are available for persons for whom primary secondary or further education is provided by the authority, and may organise games, expeditions and other activities for such persons and may defray or contribute towards the expenses thereof.⁴⁵

An amendment, originating from one Member of Parliament (MP), Admiral Sir William James, resulted in the original wording of Section 53 being changed. That LEAs ‘with the approval of the Minister, may establish maintain and manage, or assist the establishment, maintenance, and management of camps, holiday classes, playing fields, play centres, gymnasiums, swimming baths and other establishments’,⁴⁶ became ‘it shall be the duty of every local education authority...’.⁴⁷ The pre-war option thus became a duty.

Discussions on several sections of the legislation, including the amendments to Section 53, reflected concern about issues associated with improving the health of children as well as character training. A clause was included in Section 53 enabling LEAs to provide pupils with ‘articles of clothing suitable for the physical training provided’.⁴⁸

53(3) The Minister may make regulations empowering local education authorities to provide for pupils in attendance at any school or county

college maintained by them such articles of clothing suitable for the physical training provided at the school or college as may be prescribed.⁴⁹

Other aspects of the legislation also reflected the opinion that education should not be the privilege of the 'better-off'. Section 61 banned tuition fees from being charged by schools maintained by LEAs and, under Section 8, although LEAs could make a charge for board and lodging, they could waive this charge if it were thought appropriate to do so.⁵⁰ LEAs were consequently able to offer outdoor education in residential settings to all children irrespective of their financial circumstances, although they were not required to do so.

Although doubts about the ability of public schools to train leaders capable of gaining victory had been expressed in the early years of the war, as the Bill ran its course through Parliament, references made to character building appear to suggest it was more of the type of outdoor activities usually identified with 'character building' in public schools, that came to be promoted. References were made, in the spring of 1944, during the second reading of Section 8 of the Education Bill, to victory at Waterloo being won on the playing fields of Eton and a suggestion was made that providing more recreational facilities of a character building nature would contribute to the war effort.⁵¹ Awareness of the difficulties involved in obtaining land in urban areas resulted in a suggestion for out-of-town provision to be made available at week-ends.⁵² Butler replied that provision for this was made elsewhere in the legislation (Section 53).⁵³

It seems that the outdoor provision which Members intended to be stimulated⁵⁴ was eventually that recommended by the Norwood Committee; 'scouting and guiding, school camps, tours, sailing clubs' and other 'courses', 'schools' and 'movements'.⁵⁵ Character training, the Norwood Committee suggested, was to be promoted by secondary schools through the 'infusion of values characteristic of the public schools' and the encouragement of service to the community.⁵⁶ Boys, the Report claimed, were to be made ready for war and for life at sea.⁵⁷ 'Wholesome

out-of-door activities' were to be included in a systematic course of physical training because, the Committee considered

...the surmounting of individual difficulties by discipline and endurance, is of profound moral significance as well as physical.⁵⁸

James, the MP who had been so insistent on converting the 'power' to a 'duty' of LEAs in the provision of facilities for physical recreation, represented a Portsmouth constituency and would have been well aware of the needs of the navy with regard to the physical and mental preparation of recruits. Lawrence Holt, a contributor to the Norwood Report,⁵⁹ had made a study of the statistics associated with deaths following the Battle of the Atlantic in 1940. He concluded that young seamen were ill-prepared to cope with harsh conditions and that many died, not from initial enemy attacks, but because they had failed to survive in the sea long enough to be rescued. Holt, whose family business was in merchant shipping, almost certainly brought to the notice of the Norwood Committee the ideas of Kurt Hahn. Holt was so impressed by Hahn's exploitation of boys' allegedly natural urge for adventure⁶⁰ that in 1941 he had given his financial support to courses intended to train young seamen in survival techniques. The following extract from the Norwood Report describes Hahn's ideas for the courses which, translated into Outward Bound, had begun in Aberdovey in 1941

...to bring boys and girls in touch with sea and mountain, and in open-air tasks and ventures to build up moral strength and create the physical endurance that come from such contact. ...Experience of war has shown that young people can respond to situations demanding courage and endurance.⁶¹

The extract is interesting in that it provides a rare example of a reference to girls on equal terms with boys in relation to activities involving the outdoors. Although World War II is now credited with doing much to change the role of women in employment and Tinkler notes that girls as well as boys were attracted to war service and its military associations, she comments on differences in the aims of character building and associated physical training for boys and girls.⁶² She maintains that although the elements of 'muscular Christianity' associated with the

tradition of public schools were thought appropriate for boys, for girls physical training was aimed at improving general health and war-time efficiency.⁶³ In addition, along with undertones of a girl's need to retain her femininity, were more explicit suggestions that a girl's role was to support her male colleagues.⁶⁴

A reference to Woodcraft Movements, made in the parliamentary debate on Section 53, suggests an awareness, among at least some MPs, of ways in which the outdoors was used in the education of young people in a way other than that which sought to involve them in physical challenges and endurance exercises.⁶⁵ McCulloch advises that caution should be taken about assuming that the view of the 'educational establishment' necessarily dominated the formulation of policies.⁶⁶ However, references to outdoor activities in the 1944 Education Act and in the Norwood Report suggest that there was little public competition among ideologies and interests in this instance. It seems that the aim of character training linked with public schools eclipsed those associated with the less competitive approaches and those inspired by romantic notions of a return to nature and the simple life.

The social aims of activities in the outdoors came to the fore as the 1944 Education Bill passed through Parliament. During the Bill's second reading, Kenneth Lindsay drew particular attention to the way in which time spent in the outdoors could improve the health of children and resolve other social issues. Lindsay's study of the 'free-place' system *Social Progress and Educational Waste*⁶⁷ had, according to Silver, heralded sociological concern with education and social class.⁶⁸ Lindsay was a supporter of camp schools and reference was made in Chapter 1 to his role in the development of the youth service.⁶⁹ In 1944, he was concerned that legislation in the Education Act should consolidate the statutory youth service and give recognition to the work of both municipal and voluntary youth organisations. Such was the subject of his proposal for an amendment to Section 53. Lindsay asked for a clause, given below, to be added in order that the 'marriage between the statutory and voluntary bodies', in connection with the

provision of ‘camps, holiday classes, playing fields, play centres and other places’, be recognised.

In securing the provision of such facilities as aforesaid (53(1)) every local education authority shall in particular have regard to the work of voluntary organisations engaged in youth service within its area.⁷⁰

Since the end of the nineteenth century voluntary organisations had played an important part in providing children from industrial towns and cities with holidays in the countryside. In addition they were involved in many of the pre-service organisations. They saw themselves as pioneers in the field of youth provision and the main providers of clubs and societies for adolescents. The Education Act had to ensure that statutory provision did not mean the contributions of voluntary agencies were lost. Several MPs expressed their concern that if Lindsay’s amendment were passed voluntary organisations might abdicate their responsibilities. Lindsay then agreed to withdraw his amendment but only after an assurance from Chuter Ede that ‘a form of words’ would be put into the Bill ‘to recognise the voluntary organisations without discouraging the municipal organisations’.⁷¹ Consequently the following subsection was added to Section 53.

53(2) A local education authority, in making arrangements for the provision of facilities or the organisation of activities under the powers conferred on them by the last foregoing subsection shall, in particular, have regard to the expediency of co-operating with any voluntary societies or bodies whose objects include the provision of facilities or the organisation of activities of a similar character.⁷²

Section 53(2) was part of the 1944 Education Act which replaced sections of the Physical Training and Recreation Act (1937).

Tinkler identifies military defeats in the early years of the war as contributing to the Board’s decision to further encourage pre-service training and to utilise youth leisure as a labour resource.⁷³ The Air Training Corps, Sea Cadet Corps, Army Cadet Corps, Women’s Junior Air Corps and Girls’ Training Corps were either established or expanded in the early 1940s. The intention of the Board of Education’s Circular, *The Challenge of Youth*, 1940, was to place Youth Welfare

alongside elementary, secondary and further education and promote character building through the continuation of social and physical training among adolescents once they had left full-time schooling.⁷⁴ The badge scheme, pioneered in Germany and introduced by Kurt Hahn at Gordonstoun,⁷⁵ was described in *The County Badge or the Fourfold Achievement* 1942 as a useful means of ‘pre-service training’.⁷⁶ However, the Scheme’s rejection for use in schools was related, according to Hahn, to suspicion about possible links with ‘the Hitler system for youth’.⁷⁷ Concern about the growth of state-controlled uniformity and regulation in youth organisations⁷⁸ led a number of MPs to oppose suggestions for increasing physical training activities.⁷⁹ A proposal, which Tinkler suggests derived from the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, for a compulsory scheme of pre-military training for boys, was successfully countered by a suggestion from the Board of Education for a Youth Registration Scheme. Through the Scheme, all boys and girls between 16 and 18 could volunteer to pursue some form of training in their leisure time. Churchill was able to support this because it went some way to quell his anxiety that⁸⁰

we must be careful that our boys do not run loose during this time of stress. Their education, their well-being, their discipline and the service they can render must all be carefully supervised.⁸¹

The Youth Registration Scheme ran for boys from December 1941 and for girls from the following March, both until December 1945.⁸²

Among the other elements of the 1944 Education Act that encouraged the delivery of outdoor activities in the youth and further education services was Section 41 which related to the general duties of LEAs with respect to further education and to the use which adolescents made of their time out of school.

- 41 Subject as hereinafter provided, it shall be the duty of every local education authority to secure the provision for their area of adequate facilities for further education, that is to say’;
- (a) full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age: and

- (b) leisure time occupations, in such organised cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their requirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided for that purpose.⁸³

These last section and two clauses originally referred to technical, commercial and art education but were much extended at the Report stage to cover every form of education over school age.⁸⁴ Circular 13 (Nov 1944) extended the provision in 41(b) to 11-14 year olds.

Although the 1944 Education Act did not lay down guidelines for the organisation of secondary education, the White Paper *Educational Reconstruction* and the Norwood Report had made it clear in 1943 that the tripartite system was the favoured policy.⁸⁵ By the time the 1944 Education Bill was passing through Parliament, a 'great surging impulse to reform'⁸⁶ had replaced the gloom of possible defeat that had prevailed when plans for the post-war reconstruction of education were initially made. Hopes among the general public for 'a new and better order' in education and society, in which 'inequalities, injustices and inadequacies' would be gone forever,⁸⁷ allowed the Act to be seen as a means of bringing 'secondary education to all'.⁸⁸ Sections 7 and 8 lend some support to claims made at the time that the Act was a radical measure⁸⁹ which would lead to a 'full and appropriate educational opportunity for every boy and girl throughout the period of compulsory schooling'.⁹⁰ Under Section 7, LEAs were required to contribute towards children's spiritual, moral, mental and physical development and were charged with providing 'efficient education', to meet the needs of the population in their area.⁹¹ Dent considered the clause in Section 8 which stated that LEAs should take note of the 'ages, abilities and aptitudes' of children of secondary school age⁹² as so 'glorious' that it 'should be hung up in every meeting-room of every local education committee and learnt by heart by every citizen'.⁹³ The reason for his joy was because, he felt, that 'properly interpreted it will mean full and appropriate educational opportunity for every boy and girl throughout the period of compulsory schooling'.⁹⁴

During the debate on Section 8, the attention of LEAs was drawn to the expediency of increasing boarding provision. The debate drew attention to the way in which the notion of giving all children ‘a taste of public school life’ was accepted and also associated with outdoor activities, residential experience, widening horizons, character building and improving the health of children. Barker suggests that the following clause contemplated boarding on a much more extensive scale than the legislation on which it was based.⁹⁵ In Section 8 d), LEAs were asked to have particular regard

to the expediency of securing the provision of boarding accommodation, either in boarding schools or otherwise, for pupils for whom education is considered by their parents and by the authority to be desirable.⁹⁶

Section 23 of the 1921 Education Act had included similar legislation in a clause which re-enacted Section 21 of the 1918 Education Act. Although the new legislation was primarily designed for the benefit of children who lived in inaccessible places or in unsatisfactory home conditions,⁹⁷ during the second reading of this section suggestions were made that children in the maintained system of education be given the ‘advantages’ normally restricted to ‘boys in public schools’.⁹⁸ Admiral Beit considered that ‘boarding schools had more to offer the poor than the rich’. He asked for the words ‘expediency of’ to be replaced by ‘need for’ so that the subsection would be given greater importance. Beit also thought a system of state boarding schools would be good for teachers, allowing them to establish a better *esprit de corps* in the school.⁹⁹ Viscountess Davidson, whose Hemel Hempstead constituency accommodated two camp schools, spoke of her admiration for the way in which one headmaster and staff had created ‘a public school with a public school spirit’.¹⁰⁰

During the debate, Lindsay commented that the Fleming Committee, appointed in 1942 to consider how the association between public schools and the general education system of the country could be developed and extended, had not yet reported. Simon interprets the establishment of both the Norwood and Fleming

Committees as among the ‘devious and multifarious’ political tactics used by the Board of Education to ensure that post-war education maintained many of the traditions associated with pre-war schools while also allowing Churchill’s warning, that nothing must be done to ‘stir up divisions’, to be heeded.¹⁰¹ Lindsay expressed the opinion that there was scope for experimenting with boarding schools attached to secondary schools because, he considered, that since ‘we are in an adventurous and experimental age,’ LEAs might consider ‘breaking new ground’.¹⁰² He referred to camp schools ‘where country life and environment have given children a new sense of well-being’ and he urged that the government should ‘cash in on this war experience’.¹⁰³ In the inter-war years, camp schools were established to give urban children fresh air and good food in the countryside as well as ‘the experience of living together and of widening their horizons’.¹⁰⁴ The Camps Act (1939) legislated for fifty permanent camps to be constructed, maintained and managed by a National Camps Corporation. As it progressed through Parliament, the Camps Act had been described as ‘an important step in our campaign for better health and fitness among the people’ and as having a two fold object, namely to supplement accommodation available for evacuation and to provide school camps for children in peace time.¹⁰⁵ The Fleming Report was published just before the Education Act received its Royal Assent, by which time calls for more radical reform had diminished with the prospect of war-time victory in Europe.

By the time the 1944 Education Act reached the statute book, it was regarded as a ‘bold, egalitarian measure’¹⁰⁶ and, according to Maclure, writing on the fiftieth anniversary of the Act, it gained support from all political parties, settled the religious question and was generally welcomed by teachers.¹⁰⁷ Certainly many, including Dent, editor of *The Times Educational Supplement* in the immediate post-war period, hailed it as ‘the greatest measure of educational advance since 1870’.¹⁰⁸ The Labour government, Morgan suggests, enshrined the Act as the basis of the education system for the next forty years.¹⁰⁹ Dean attributes the government’s

decision to 'put into operation a settlement master-minded by non-socialists'¹¹⁰ to two factors, namely the Labour government's lack of a clear future policy for the nation's schools and the disproportionate concern shown by them for a minority of the working class, the academically gifted.¹¹¹ In the late-1940s, practicalities - the adequate supply of teachers, the reduction of class sizes and a building programme to restore bomb-damaged schools - were given priority by the Labour government.

Amid the upheavals of war, social stability was seen as a priority and few of those in authority wanted to question the class divisions within society. If children could be educated to be orderly, civil and obedient, the social order was unlikely to be disturbed. Butler had been clear about his objectives for establishing a nation with a strong sense of social cohesion, 'to make the citizens as happy and harmonious as possible'.¹¹² Among those wishing to maintain the hierarchical structure were those most likely to benefit. Social cohesion, Rubinstein suggests, can follow the principle that those with something to lose tend not to engage in rebellion.¹¹³ The first post-war Minister of Education, Ellen Wilkinson, was the graduate daughter of working-class parents. Deeply proud of her achievements she was concerned for similarly academically capable children. Her 'sturdy defence of the tripartite model' is reflected in her speeches of 1946 and her contributions to the pamphlet *The New Secondary Education*.¹¹⁴ Wilkinson genuinely believed that parity of esteem was possible and, like the majority of her party, that children from all social backgrounds would have the same opportunities in a competitive system.¹¹⁵ In the West Riding, the Labour politics of councillors were rooted in the thinking and outlook of the 1920s and 1930s when long battles were fought to open up the grammar schools to the working class. Simon identifies such groups as showing reluctance to reorganise education on comprehensive lines in the 1960s because they saw grammar schools as the 'jewels in the crown' of their local system.¹¹⁶

The West Riding Local Education Authority

From 1917 until 1937 the West Riding Education Committee was led by a Liberal, Sir Percy Jackson. Described as a typical West Riding local government man, a member of the Methodist church with business interests in the textile industry, his wide experience of education helped him give the Education Committee an informed view of the national position.¹¹⁷ In 1919, Jackson became a member of the Burnham Committee on teachers' salaries and in the 1920s he served on the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education when it produced its report on *The Education of the Adolescent* (the first Hadow Report). Under Jackson, the position of county education officer was established, with first J. H. Hallam and, from 1936, A. L. Binns filling the role. Binns was highly regarded by officials at the Board of Education and served on the Fleming Committee.¹¹⁸ By the late 1930s, the Labour Party had emerged as the single largest group on the West Riding County Council and in 1937 Walter Hyman succeeded Jackson as chairman of the Education Committee. A powerful and sometimes controversial figure, he was a dominant force on the many committees he chaired.¹¹⁹ In March 1943, to avoid entrusting total responsibility to a small group, the Education Committee resolved that all of its members should be constituted as a special sub-committee to consider the schemes being put forward for reconstructing the education system.¹²⁰ A statement, prepared by Hyman, about the policies proposed, refers to a 'revolution in thought and outlook' and an 'experiment in multilateral schooling'.¹²¹ The tone of the statement suggests that 'equality of status' was accorded a high priority by the Committee. 'Poverty', Hyman stated, was to be 'no bar to advanced education'.¹²² Following Binns' move to Lancashire in 1945 Alec Clegg was appointed chief education officer.

Clegg and Hyman collaborated in preparing a post-1944 Education Act Development Plan for the LEA which reflected their attempt to accommodate the tripartite system required by the Act within their own broader views about social

justice and children's intellectual and social development. Hyman and Clegg's idea of 'single area' schools was put forward by the Education Committee in its Development Plan.¹²³ Hyman, described by Clegg as a man of 'great imaginative educational vision',¹²⁴ was to serve as chairman for many of the next twenty-seven years. Hyman was driven by personal as well as philanthropic motives and his refusal to compromise did not always encourage friendship.¹²⁵ However, he has been described as having a genuine passion for education, a vigorous intellect, a readiness for unlimited burdens and the tenacity to ensure his ideas were accomplished.¹²⁶

Several other strong-minded members sat on the West Riding Education Committee. Many were philanthropists. Some were Conservative and others Labour. Some were ex-miners from the south of the region and others came from the Harrogate area. Writing of the mid-1940s, Clegg explained how, 'held back on the leash of a world war... members and officers alike, were longing to break loose and forge ahead'.¹²⁷ Table 3.1 below lists the Chairmen of the Education Committee and indicates the extent to which political control of the County Council changed almost every few years.

Table 3.1 - Chairmen of the West Riding Education Committee 1937-74

1937-49	Walter Hyman	Labour
1949-51	W. J. Johns	Liberal
1951-2	J. Fuller Smith	Conservative
1952-55	Walter Hyman	Labour
1955-58	J. Fuller Smith	Conservative
1958-59	Walter Hyman	Labour
1959-67	C. T. Broughton	Labour
1967-72	Mrs Laura Fitzpatrick	Conservative
1972-74	G. N. Bott	Conservative

The political balance between Labour and Conservative had the advantage of giving moderation to policy decisions, not least because both Labour and Conservative members knew that past performance would be an issue in any election.¹²⁸ The long-standing tradition in the County that the chairs of committees were filled by the majority party with the minority party holding the posts of vice-chair, also meant that all information was sent to both sides.¹²⁹ In addition to proving a useful means of engendering an atmosphere of trust, it also promoted mutual respect among members despite their political differences.

LEAs were expected to submit plans for the implementation of the 1944 Education Act by the 1st. April 1946.¹³⁰ However, the West Riding LEA was among the many Authorities whose plans were approved long after the date for original submission had passed. It was only in September 1952 that the Development Plan of the West Riding was finally approved by the Ministry of Education. The LEA had, in March 1944, begun a survey of existing school provision based on grammar school catchment areas and it was determined that the completed report should be used in preparing the Development Plan. The lateness of the Plan can also be attributed to the major difficulty the Authority found in formulating a detailed scheme to meet the Ministry's requirement that selection at eleven years of age should form the basis of allocating pupils to different secondary schools.¹³¹

Circulating at the time the Committee was preparing its Development Plan were several documents relevant to boarding education and the use of the outdoors in education. The Fleming Report on the *Public Schools and the General Educational System* had, in 1944, recommended a period of boarding education for all pupils.¹³² In 1945, amendments to the 1939 Camps Act were passed by Parliament and two Circulars from the Board of Education invited LEAs to apply to use camp schools. No longer needed for the accommodation of children evacuated from vulnerable areas during the war, LEAs were to submit plans for the peace-time use of the camp schools they had either used or wished to apply to use.¹³³ The West

Riding was successful in its request to rent Bewerley Park Camp School from the National Camps Corporation Ltd. and, from June 1945, children stayed there for a month at a time.

Reference to the use of the outdoors in the West Riding's Development Plan focuses on the use of camp schools which are mentioned in relation to the provision of boarding accommodation as required by Section 8 of the 1944 Act. The Education Committee, the preface stated, had found 'the educational facilities' in a camp school it had recently acquired, to 'be so valuable' that it proposed to include two more such schools in the Development Plan.¹³⁴ However, the Plan's section on boarding arrangements for pupils other than those requiring special educational treatment, includes reference to only one camp school. This was to be of 'very light construction' and was to accommodate 240 girls and boys at an estimated capital cost of £38,165. Other boarding accommodation, according to the Plan's preface, was to be provided for pupils whose homes were in inaccessible areas, whose parents were abroad or for those who could or should not live at home. In addition, boarding accommodation might be provided for pupils who chose to follow a specialist course for which provision might need to be centralised, such as an art or agricultural education.

The Development Plan, which included details of new building plans and the allocation of existing schools for primary and secondary purposes, is dominated by the Education Committee's anxiety about selection at eleven. Under the chairmanship of Walter Hyman and advised by its Chief Education Officer, Alec Clegg, the Committee used the preface to the Plan to record its disagreement with three issues: firstly, that eleven year old children could be classified into three mental types and thereby allocated to either a grammar, modern or technical school; secondly, that the numbers to go to each type of school should be determined by an arbitrary percentage of the age group and thirdly, that aptitudes shown at eleven could be relied on to indicate later capabilities.¹³⁵ The reasons for the Committee's

objections were included in the preface to the Development Plan and summarise the considerable volume of evidence collected by Clegg. The explanation, quoted below, draws attention to the Authority's concern that selection resulted in some children developing a 'defeatist attitude'.

That experience has proved that where the secondary age groups have been twice creamed by successive selections for grammar and for technical secondary schools, the children remaining in the unselective modern school not only miss the stimulus of daily contact with the abler children who are their natural leaders and pace-makers, but only too often acquire a defeatist attitude to school life and work which is the worst of social training.¹³⁶

The solution, the Committee suggested, was a school that

admits all children of an area at the age of 11 and exposes them to a variety of practical, social and intellectual experience (because it) offers the greatest possibility of adjusting educational treatment to the needs of the individual child.¹³⁷

The Development Plan makes no reference to the way in which education was to be provided for children over compulsory school-age, to methods of securing provision for leisure time occupations under Section 41 of the Act, or to the Section 53 requirement for the inclusion of 'adequate facilities for recreation and social and physical training'. Apart from the hostility recorded in the preface to selection, there is no mention, in the Development Plan, of how the LEA might promote the 'spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community'. There are, however, ambitious proposals for the building of fourteen schools for educationally sub-normal children, four boarding schools for delicate children, a further four for physically handicapped children and a number of schools to cater for children suffering from epilepsy or partial deafness.¹³⁸

The high priority given to policies intended to alleviate the distress of children suffering from mental, physical or economic/social disadvantage is shown in the Education Sub-Committee minutes as well as in the Development Plan. There is little doubt that the Authority was anxious to enhance the lives of those 'confined for most of their days in built-up and heavily industrialised areas'.¹³⁹ Section 53 of

the 1944 Education Act was used in several ways by the Authority. From at least 1948, the West Riding grant aided the purchase of camping equipment and gave approval for staff to be absent from school for a few days of term in order to establish holiday camps. The majority of applications were made in the late 1950s, many from schools in the industrialised south of the county, and, although they included grammar schools, a significant number were from boys' secondary modern schools.¹⁴⁰ From 1947 the West Riding sent two boys each month to the Outward Bound School at Aberdovey; one each from the Barnsley and Harrogate Divisions. It would appear that boys from Harrogate were not originally deemed to need such a course because a request was made by the Committee that the policy should be changed so that all the boys attending Outward Bound courses should be from the south of the County.¹⁴¹ It seems that the acquisition of 'better standards' gained through residential living was given a high priority. No mention is made of the character-building aims of Outward Bound, the assumption behind the policy change being that boys could go back and impart to their friends something of the 'decent standards and decent living' from which they had benefited.¹⁴² The main way in which children from the West Riding were given an experience of the outdoors in the period immediately after World War II was through the time they spent at a camp school, details of which are given in the next chapter. From 1945, 200 children each month were given the opportunity to improve their 'personal habits' and gain physical and moral benefit by the change to a rural environment provided by a camp school.¹⁴³

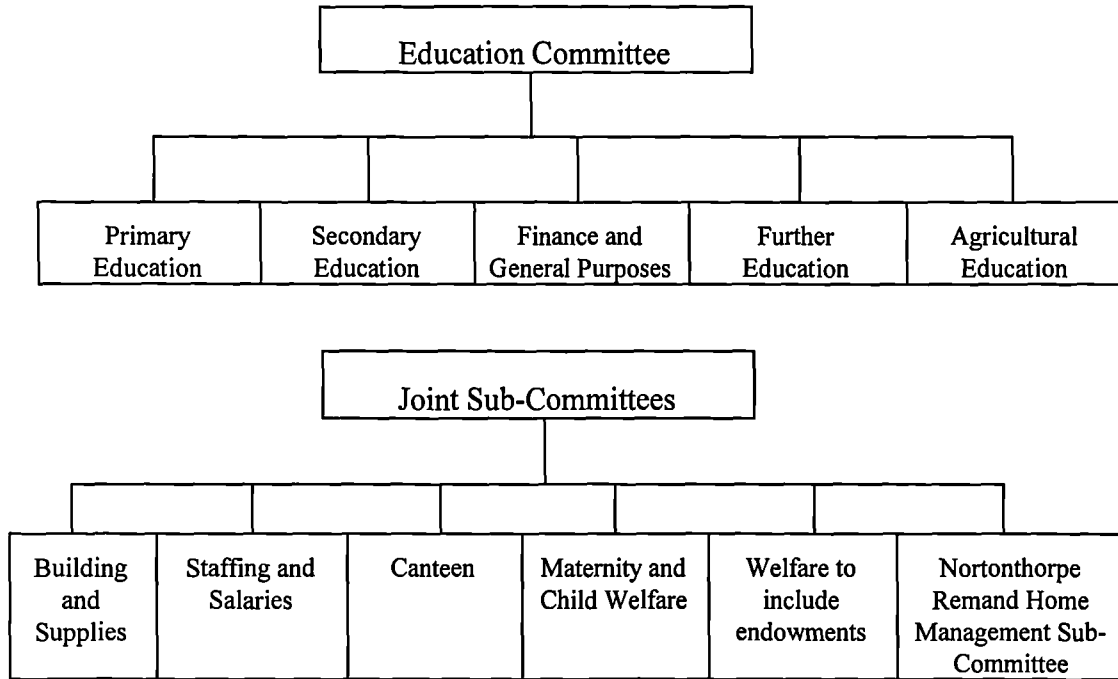
The 1944 Education Act permitted authorities to establish divisional executives in parts of their areas. These were intended to act as foci for local interests and were delegated some advisory and managerial powers.¹⁴⁴ The West Riding established twenty divisions, eighteen of which included more than one district or borough. Divisional education officers were county officials and, although broad policy and financial arrangements were determined by the County

Council, in addition to managing education within its area, each division held review and advisory responsibilities.¹⁴⁵ Each divisional executive consisted of three groups of people; representatives from the County Districts constituting the division, members nominated by the county and a number of co-opted or 'added' members. The usual arrangement was that representatives of the district councils had a slight majority over the other two groups of members. The choice of 'added' members was left to each divisional executive to determine.¹⁴⁶ Some parts of the County indicated a desire to stay outside the divisional arrangements and were not covered by the new scheme.¹⁴⁷ Local opinion within each division was sought regarding secondary provision and the strong tradition of active participation in education matters at local level is reflected in the wide range of types of schools established within the county. Some divisions made early applications to move to a comprehensive system while others sought to maintain grammar schools. Keighley was the only part of the West Riding to gain 'excepted' status; a privilege which gave it the right to draw up and submit its own scheme for delegation of powers from the County.¹⁴⁸

Figure 3.1 shows the sub-committee structure of the West Riding Education Committee which was reformed in 1945 to include sub-committees for primary and secondary schools. A new sub-committee was established in 1946 to deal with Policy and Finance. This became the most important sub-committee and acted as a forum at which major decisions concerning the education service in the West Riding were taken. It was the only sub-committee which Clegg made a point of attending regularly. Other officers in the education department oversaw the work of other sub-committees which effectively ran the service under the policies established by the Policy and Finance Committee. Outdoor education was the responsibility of several committees. In the later 1940s the sub-committee for Finance and General Purposes made decisions regarding the way Beverley Park Camp School was used, while the Management sub-committee oversaw staffing and equipment for the Camp

School. The Welfare Sub-committee dealt with all matters relating directly to children and appears to have had the most direct involvement with Beverley Park.

Figure 3.1 - The Committee structure of the West Riding LEA established in 1945



The County Youth Committee was to report and submit its financial recommendations to the Finance and General Purposes Sub-Committee.¹⁴⁹

Even after 1954, when four ‘Visiting’ Sub-Committees were formed to oversee the work of the Special Services in the West Riding, there seems to have been no single administrative focus for outdoor education across the County. Matters dealing with camping were dealt with by the Building and Supplies Sub-Committee and Beverley Park became the responsibility of one of the joint committees which also bore responsibility for Netherside Hall, a special school for delicate children, and Bridge House Gate School for educationally subnormal children. Although the personnel on the Visiting Sub-Committee for Beverley Park remained largely unchanged until the 1960s, Table 3.2 indicates that it had moved from the umbrella of Special Schools to that of School Management. Provision for outdoor education remained the responsibility of a number of committees until the later 1960s when Buckden House became part of the Authority’s provision for outdoor education.

Table 3.2 - Arrangement of Sub-committees of the Education Committee in the later 1960s

	Committee Responsibilities
Policy and Finance	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. education building projects 2. sports facilities
School Management	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. staffing and salaries 2. appeals 3. inspection of schools 4. Beverley Park
Further Education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. appeals 2. governing sub-committees of <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a) Grantley Adult College b) Woolley Hall c) Bramley Grange d) Institute of Agriculture e) Buckden House
Special Services	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. staffing 2. four grouped bodies of governors of residential special schools
County Youth	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. staffing 2. drama

Alec Clegg - Chief Education Officer to the West Riding 1945-1974

‘The right person at the right time in the right place’ was the way Peter Newsam described Clegg. Newsam was West Riding’s deputy education officer for a short time in the early 1970s before moving to the Inner London Education Authority. He attributed the ethos of the West Riding education service to Clegg’s distinctive qualities.¹⁵⁰ A sense of humour and the ability to articulate complex ideas simply were said to have enabled Clegg to gain the ‘enthusiastic co-operation’ of the education committee.¹⁵¹ His shrewdness in selecting advisers, his ability to get the best out of them and the ‘creative and anti-bureaucratic spirit’ in which he led his administrative team, it has been suggested, allowed many of his ideas to be fulfilled.¹⁵²

In 1946, Clegg stated that the Ministry was asking for the impossible with regard to the requirement for separate schools for children with different abilities and aptitudes.¹⁵³ After consulting a number of experts, he campaigned for schools to be built that would permit a variety of developments and not ‘perpetuate a system which is contrary to all known facts of child development’.¹⁵⁴ The reality of the 1944 Education Act, Clegg said some years later, had been that ‘we still aimed at getting the best out of the best’. It seemed to him that ‘the public school product mattered, the new grammar school product mattered, but the rest didn’t’.¹⁵⁵ The emphasis in the 1944 Act on intellectual ability, Clegg thought, resulted in the ‘constant screening and winnowing of children’. As the number not selected became smaller, the resentful feelings of the ‘rejected group’, he maintained, led to ‘bad behaviour and delinquency’.¹⁵⁶ Multilateral schools, Clegg thought, would solve the problem of deciding which children went to which schools.¹⁵⁷ The first two multilateral schools in the West Riding, Colne Valley High and Tadcaster, opened in 1956.

Clegg’s educational concern centred on two things; the under achievement of pupils, which he referred to as educational wastage,¹⁵⁸ and countering what he saw as a decline of values within society.¹⁵⁹ For him, ‘education should light a fire rather than fill a pot’¹⁶⁰ and yet he respected many of the values and traditions of the past and he admired Thring of Uppingham for his advocacy of teaching based on experience. Clegg had been inspired to teach and then move into administration by examples from within his own family.¹⁶¹ He believed that schools could change children and that those involved in education had a moral duty to teach children the qualities by which to live as well as those skills that would help them to earn a living.¹⁶² Clegg regarded one of the jobs of a teacher as countering the ‘corrupting values of adult society’:

The old pattern of society based on the family with its roots firmly in one place is disappearing, as are so many of the traditional attributes of the family. The Church has lost much of its influence and the old Kiplingesque props, such as duty and obedience and nobility of character and hitting a man your own size and not when he's down, have gone.¹⁶³

Clegg abhorred values and attitudes influenced by 'the stripper, the pill and the pools'¹⁶⁴ and he saw phrases such as 'I couldn't care less', 'I'm all right Jack' and 'we've never had it so good' as indicative of a permanent and undesirable change in values.¹⁶⁵ For him the substance of education in the secondary school was the development of the total personality which, all too readily, he thought, tended to give way to the measurable.¹⁶⁶ He believed that the 'matter-of-fact' aspects of life, or the 'bread', should be kept in balance with spiritual, moral and aesthetic aspects which he referred to as the 'hyacinths', images which he took from a verse framed on an aunt's wall.¹⁶⁷

If thou of fortune be bereft
And of thine earthly store hath left
Two loaves, sell one, and with the dole.
Buy hyacinths to feed the soul.

He recommended that social education should be a positive part of the life in school with many of the techniques which the youth service had evolved over the years being adopted.¹⁶⁸ Clegg thought 'non-verbal' and 'non-academic' forms of activity, such as creative subjects or outdoor pursuits, could be utilised to award praise and encouragement.¹⁶⁹ He was anxious that children 'at the wrong end of society' should not be 'educated into despair by being constantly reminded, directly or indirectly, that their labour is no good'.¹⁷⁰ Reorganisation of education on comprehensive lines, particularly in areas where many 'distressed' children were likely to be found, was one way Clegg saw of countering the division into 'sheep' and 'goats'.¹⁷¹ Outdoor education, for Clegg, was another, not least because, as later chapters will indicate, he believed outdoor activities could motivate and 'bolster' children, enhance pupil-teacher relationships, facilitate learning through the

environment and ultimately enable children to become responsible members of society.

This chapter has shown that as the threat of war increased, the type of outdoor activities developed by the Woodcraft groups in the 1920s and 1930s, were dismissed in favour of the character training associated with notions of *mens sana in corpore sano* that are reflected within the Norwood Report. Goodson suggests that school subjects are the outcomes of historical, ideological and political factors¹⁷² and evidence in this chapter has indicated that the relevant section of the 1944 Education Act, which facilitated the future development of outdoor education, resulted from a number of such factors. In the first half of the 1940s, when there was a need for young men to be fit for war, character-building methods previously associated with public schools, came to be used with young people from all social classes. This chapter has shown that legislation within the 1944 Education Act made possible secondary education for all. However, the chapter also acknowledges that the establishment of the tripartite system had the potential to militate against any narrowing of the divide between the social classes.

Later chapters will explore the extent to which how, in the still-divided education system, curriculum developments using outdoor education as a component of the secondary school curriculum were consistent with the model which Layton suggested occurred in the development of the science curriculum.¹⁷³ Stage one of the model, according to Layton, is when a 'callow intruder stakes a claim in the time-table' and Chapters 4 to 7 will suggest that outdoor education went on to justify its place, as Layton maintains occurred in science, on grounds of 'pertinence and utility'.¹⁷⁴ The examination of outdoor education in later chapters hints that although part of Layton's stage two is applicable - in that 'a corps of trained specialists' increasingly became available from which teachers could be recruited - a tradition of scholarly work did not emerge. Layton notes that in the third stage of the development of science as a curriculum subject, a professional

body established rules and norms, and Chapter 7 of this study includes information about the formation of a professional organisation for outdoor education.

Among the questions this study seeks to address is that concerned with the political, financial and other response of the West Riding LEA to the notion of outdoor education and to discover the rationales offered for the commitment of the LEA after 1944. This chapter has noted the anxiety felt by Clegg and the Education Committee about selection at eleven and their belief that children rejected as failures had the potential to become disruptive members of society. The belief of the LEA that children should be treated equally and on their individual merits gives an indication that, as far as the West Riding was concerned, outdoor education was more likely to be used, not as a means of educating young people for leadership, but as a means of redressing social and economic inequalities. The high priority given in the LEA's Development Plan to ways of alleviating distress in children and the decision to use a camp school for children from heavily industrialised areas indicates the likely target group for special measures, of which a month in the country was one. Later chapters will indicate that Clegg's desire to help children become responsible members of society led him to see residential experiences and outdoor activities as opportunities to offer children a set of social and moral standards of behaviour.

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CHAPTER 4

From Policy to Practice:

The West Riding's Bewerley Park Camp School 1945 - 1958

This chapter refers to the enactment of the 1944 Education Bill with specific reference to outdoor education in the period from 1945 to 1958. Character building, largely because of the needs of war, had permeated the whole of the 1943 Norwood Report and, as Chapter 3 of this study demonstrated, been a consideration of those involved in formulating the 1944 Education Act. But in 1945, readiness for war was a diminishing priority and by the mid- and late-1940s education in the outdoors came to focus attention on improving the physical health of children. This chapter will give an account of camp schools, particularly Bewerley Park Camp School used by the West Riding of Yorkshire from 1945. Character building and associated aims, identified in Chapter 1, began to re-emerge in the 1950s when there seemed a distinct possibility that the international hostilities that had brought about the cold war might erupt in a third world war.¹ Although National Service prepared young men over eighteen for armed conflict of a 'conventional nature' - British troops fought in Korea (1951-3), against the Mau Mau in Kenya (1955) and in Suez (1956), the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs by British, American and Soviet physicists contributed to feelings of anxiety about the future of society.² Throughout the world, colonial empires crumbled but the successful ascent of Everest by a British-led expedition in 1953 helped to engender a continuing sense of imperial power. Against this background, and that of the Rock and Roll age and of Teddy Boys,³ challenging outdoor activities with the dual roles of character building and of providing teenagers with worthwhile leisure pursuits were increasingly available to the mass of young people. The Outward Bound movement continued to grow, Derbyshire LEA established an outdoor education centre for schoolchildren and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme was developed. In addition, many training colleges and the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) introduced

teachers of physical education to ways of using outdoor activities with children in both grammar and secondary modern schools. This chapter will explore the extent to which these initiatives contributed to, or worked against, the weakening of distinctions of both class and gender throughout this period.

The 1944 Education Act legislated for the governance of the education system, but it did not specify the curriculum except for religious education or lay down detailed guidelines for the organisation of secondary education. In 1944 it was the Norwood Report that provided LEAs with the most recent official advice on what should be taught and how it should be delivered. Following the Norwood Report, as Goodson and Marsh note, the emphasis placed on different curricula for children of different mentalities allowed differentiation between children from different social classes to be maintained.⁴ The ‘pupil who is interested in learning for its own sake, who can grasp an argument or follow a piece of connected reasoning’ was to attend a grammar school. The second group, whose interests were in the field of applied science, were to attend technical schools and the third group of pupils who dealt ‘more easily with concrete things than with ideas’ was to be provided with a curriculum that would ‘make a direct appeal to interests’.⁵ In practice, within the tripartite systems established by most LEAs, the majority of secondary modern schools became the poor relation, never achieving the hoped for ‘parity of esteem’, while relatively few technical schools came into being. Secondary education was extended to the mass of the population through the 1944 Education Act and this chapter will review the way which LEAs used legislation within the Act to extend the use of the outdoors in education.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, outdoor education, intended to improve physical well-being and ameliorate a range of social issues, such as a perceived decline in moral standards, was used mainly with children in the group Norwood suggested would benefit from a curriculum which made a direct appeal to their interests and which put them in ‘practical touch with affairs’. Some of the examples

used in this chapter, for instance the activities in camp schools, residential courses run by Staffordshire LEA, the continued support of camping by the Ministry of Education and the curriculum based on a canoe club in a secondary modern school, indicate that outdoor activities were used to enhance the teaching and learning of basic skills. Challenging outdoor activities, using the rugged outdoors and associated with character building and the educational belief in *mens sana in corpore sano*, were frequently available to children in grammar schools through extra-curricular clubs and societies. The majority of working-class children, however, were educated in secondary modern schools and so the categorisation of children of secondary school age into three groups through the tripartite system can, as Morgan suggests, be seen as a method of allowing children to be moulded so as to fit, not only assumptions about the distribution of intelligence, but also the existing social hierarchy.⁶ It would appear that, as Silver suggests, the aims of policy makers can be more easily understood by looking at the translation of policy into practice.⁷ Goodson also links 'differentiated curricula' with social structure and he maintains that the barriers between the different educational sectors are so deeply established that they are very resistant to change.⁸ However, this chapter refers to a number of initiatives in the mid- and late-1950s that did introduce children in secondary modern schools to the type of challenging outdoor activities traditionally associated with public school education and intended for character-building purposes.

From his analysis of school science, Layton suggests that in the first stage of curriculum innovation, teachers - rarely trained specialists - pioneer their subject with a 'missionary enthusiasm'.⁹ This chapter shows that following the 1944 Education Act there was an influx of teachers who brought with them a determination to ensure working-class children could overcome some of the disadvantages of their social background. The emergency training scheme intended to counter the severe shortage of teachers following World War II brought a number of men into teaching from a wide range of backgrounds and with a multitude of

experiences. The chapter makes reference to a number of the teachers working in the West Riding in this period, in particular to Wally Keay. Keay had served in World War II and is undoubtedly one of those teachers identified by Oldham, headteacher at Whitehough Camp School in Lancashire and an ex-aircraft navigator in World War II, as among those that brought a new dimension to the curriculum.¹⁰ In addition to the wealth of experiences these relatively young but mature men brought with them, Oldham thinks many had a 'restless urge to explore' and were keen to share new experiences with their pupils.¹¹ However, within the new secondary modern schools and camp schools, there were also teachers who, possibly because of their own limitations of 'ability and education', perpetuated elementary school traditions.¹²

Camp Schools and the Camps Acts of 1939 and 1945

In the early 1940s, attention was drawn to the way in which camp schools could be viewed as 'one of the good things the war had brought us'.¹³ The account of camp schools given below indicates that, as the 1944 Education Bill passed through Parliament, some policy makers considered introducing working-class children to elements of education associated with public schools. Reference was made to the work of the National Camps Corporation Limited (NCC) which, through camp schools, had provided residential education for working-class children and to a Women's Institute symposium in which a majority of 15:1 had decided in favour of all children going to a residential school for some time. As Muff stated, Borstals or special schools were the only other possibilities for children from the working class to experience a boarding school education.¹⁴

The 1945 Camps Act transferred the responsibilities of the Minister of Health under the Camps Act (1939) to the Minister of Education¹⁵ and signalled the change of the use of camp schools from emergency evacuation centres to a range of educational uses to be determined by LEAs. The 1939 Camps Act, described by the

Government of the day as ‘an important step in our campaign for better health and fitness among the people’,¹⁶ was referred to by the Minister of Education in his introduction to the second reading of the 1945 Camps Act. He reminded Members that the purpose of the 1939 Camps Act was

to provide, in country districts, camps which could be used in an emergency to help with the evacuation of school-children and to supplement the billeting arrangements which had been made. It was always envisaged, even at that time, that if the emergency did not occur, or when the emergency had passed, these camps should revert to education purposes.¹⁷

The debate during the second reading of the Bill drew attention to several features of what had in effect been a four-year experiment in giving working-class children a boarding school experience. Chuter Ede referred to

valuable experimental educational work... especially in the way of providing residential education for children who had not previously had the advantage of participating in that form of education.¹⁸

Kenneth Lindsay, a promoter of the 1939 Camps Act, when Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, told the House that

these camps were the first experiment in residential schools for children between 11 and 14 on any basis other than the open air schools, which had been provided by local education authorities.¹⁹

Lindsay attributed the schools’ successes to a number of factors including space in which the scholars could move about, pupils’ involvement in projects such as building a pavilion or developing an agricultural school and the use of the County Badge Scheme.²⁰ Chuter Ede, the Labour minister responsible, with Butler, for promoting the 1944 Education Act, suggested that camp schools could provide ‘opportunities for experiment, both in class arrangement and in the way in which studies are managed’.²¹

Getting ‘children out of the slums into contact with the wholesome fresh air of the country’²² was the predominant view expressed in the parliamentary debate with the majority of MPs happy to support legislation which would enable

thousands of children, who are now able to attend only day schools and who often come from homes that are over-crowded, and live all their days under the shadow of the smoke of great cities, an opportunity to live a life of fellowship and comradeship in clean and wholesome surroundings with the atmosphere of the countryside around them.²³

However, some Labour Members, either cynically or realistically, expressed the view that it would be preferable to 'improve their homes'²⁴ rather than give children the opportunity to be 'excited' by the 'sight of a frog' or 'the wonder of the starry night' no longer hidden by smoke.²⁵

The National Camps Corporation was a non-profit making company and revenue from its camp schools, £466,230 for the year ending 31st March 1944, was 'expended on working and administration expenses'.²⁶ Under the direction of its managing director, Sir Edward Howarth, the company oversaw all domestic arrangements in camp schools and managed the leasing arrangements with LEAs. In the early months of 1945, Howarth worked with Laskey at the Ministry of Education on the submission of plans for the future use of the camp schools. Their correspondence suggests that a working relationship was well-established at this time, not least because Howarth had been at the Board of Education since 1908 and had served as principal private secretary to several Presidents of the Board before becoming deputy secretary in 1937.²⁷

Thirty one camp schools were built in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Most were intended to accommodate a maximum of 240 pupils and each consisted of a number of Canadian cedar-wood huts built on concrete foundations and roofed with wooden shingles. Standing on sites of between twenty and forty acres, the camp schools were located in country areas within thirty or so miles of large urban conurbations. There were usually four classrooms, two other rooms to be used as practical rooms, a hall complete with stage, a dining room and a kitchen. Five dormitories were each equipped with two-tier iron bedsteads and had a cubicle for a teacher at each end. There was also a lavatory block with baths, showers and a drying room as well as a hospital for seven patients and a nurse. An additional hut

was provided for the Headmaster, the Camp Manager and their families.²⁸ Although each hut was built to an identical design, the layout of each camp school was unique. In the event of being used for military purposes it was thought the sites would be more difficult to identify by enemy bombers if laid out in different ways. A Ministry of Information pamphlet, *The Schools in Wartime*, produced on behalf of the Board of Education in 1941, describes the work of camp schools in enthusiastic terms and includes an account of one school where staff and pupils dammed a stream to make their own open-air swimming pool.²⁹

Towards the end of the war, the use of camp schools as a means of fulfilling a recommendation of the Fleming Committee (that all children should have a period of boarding education)³⁰ was proposed by a number of educationists including the headmaster of Rugby School³¹ and the headmaster of a boys' camp school evacuated in February 1940 from a London suburb. The latter put forward the case for a stay of at least two years, preferably three or four, so that 'natural leaders would emerge'.³² He placed considerable stress on the ability of boarding education to instil a sense of social responsibility into boys.

Life in this community teaches him to be tolerant and unselfish, to respect authority and to accept responsibility.

With more than undertones of social control, he reiterated a theme of the 1944 Education Act; a better world after the war.

(If we can help) more children to grow up with a sincere respect for the feelings and rights of others and can develop more leaders who are not motivated by self-interest we shall do much towards the realisation of that better world upon which we are building our hopes.

The headmaster describes how.

The children have fewer distractions than they had during their day-school life... They go to bed earlier, have regular and sufficient hours of sleep, and plenty of wholesome food in a well-balanced diet.³³

Children in some camp schools, it seems, did experience an innovative curriculum. Dent gives details of some in which projects had supplanted subjects

and individual study and group work had replaced class instruction. He considered it was the 'controlled environment' that enabled teachers to 'break away from the academic curriculum' that, he thought, had 'long been the curse of English education'.³⁴ Camp schools met with Dent's approval for two further reasons, both pertinent to the time in which he was writing; education for democracy and the worthwhile use of leisure.³⁵ Through the boarding element, he maintained, children's awareness could be raised of how they were dependent on their immediate community and needed both to get and to give support. Because of this, he saw camp schools as pointing the way towards 'a truer conception of education for democratic living'. The intensive encouragement of children's interests would, he felt, invest their leisure with a purpose.³⁶

An editorial, in April 1943, in the *Times Educational Supplement* expressed concern that the impact of the reports on evacuation, which had proved a 'shock to the public conscience' in 1939, should not be lost in the education debate which planned for 'a nobler and healthier Britain'.³⁷ Along with the proposal that town schools should have regular use of country camps and boarding schools were notions that 'better material conditions' would facilitate the development of 'initiative, self-respect and the sense of citizenship'.³⁸ Mid- and post-war reports on camp schools also mention the ability of the institutions to train children to be 'tidy', to 'respect authority' and to be 'responsible' for the good of the community.³⁹

Bewerley Park Camp School

Bewerley Park, near Pateley Bridge in Nidderdale, was the camp school used from 1945 by the West Riding Authority. Until the mid-1950s, the main aims of the Authority in connection with the camp school were to improve the health and broaden the social experiences of children from industrial and mining areas in the south of the County. This section examines the experiences of children attending the Camp School until 1958 and explores the changes that took place, including the

way in which the interests and aims of the teachers contributed to the change, albeit gradual, from a camp school to a junior field-studies centre.

Throughout World War II, Bewerley Park Camp School had been occupied by children from the city of Leeds. A bus carrying an initial group of sixty eight scholars with three teachers and three helpers, the headmaster and a male assistant arrived at Bewerley Park Camp School on the 7th August 1940. The ages of the children ranged from six to fourteen, they were of both sexes and had formerly attended nine different elementary schools in Leeds.⁴⁰ By 1941 the number of scholars had risen to 204 boys and girls from twenty eight different schools. Twenty six of the scholars had formerly attended Leeds Open Air School and sixteen 'difficult' boys were 'selected' by Leeds LEA, with the remaining children admitted on the application of their parents.⁴¹ Records show that camp schools thirty or so miles from other large cities also provided emergency accommodation for schoolchildren, although in many instances whole schools were evacuated thus becoming schools in exile. For example, camp schools in Surrey and Hertfordshire catered for London children and two in North Wales took children from Liverpool.⁴² According to the Minutes of Leeds Education Committee, the transfer of schoolchildren from the city was one of the big successes of the evacuation scheme and a newspaper report suggests that 'Children were Healthy and Happy' at the Leeds Camp School.⁴³ However, His Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) visiting the school were disappointed to find that the work in the camp school was no different from that in a city school. They apparently thought a school which operated under Camps Act and not education legislation could have a more flexible curriculum. The HMI's Report also stated that teachers found the 'boys easier and more attractive to teach', while the attitude of the girls was 'profoundly troubling'. The girls, the Report stated, seemed apathetic and did not seem to find personal satisfaction with the place. Perhaps, the authors suggested, 'life is too institutional for the girls'.⁴⁴ Although supposedly concerned only with the domestic arrangements of the camp

schools, Howarth's view of suitable activities is indicated by his response to the Leeds Education Committee's complaint that Bewerley Park was not a good place on which to site a camp school. A letter to Howarth from Guest, the Director of Education for the City of Leeds, notes that;

you are probably aware that our experience has indicated various defects such as unsuitable site, lack of staff accommodation, division of responsibility in management, and so on.⁴⁵

Howarth replied that it was 'almost ideal for a Camp'.

Not only is the Camp placed in one of the healthiest places in Yorkshire surrounded by innumerable opportunities for walks in wonderful country, but Pateley Bridge is also a well known beauty spot. There are ample playing fields at the camp and close by are excellent facilities for bathing.⁴⁶

The complaint from Leeds may have been an echo of that made by the Pateley Bridge and Nidderdale Improvement Society which had objected to the camp school being built because they felt

the proposed site of the camp is most unsuitable. The land is low-lying, on the riverbank, and is situated in such a position that a successful raid on the reservoirs (up-stream from the camp) would make the camp a place of great danger.⁴⁷

Although Gosden noted that friction between the National Camps Corporation and education authorities was among the factors that prevented many camp schools from maintaining full numbers,⁴⁸ Howarth claimed that Leeds was the only authority to cause the Ministry problems.⁴⁹ Records show that the pay and conditions of work for teaching and domestic staff were a frequent cause of friction at Bewerley Park between the headmaster and the National Camps Corporation. There is also evidence to suggest that relations with neighbouring landowners were not always amicable.⁵⁰ In addition, the Board of Education reprimanded teaching staff for drinking the milk provided for the children and the NCC investigated the reason for the children not receiving the full allocation of the oranges provided.⁵¹

Circular No. 17, issued by the Ministry of Education, requested LEAs to prepare schemes for the future use of camp schools. In response, Leeds Education

Committee resolved that the Authority's tenancy should continue and that the camp be used for 'normal children under suitable arrangements to be approved by the Minister of Education'.⁵² The submission from Guest, the Director of Education, to the Ministry is not very specific, stating only that the children would attend for varying lengths of time.⁵³ Perhaps this is part of the reason why Howarth described Leeds as a 'lukewarm' authority.⁵⁴ The charge proposed by Leeds, of 27s and 6d a week, was considered above the amount legally allowed for board and lodging and this provided Howarth with a reason for rejecting Leeds's continued tenancy. Using Section 37 of the 1921 Education Act (Section 61 (1) of the 1944 Act), which prohibited LEAs from charging for education provided under Section 86 of the 1921 Act (Section 53 of the 1944 Act), Howarth persuaded the Ministry of Education to agree with his proposal that the West Riding, rather than Leeds, should be allocated occupancy of Bewerley Park Camp School.⁵⁵

Described as a 'keen new tenant', the West Riding had apparently been anxious to use one of the camps under the new arrangements for some time.⁵⁶ In May 1945 the then Chief Education Officer of the West Riding LEA, Binns, submitted the following proposals to the Ministry of Education shortly before his move to Lancashire LEA.

1. It is proposed to send each month 240 senior boys and girls from the poorer and more industrial areas of the Riding to the Camp. In the first month only 200 will be sent, in order to reduce, if possible, the initial difficulties likely to face the Headmaster and staff.
2. Twelve teachers will be appointed, of which at least four will be permanent and the remainder drawn from contributory schools. It is hoped to appoint a Headmaster who has a real interest in husbandry, horticulture and rural pursuits generally. A specialist teacher in handicraft and horticulture and a trained nurse will form part of the staff.⁵⁷

The tenancy of Bewerley Park Camp School by the West Riding Authority was to begin on 1st June 1945.⁵⁸ The Minutes of the West Riding's Education Committee make clear that children were to be selected from secondary modern, not grammar schools, in the south of the region⁵⁹ and that, as an internal memo states, this was to

be done from 'the worst-housed areas first'.⁶⁰ Headteachers were to nominate those most likely to benefit from rural surroundings.⁶¹ Because of the shortage of teachers in the immediate post-war period, whole classes would be taken so that the children's own teachers could accompany them.⁶² Parental contributions towards the cost of their child's food and maintenance were to be on the same scale as in Special School cases and no child was to be 'precluded from attendance simply because the parents cannot pay'.⁶³

In the immediate post-war period, it was not unknown for children arriving at Beverley Park Camp School to be sewn into their clothes and for dirty feet to be mistaken for socks.⁶⁴ Daily baths were part of the routine and children were 'stripped' and weighed on arrival and departure.⁶⁵ On average the children gained three or four pounds in weight during their month's stay.⁶⁶ An information leaflet distributed to all schools from 1946 and intended for children attending Beverley Park Camp, describes the School in the following terms.

The Camp School is housed in semi-permanent buildings, centrally heated when necessary, and full provision is made for 240 children to live a healthy country life. Every possible arrangement is made for their comfort and well being. Meals are provided by a permanent staff with long experience in large-scale catering and there is a well-appointed hospital in charge of a trained nurse to provide free medical treatment.⁶⁷

Between 1945 and 1950, Beverley Park was always open except for the Christmas break of one month. Holidays were taken on a rota basis with teachers' places filled by extra visiting staff. Throughout the period dealt with in this chapter, Welfare Officers were able to use the Camp School for a month in the summer to give a holiday to children from Children's Homes and financially deprived families. In 1949, so that a camp school experience could be offered to a greater number of children, members of the Education Committee decided to rent Etton Pasture Camp School near Beverley. This was used between 1949 and 1952. Apart from boarding accommodation attached to country grammar schools, camp schools were the West Riding's only boarding provision under Section 8 of the 1944 Education Act. In

1952, a war orphan had to be accommodated at Bewerley Park until a new foster home could be found for her.⁶⁸

Clegg's support for camp schools can be identified with his determination to ensure that the disadvantaged became responsible members of society.

At first the primary object was, I suppose, to give children a chance of a month in the country, and to get them away from grimy urban surroundings.⁶⁹

Even when the need for children to be accommodated in the country for health reasons had diminished, the West Riding LEA continued to support Bewerley Park. The charges made by the National Camps Corporation, until it went into voluntary liquidation and the West Riding bought the Camp School in 1957, steadily increased from about £1,400 per month in 1946 to £2,000 in 1952, a rise from £7-0s-0d to £10-0s-0d per child per month. However, the original charge to West Riding parents of 12s and 6d per week remained unchanged until the 1960s.

The management committee's concern was that the Camp School should continue to provide disadvantaged children with an opportunity to experience a 'better' way of life and to receive social training so they could develop 'a spirit of good-neighbourliness through friendship and service'.⁷⁰ Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, a dance was held each Saturday evening when the children were given a programme on which partners were to sign:

PROGRAMME		
<u>Dance</u>		<u>Partner</u>
1. Lilac Waltz		_____
2. Military two step		_____
3. Honeymoon Parade		_____
4. Barn Dance		_____
5. Gay Gordons		_____
6. Dinky one step		_____
INTERVAL	- ICES	
7. St. Bernard's Waltz		_____
8. Highland Scottische		_____
9. Boston two step		_____
10. Royal Empress Tango		_____
11. Spanish Fandango		_____
12. Last Waltz		_____

Staff were attracted to some public school traditions, for example, children were divided into houses and the motto, *Non sibi sed omnibus*, was devised by the daughter of the handicraft teacher. She had just started Latin at the local grammar school and thought it appropriate.⁷¹

Minutes of the West Riding Education sub-committees responsible for Beverley Park Camp School confirm that it was children from secondary modern schools who attended courses, that charges were waived in 'needy' cases and that no action was taken against parents who had not paid their due contribution. Binns had stated that priority would be given to children from the south of the region and in the report, written by the Education Committee in 1953, *Ten Years of Change*, Beverley Park Camp School is described as a service for the

thousands of children in the Riding who are confined for most of their days in built-up and heavily industrialised areas.⁷²

In the thirteen year period between 1945 and 1958, almost 30,000 school-children in the West Riding of Yorkshire were introduced to the outdoors at Beverley Park Camp School.⁷³ However, using statistics of the places allocated to each division of the County between 1945 and 1955 (Table 4.1) it appears that factors other than the health needs of children from the most industrial areas influenced the allocation of places to Beverley Park Camp School. Although the statistics are incomplete for 1945, 1946 and 1947 and are not available for 1949 or for Etton Pasture Camp School, it remains clear that the allocation of places was neither evenly distributed nor skewed in favour of those from the south of the region. Figure 4.1 shows the allocation of places in graphical form. When the numbers are transferred to a map of the divisions of the County (Figure 4.2), it can be seen that no children were allocated places at Beverley Park from the industrial and mining areas of Penistone, Rothwell and Stanley and Wharnccliffe in the south of the Authority. However, it is clear that a good number did attend from the rural areas of Ripon and the supposedly affluent division of Claro (Harrogate) in the north. Neither does there appear to be

any consistency for, although 633 places were allocated to the Craven division, it seems none was allocated to the geographically and economically similar and neighbouring division of Settle. Divisional education officers had considerable autonomy and it seems some chose not to become involved in arranging for children to attend Bewerley Park Camp School.

Table 4.1 - The number of places allocated to Divisions in the West Riding between 1945 and 1955

(Statistics for 1949 are missing and those for 1945-1947 are incomplete)

Division	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	Totals
1. Craven			33			200			200		200	633
2. Claro				200			100		200		400	900
3. Shipley						200		400			200	800
4. Airedale		100				200	200		200	200	200	1100
5. Calder									200	200	200	600
6. Ashlar							67	200		200		467
7. Spenn Valley			200			200	67	200		200	200	1067
8. Morley							200	200		200		600
9. Batley	200						67	200			200	667
10. Rothwell & Stanley												0
11. Castleford						200						200
12. Pontefract				100		200				200		500
13. Gaskell										200		200
14. Upper Agbrigg				100				100				200
15. Hemsworth							200			200		400
16. Don Valley				200					200			400
17. Staincross							200					200
18. Mexborough	50											50
19. Wharfedale												0
20. Rother Valley			200			200				200		600
31. Settle												0
32. Ripon							100	200	200			500
33. Wharfedale			33	200			200		200	200	200	1033
34. Selby & Ainstey												0
35. Goole				200		200	200			200		800
36. Saddleworth				100				100				200
37. Penistone												0
Keighley	42					200		200	200		200	842
Barnsley												0
Sheffield										200		200
Totals	292	100	466	1100		1800	1601	1800	1600	2400	2000	13159

Figure 4.1 - The number of places allocated to Divisions in the West Riding - 1945 to 1955

(Statistics for 1949 are missing and those for 1945-1947 are incomplete)

(Numbers preceding some Divisions are those used for administrative purposes)

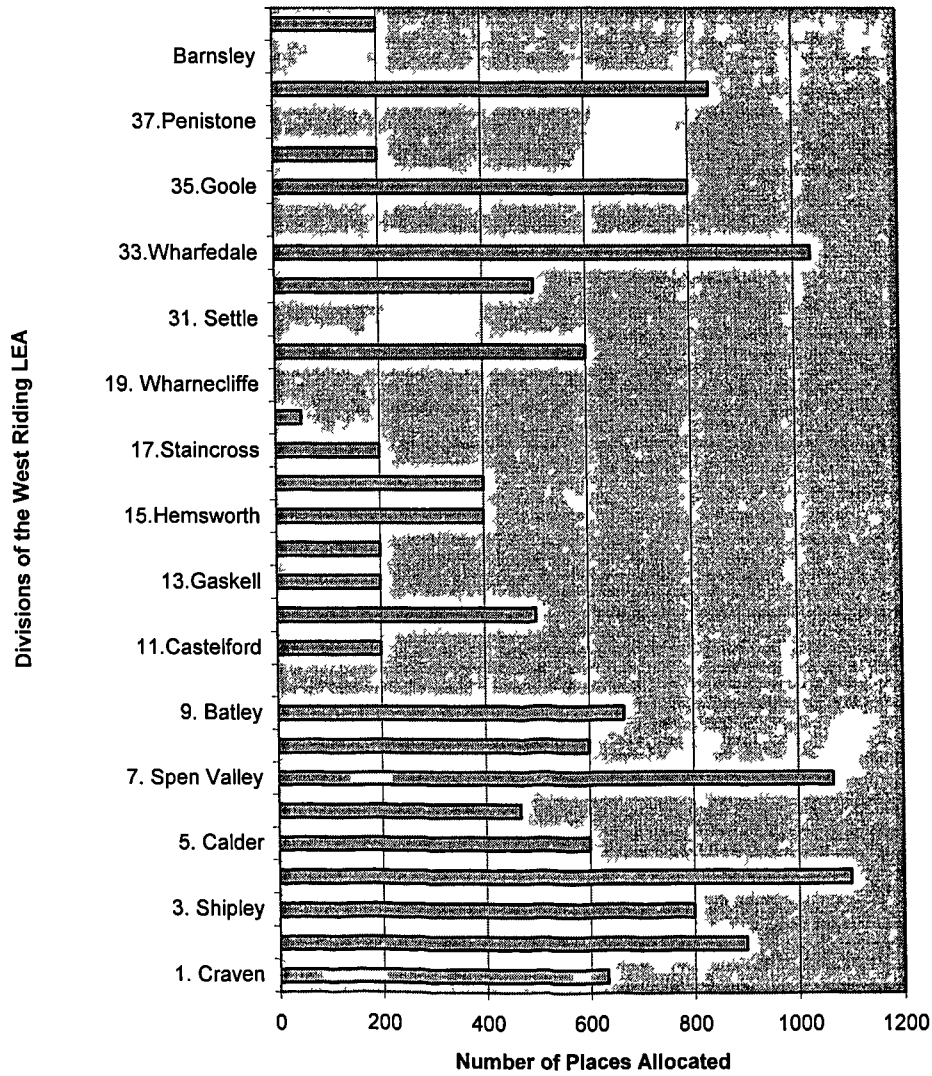


Figure 4.2 - Map to show the number of places allocated to Divisions in the West Riding between 1945 and 1955

(Statistics for 1949 are missing and those for 1945-1947 are incomplete)



The curriculum planned for Bewerley Park Camp School in 1945 is indicated by the specialisms of the teachers the Education Committee planned to appoint; a headmaster with 'a genuine interest in rural activities' and instructors in woodwork, domestic science and horticulture.⁷⁴ In April 1945, the Committee resolved to appoint six permanent teaching staff for the 200 children, and a man and a woman to supervise bathing, mending and other duties.⁷⁵ The headmaster from 1945 until 1964 was Norman Ledbetter. Bewerley Park was his seventh school and in many of

his previous schools there had been farms with which he had been very involved.⁷⁶ Although a teacher of woodwork was appointed at the same time, the appointment of a teacher of horticulture did not take place until later and no specialist teacher of domestic science was ever appointed. Advertisements for staff in 1950 suggest that different emphases had emerged in the curriculum of the Authority's two camp schools. The differences were almost certainly due to the different interests of existing staff. The assistant master required at Bewerley Park was to be a specialist in 'local geology, geography and land utilisation' and to have an interest in 'rambling and map reading',⁷⁷ while the assistant mistress required for Etton Pasture was to be qualified in agriculture or horticulture and be experienced in the keeping of livestock.⁷⁸ During the West Riding's occupancy of Bewerley Park, no livestock was kept by pupils and attempts at cultivating the land were not pursued following several unsuccessful initiatives.⁷⁹

The children at Bewerley Park were divided into three classes and attended lessons from 9.00am until 4.30pm Monday to Friday. In the late 1940s, each of the three classes specialised in one of the following - Geography, Geology/Biology or History. All the children went on three half-day excursions during their month-long stay - Brimham Rocks, Fountains Abbey and Stump Cross Caverns. At Fountains Abbey, they were given a talk about the history and shown round the ruins. At Brimham Rocks the children listened to a talk about the geology and walked round the rocks; a photograph taken in 1950 shows at least fifty children and three staff in the group being talked to by a fourth member of staff. At Stump Cross the children were guided through the caverns and they listened to a talk about how the caves were formed and discovered. Notes written in record books suggest pupils copied a considerable amount of information from the blackboard and made extensive use of duplicated sheets.⁸⁰

By 1949, a Physical Training and Leisure Activity class had been formed at Bewerley Park, with Oliver Curtis, appointed to the teaching staff with his wife

Eileen in 1947, as its leader. Map reading, compass work and walking formed the basis of the children's activities in this class and, like pupils in the other classes, they made a record of their month's stay. The diaries, many of which are still proudly kept, include accounts of visits and classroom work.⁸¹ The following extract is dated 16th March 1951.

On Tuesday night the 27th February after tea, we prepared for a ramble over the moors by fitting rucksacks and choosing gas capes. Some of the girls had to fit big boots because they only had light shoes. Next morning, nine other boys and I collected fruit and sandwiches which we carried for the rest of the party.

We set off (by bus) on the road to Ramsgill ...started to walk and ...after a while we were asked which of the boys would like to go with the teacher across the moor ...the girls were not allowed to go because they had nothing to protect their legs.⁸²

The clothing list in the 1946 leaflet for parents, included strong shoes, jumpers and skirts for girls, while for boys, walking wear was a pair of strong boots, trousers, shirts, jersey and jacket.⁸³

The course material prepared by Curtis is headed 'Courses for boys and girls' and lists the following activities: - rambling, cycling, camping, hostelling, gardening, reading and talking, games practices, farming techniques, art and, additional for boys - rock scrambling, additional for girls - personal hygiene. A note states that 'all items of local interest, whether they be historical, geographical or social will be dealt with as they present themselves'. The course material includes lists of equipment and information on the correct way to behave in a variety of situations.

Rock scrambling information

This course will demonstrate simple techniques which are used by the hill and fell walker and by the mountaineer. Rope work with knots including the bowline, the fisherman's bend and the overhand loop will be practised. The use of belays will be explained. Various rock climbing and mountaineering expressions will be taught, e.g. ridge, pinnacle, gully, col, buttress, saddle, arete, chimney, backing up, the pressure hold, the layback, to straddle, glissading, roping down, scree, etc. It is accepted that when boys are

confronted with a pitch of rock on their expeditions they will try to climb it. This course will help them to climb safely and well. The very grave dangers of solo climbing and climbing without expert help will be stressed.

Personal hygiene.

Hygiene practices will be taught as incidental to the rambling, cycling and camping courses. However, in the case of the girls some time will be devoted to specific instructions. This will cover, bodily cleanliness, washing, bathing, underwear, deodorants, care of the hair, care of the teeth, etc.⁸⁴

The courses were used as models of good practice by Oliver Curtis when, in the early 1950s, he directed courses in lightweight camping for HMI, for student teachers at Carnegie College of Physical Education at Leeds and, in co-operation with the CCPR, for the Youth Service of the City of Bradford Education Committee.⁸⁵

Afternoon activities for children in all classes were determined by the weather and the personal preferences of the three men and three women teachers always on duty. Oliver and Eileen Curtis organised lightweight camping expeditions for boys and girls using the school field and they also took groups of children youth hostelling at weekends.⁸⁶ However, it was only the boys who took part in night manoeuvres in the local woods when, once a month, the boys worked in pairs to locate certain points. Other 'leisure' activities included walking, swimming in summer in a dam situated about a mile from the School, and outdoor games such as football, cricket or rounders. Indoor activities included painting, indoor games and country dancing. Girls spent one afternoon a week - washing hair, writing letters, 'beautifying' themselves or 'just having a natter.' Evening activities began after supper which was at 7.00 o'clock, Saturday dances and Sunday concerts were fixed, as was a film each Tuesday. Other evening activities included country and old-time dancing, indoor party games, a quiz from time to time and slide shows.⁸⁷

The above information has shown how activities in the outdoors were used at Bewerley Park Camp School as a means of improving the physical well-being of the children and stimulating their learning of basic skills. The personal interests of the

teachers can also be judged to have promoted the use of outdoor activities, a factor which, as will be noted below, influenced changes in the curriculum after 1956 when, after renting the Camp School from the NCC for more than ten years, the West Riding County Council was able to purchase the premises.⁸⁸ Ownership enabled the West Riding LEA to have more control over the numbers attending the Camp School and, from 1958, only 120, rather than 200, places were made available. In addition, the length of each course was extended by four days so that they became four weeks and four days.⁸⁹ A further change which occurred in 1957 aimed to broaden the social experience of the children and stemmed from a policy decision of the management committee to mix children from widely geographically separated schools, and, thereby, in the case of the West Riding, social background.⁹⁰ Table 4.2 indicates how children from different parts of the County - the woollen and mining area (A), an area east of the County (B) and the mainly rural area of Harrogate/Skipton (C), could be drawn together for a period at the School.⁹¹

Table 4.2 – The administrative divisions of the West Riding grouped into three sections

A	Calder, Castleford and District, Pontefract and District, Airedale, Wharfedale, Selby and Ainsty, Shipley, Mexborough and District and the excepted District of Keighley
B	Ashlar, Spen Valley, Batley, Morley, Rothwell/Stanley, Gaskell, Upper Agbrigg, Saddleworth, Don Valley and Goole
C	Craven, Settle, Claro, Ripon, Hemsworth and District, Staincross, Wharnccliffe, Penistone and Rother Valley.

On any one course, children might come from twenty-four different schools, with those from industrial and mining towns grouped with children whose homes were in remote moorland villages.

Staff at Bewerley Park worked long hours but they benefited financially because the Authority met their boarding costs and most staff enjoyed the camaraderie with colleagues. However, they had only a cubicle at the end of a dormitory for accommodation.⁹² In the immediate post-war period, there was a national shortage of housing and some teachers may have been attracted to a post

which included accommodation. In the 1940s some teachers accompanied their own class of children to Bewerley Park and subsequently were themselves attracted to the work and applied for a permanent post when one became available. Others applied for posts they had seen advertised in *The Teacher* or *Times Education Supplement*; presumably because, having taken children on excursions from day schools, they wanted to develop this work. Living in a cubicle at the end of a dormitory no doubt contributed to the high turn over of teaching staff. Of the thirty five teachers identified between 1945 and 1964, fifteen stayed for only one year, six for two years, two for three years, six for four years, three for five years, one for six years and Oliver and Eileen Curtis for eight years. The Curtis's were also unusual in that they lived in accommodation away from the school and were able to manipulate their duty days so they could take extended leave and travel abroad with expedition groups.

The teachers at Bewerley Park would almost certainly have identified themselves with those whom Dent described as grasping the opportunities provided by the 1944 Act Education Act to base their curriculum on projects or centres of interest.⁹³ Discussions with a number of teachers employed at Bewerley Park in the 1940s and early 1950s confirm that they were enthusiastic and cared about the physical and social well-being of their pupils. They saw themselves as responding to a call to those who believed in education for its own sake and who longed for a free hand with children who were not deemed to be natural learners.⁹⁴ Anecdotes from these staff refer to children who wrote home capturing the excitement of walking on a hill, who did not recognise cows and who rushed round picking up grass.⁹⁵ However, as Layton suggests happens in a newly developing subject, the teachers were not trained specialists,⁹⁶ and, inevitably they were heavily influenced by their own experience and education.⁹⁷ Between 1945 and 1958, the West Riding maintained Bewerley Park Camp School in order to improve the physical health and moral well-being of children, particularly those considered by Clegg to be 'in

distress' because of the disadvantages of their home environment. Although Clegg wanted the children to adopt 'better' standards and become more responsible members of society, there is no evidence that the children were encouraged to challenge the *status quo* with regard to their position in society in terms of either class or gender.

Developments at Bewerley Park in a wider national context

The account given so far in this chapter has shown that outdoor activities were part of the curriculum at Bewerley Park. However, the School did not become a residential centre for outdoor pursuits until the mid-1960s. The change can be attributed to a number of developments beyond the West Riding which, as Hopkins and Putnam suggest, had a catalytic influence on the development of adventurous outdoor education.⁹⁸ They especially identify Outward Bound and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. Although Outward Bound, from its beginnings in World War II, had given naval recruits and industrial apprentices from the working class the opportunity to become leaders through challenging outdoor pursuits, it was in the mid-1950s that serious attempts were made to introduce outdoor activities to working-class children for character-building purposes. This was the time when East/West relations were particularly troubled and when 'pop' musicians such as Bill Haley and Elvis Presley were exerting influence over young people who were perceived as having 'too much' freedom and money. Factors that contributed to the increased interest in out-of-doors recreation in the 1950s include the increasing prosperity of the period, especially the wider ownership of cars and motorbikes,⁹⁹ and the impact of National Service which provided young men with the 'experience of travel in unfamiliar lands' and with the 'adventurous training' that 'bred self-reliance and leadership'.¹⁰⁰ In addition, Hopkins and Putnam credit the exploits of young, working-class and daring rock-climbers in Scotland, the Lake District and North Wales with setting examples for others to follow.¹⁰¹ In 1953 Everest was

conquered by a British team led by John Hunt, educated at Marlborough and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and who, as Hopkins and Putnam testify, later played a major part in encouraging young people to 'widen their horizons'.¹⁰² A number of the initiatives which took place in the broader context described below suggest that outdoor education may have made some contribution to the narrowing of social-class and gender divisions.

Examples below describe initiatives which illustrate the use made of the curriculum freedom possible under the 1944 Education Act. Like the initiatives at camp schools, including Bewerley Park, they did not significantly contribute to the weakening of social distinctions of either class or gender. The subjects taught in one, unidentified, secondary modern school in 1955 demonstrate how it was possible for a curriculum to be based on an outdoor activity, in this instance on a club for canoeing and sailing which had started in 1949. Canoes, dinghies and their fittings were built in woodwork and metalwork lessons by the boys. At the same time, the girls sewed pennants, spray decks and sails in their needlework lessons. In mathematics, different types of canoes were costed and balance sheets were produced for several activities involving finance. Surveys were conducted of the canal and surrounding countryside in which the canoeing and sailing took place. The history of the canal and the industries found along its banks formed the basis of history lessons while correspondence with firms and societies took place in English. Science lessons included the theory of sailing, and, in art lessons, pennants were designed while, in technical drawing, boathouse plans were produced and a single seater kayak designed.¹⁰³

The Camping Advisory Committee was established by the Ministry of Education in 1946 and charged with the task of 'raising the standard of camping by the Youth of this country'.¹⁰⁴ In 1947 school camping was added to the Committee's responsibilities and, in 1948, a Camping Panel of HMIs was constituted with direct responsibility for advising on camping in all Divisions of the

country.¹⁰⁵ In 1952, the role of the Camping Advisory Committee was stated to be to 'keep the Ministry in touch with development and thought in the camping world and to advise the Ministry from this standpoint'.¹⁰⁶ Anxiety was expressed by Committee members about the number of primary school teachers wanting to take children camping; the reason given for discouraging them was that the Members did not want to see camping regarded as a game for 'kids' in case it lost its 'adventurous appeal for adolescents'.¹⁰⁷ The Committee reported that only twenty-seven men and five women had been accepted for the sixty places on the 1953 camping course organised by HM Inspectors but they noted that demand for the twelve places on the mobile-camping section had been greater than ever before, although there were no women applicants.¹⁰⁸ Members resisted an attempt by the Ministry to disband their Committee.¹⁰⁹ Some years later, they noted a growth of interest in lightweight camping associated with canoe-touring and that the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme was 'opening up a new field for junior boys'.¹¹⁰ The Committee was made up of seventeen members who were invited as representative of voluntary youth organisations, HMIs, teacher training colleges, schools and LEA advisers. Among the members was Amos Breeze, an adviser to Staffordshire LEA, and, at least from the mid-1950s, Sir John Hunt. Although members felt they served to remove any suggestion that the Ministry was pursuing its own ideas about camping without regard to those of others,¹¹¹ the Committee seem to have continued the tradition of standing camps favoured by the Board of Education before 1944. Between 1946 and 1956, 1650 people had received training in camping through courses organised by HMI and by 1956, 15,000 copies of the Ministry's 1954 pamphlet, *Camping in Education*, had been printed.¹¹²

Goodson notes the importance of individuals on the development of a subject and evidence does suggest that a small number of teachers were instrumental in developing outdoor education as a component of the school curriculum. One of these was Amos Breeze who served on the Camping Advisory Committee and has

been credited with enabling Staffordshire LEA to lead the field 'nationwide' in using the outdoors as 'a vehicle for transmitting the ideals and concept of self-reliance, self-help, initiative and social interaction in education'.¹¹³ Breeze was appointed to the post of organiser of physical education to Staffordshire LEA in 1938 and a year later given £100 to develop standing camps. Despite his absence on active war service, by 1952 it has been estimated that 2,000 children and 114 teachers had experienced the outdoors on one of the five-day residential courses in outdoor education that Breeze organised within the Authority. Little has been written about the contribution Breeze or Staffordshire LEA made to the development of outdoor education. Perhaps this is because courses in Staffordshire extended the use of camping and school excursions that were familiar to those from the elementary sector of education rather than developing practices associated with the higher status public schools with which other initiatives can be identified. When tracing the origins of outdoor education, writers usually stress the influence of charismatic 'upper-class' characters such as Baden-Powell, Kurt Hahn and John Hunt rather than those like Breeze who had a background of scouting, climbing and canoeing in North Wales and who had attended the City of Leeds Training College before introducing boys in a Walsall Secondary School to campcraft and hill-walking on Cannock Chase and in northern France.¹¹⁴

Another influential figure on the development of outdoor education in schools, in the West Riding at least, was Wally Keay who was educated in the public school system and remains proud of the adventurous exploits of his forebears who took part in the clipper races in the southern oceans.¹¹⁵ Keay started his teaching career at Bradford LEA's Linton Camp School and the curriculum he used with boys was to meet with the approval of Alec Clegg. Linton was used by Bradford LEA in the immediate post-war period for children with a variety of special needs including some charged with criminal offences. Keay was a newly qualified teacher in 1946 and when he was given responsibility for a dormitory of unruly boys he chose to use

camping, caving, canoe-building and hill-walking as a means of making their behaviour more manageable. The work of Keay soon became known in the Bradford Authority, and the City's Dalesward Bound Courses, which gave disadvantaged children opportunities to spend time in the country, were transferred to Linton Camp School. While Keay was in the employ of Bradford, Clegg learnt of the work he was doing and invited him to lecture to student teachers at the West Riding LEA's Training College, Bretton Hall. Together with Henry Scott, physical education advisor to the West Riding, Keay directed camping courses for young people which were held at Balliol, a school for maladjusted boys. The social, rather than the physical, development of boys, was Keay's primary aim at this time. In 1950 he joined the West Riding LEA to become the deputy headteacher of Netherside Hall, a school for twenty boys, most of whom were severely asthmatic. In addition to using outdoor activities to improve their physical health, Keay began to base classroom work on the outdoors. Clegg was impressed by the way Keay could stimulate children's writing through outdoor experiences and by the way he made science and mathematics meaningful. When Bingley College introduced outdoor activities into their teaching training courses in 1962, Keay was appointed Senior Lecturer with responsibility for them.¹¹⁶

The initiatives described below challenged the class and gender divide because they introduced working-class children to activities traditionally associated with public schools. Children from secondary modern schools were introduced to the adventurous pursuits of climbing and caving as early as 1951 through courses run by Derbyshire LEA at its White Hall Centre for Open Country Pursuits. The country mansion was bought in 1950 at the instigation of Jack Longland, the County's Chief Education Officer.¹¹⁷ A graduate of Cambridge, Longland was a mountaineer of outstanding ability who was committed to the value of outdoor training for young people.¹¹⁸ In 1940, as Deputy Education Officer to Newsom (later Sir John) in Hertfordshire, Longland was introduced to Hahn's County Badge Scheme.¹¹⁹

Longland's abiding concern with the less privileged apparently resulted from his work for the Community Service in Durham during the 1930s.¹²⁰ Longland also had connections with Abbotsholme School in Derbyshire and for many years he was an Outward Bound council member.¹²¹ At White Hall, children from industrial, poor and disadvantaged backgrounds were able to have a 'taste' of public school life together with the 'enjoyment of a sport or skill' and the 'friendly relationships... natural in this terrain'.¹²² In 1951, boys staying at White Hall 'spent five full days on foot exploring the Peak District' and were 'fully occupied by map reading, compass work and field studies'.¹²³ The teacher who accompanied this first group of schoolboys to White Hall was Ken Oldham who, in the following year, accompanied a group from another boys' secondary modern school. On this occasion the outdoor course at White Hall supplemented classroom work. Extracts from Oldham's description of the course are given below.

The first day of the course involved trekking the twenty miles to the centre as a map reading and field observation exercise (we had no money or transport, nor was it desired). The route to White Hall was divided into four stages and three boys were to lead the party along each section. Roads were to be avoided and the choice of route restricted to footpaths. The children were thus thrust into a situation of responsibility from the start.

The introduction to climbing and caving proved to be the highlights of the courses. None had climbed before and as the instructors demonstrated the knots and rope drill and the very necessary safety precautions...

It was an exhilarating and wonderful exercise.

All appreciated the value of the right equipment and clothing for the task, as well as the courtesy and teamwork that climbing demands.

Caving, too, offered its own specialised form of adventure with its crawls and intriguing situations leading to caverns where waterfall formations of calcite tumbled from the walls. These spectacular arrays seemed all the more beautiful in the flickering candlelight but above all else, there was a strange sense of unity and brotherhood that the caving developed.¹²⁴

From the late 1940s, opportunities for young people in urban areas to visit the countryside and to spend holidays in active and purposeful ways also came through the CCPR. From 1948 the CCPR ran a series of courses at Glenmore Lodge in

Scotland for groups from colleges, universities and schools some of which introduced residential outdoor training as an element in the preparation of teachers in physical education. As early as 1951, weekend climbing courses in Yorkshire were organised through the CCPR, apparently because, one student noted, climbers had been observed using washing lines on the Cow and Calf rocks near Ilkley.¹²⁵ By the late-1950s, the CCPR was running courses for school children at Plas y Brenin, a one-time hotel located in Snowdonia and acquired in 1956 with grant-aid from the King George VI Memorial Fund. One such course was intended for children from a Doncaster secondary modern school and was apparently heavily over-subscribed. At Plas y Brenin the boys and girls could choose between an introduction to mountain activities, geology, geography, local history and field studies.¹²⁶ By the late-1950s, the CCPR found that approximately ninety per cent of those attending their climbing courses were aged between fifteen and twenty-one, a factor they attributed to the interest generated by major Himalayan expeditions including the 1953 'conquest' of Everest.¹²⁷

Brigadier Sir John Hunt (created a life peer in 1966) had served with distinction in India, northern Italy and in Greece during World War II and, on his retirement from the army in 1956, he became the first director of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme.¹²⁸ Although Hunt was brought up in the public-school tradition he aimed to spread his version of character-building to young people from wider backgrounds. In 1958, in an address given to the North of England Education Conference, Hunt quoted Aristotle in advising 'the wise use of leisure' not, as he went on to explain, 'as an end in itself, but as a means of stimulating thought, of creating an attitude and of developing a philosophy of living'. Hunt gave his opinion that education should be shaped to enable it to develop the characters of young people along 'positive lines' so they would be able to 'shape change according to ideals'.¹²⁹ The prime aim of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme was initially the development of the character of boys.¹³⁰ Hunt, who also served on

the Ministry of Education's Camping Advisory Committee, reported in 1957 that the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme had received pressure to produce a draft scheme for girls.¹³¹ The early development of the scheme as an award to 'impel' boys at Kurt Hahn's progressive public school, Gordonstoun, to overcome 'disinclination and weakness' as well as to exploit their strengths and aptitudes, has been outlined in Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis. A brief summary of the way the scheme was adopted nationally is given below.

In 1941, Derby School, a day school evacuated as a boarding school to the Hope Valley, and one LEA, Hertfordshire, had taken up the County Badge Scheme.¹³² After trialling the scheme for a year, Hertfordshire's County Badge Committee reported that 'badge work had already produced large dividends in better health and physique, increased alertness, and initiative'.¹³³ Implementing the Scheme in senior schools had, it seems, been used as an experiment to find a method of 'gearing the candidate's own interests into the school curriculum'¹³⁴ having regard to the 'new order' of English education, particularly in relation to the proposed 'modern' school.¹³⁵ Hahn's scheme was marginally adjusted for girls by the Hertfordshire Committee who 'decided only to deviate from the boys' syllabus where absolutely necessary'.¹³⁶ Finding approved sites where small parties could practice expedition training was seen as a priority by the Hertfordshire LEA's Education Committee, and a photograph taken in 1943, suggests that at least one camp site had been established by the summer of that year. It was used at this time by boys and girls from senior and secondary schools during the week and by youth organisations at weekends.¹³⁷

Chapter 2 referred to correspondence between Hahn and the president of the Board of Education in the late 1930s about the incorporation of a badge for physical education into the School Certificate examination.¹³⁸ Despite the failure of Hahn to persuade the Board of Education to adopt the Scheme,¹³⁹ and perhaps heartened by the support for the County Badge Scheme given in the Norwood Report,¹⁴⁰ Hahn

maintained his attempts to implement the Badge Scheme more widely. The King George's Jubilee Trust, which was inaugurated in 1935 as a 'national thank-offering' on the occasion of the Jubilee of His Majesty King George V, became the mechanism for progress.¹⁴¹ The Trust aimed to fulfil the King's wish 'to help the young, in body, mind and character, to become useful citizens'. In addition to giving financial aid to principal national youth organisations and to a number of playing field schemes, the Trust funded and co-ordinated research in the field of youth welfare.¹⁴² In 1951 Hahn applied for grant-aid to the Trust to support his scheme for 'providing facilities for active service in peace time for young people'.¹⁴³ Members of the Trust considered that the Scheme should be 'tried out' but at somewhere less remote than Gordonstoun. They accordingly recommended that Hahn's proposals be referred to their research sub-committee, not least because of 'the Ministry of Education's obvious interest in the proposals'.¹⁴⁴

By the mid-1950s the King George's Jubilee Trust had arranged for funds, through the King George VI Foundation, to be made available for a pilot scheme of the Award. Sir John Hunt was in charge of the administration which by this time had enlisted the support of an ex-Gordonstoun pupil, the Duke of Edinburgh. The Scheme was described by the Duke as

an introduction to leisure time activities, a challenge to the individual to personal achievement and as a guide to those people and organisations who are concerned about the development of our future citizens.¹⁴⁵

The Duke's promotion of the Scheme helped to ensure that Kurt Hahn's desire for the Scheme to be available nationally was realised.¹⁴⁶ Four sections, a) rescue and public service training, b) expedition, c) pursuits, i.e. research, study, art, craftsmanship and d) fitness, made up the Award Scheme which was open to boys of fourteen and over. The Award Scheme was piloted by a number of LEAs including, from 1956, that of the West Riding. Under the administration of an Award Office in London, agents such as the West Riding LEA were charged with the task of helping boys to fulfil the requirements of the fourfold achievement.¹⁴⁷ Although, in theory,

the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme gave ordinary young people access to character-building methods associated with public schools, in practice, access for many children was limited by the resources and experiences available to the leaders of their particular unit.

In 1954 the Warden of Aberdovey Outward Bound School informed delegates to the Annual Conference of Physical Education Teachers that Outward Bound schools were supported by 100 LEAs and public schools.¹⁴⁸ By 1957 there were four Outward Bound schools in Britain, and five associated schools in Germany (2), Malaya, Kenya and West Africa. Although courses for girls began in 1951 and junior courses for boys were trialled, by the mid-1950s Outward Bound courses were mainly for apprentices from industry. It would seem that the needs of the Empire had been replaced by the needs of industry. Indeed the Movement was promoted as beneficial to industry because it allowed boys

to find and to develop their own capabilities, and in so doing, release energy for confident and intelligent application to the purposes of the common good.¹⁴⁹

Boys (*sic*) would, supposedly, enable productivity to be increased. Although some boys were expected to emerge as leaders, team-work was heavily emphasised.¹⁵⁰ Correspondence between the Outward Bound Movement and the Ministry of Education advised that sponsorship for boys' courses would seem to be a better investment for industry because girls were expected to marry.¹⁵¹

Outward Bound courses for girls resulted more from happenstance than clearly thought-out policy decisions. The first course for girls was led by Ruth Keeble of the CCPR and took place at Eskdale Outward Bound School in 1951. Triumphant over difficulties while remaining 'humble and unassuming' seems to have been the message the girls were expected to take away.¹⁵² A 'full-scale debate' on the value of courses for girls was deemed unnecessary because of the apparent enthusiastic response of participants and organisers.¹⁵³ While character training was seen as

developing such qualities as ‘tolerance, self-discipline, endurance and courage’, the girls were also expected to ‘appreciate their surroundings’ and to learn something of home-nursing. A demonstration of bathing an infant was included in lessons on the ‘anatomy and physiology of the female pelvis, about feeding and weaning children and on ante-natal care’.¹⁵⁴ By 1956, eleven Outward Bound courses for girls had taken place, all of them for girls who had left school. First aid and home nursing continued to be included in the course programme as well as basic training on the rocks and hills, sufficient to give girls some ‘mastery of heights and distances’.¹⁵⁵

Royal endorsement no doubt encouraged industry and education to support the Outward Bound Trust. The Duke of Edinburgh accepted an invitation to write the Foreword to a book about the Movement and almost all the twelve male and one female contributors were titled and/or had military backgrounds.¹⁵⁶ Appeals for funding played on the ‘character building’ and the ‘service to the community’ elements within Outward Bound¹⁵⁷ as well as suggestions that the Movement could give the ‘underprivileged boy some of the opportunities provided at public school’.¹⁵⁸ The Movement shrewdly argued, to philanthropically motivated individuals and organisations, including the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust, that financial contributions to provide ‘residential character training for boys on the threshold of life’ should be regarded as investments rather than mere capital outlay.¹⁵⁹ The arguments used included the suggestion that Outward Bound could provide experiences comparable with those normally encountered in armed conflict which, by directing boys’ adventurous instincts into ‘honourable channels’, would prepare them to defend the nation and help counter juvenile delinquency. In addition, testing individuals would enable latent powers of leadership to emerge, and engendering self-confidence and self-help in boys, would ‘provide an antidote to the possible consequences of the Welfare State’.¹⁶⁰

Links between Outward Bound schools and LEAs were well-established by 1957 when the Trust estimated that seventy Authorities had sent boys to their

schools or were experimenting with similar establishments of their own.¹⁶¹ Aware that schools were becoming increasingly concerned with personal and social aspects of education, the Outward Bound Movement promoted itself as an agency for providing moral education in the way the 'home and church' had done earlier in the twentieth century.¹⁶² In the mid-1950s, the Outward Bound Movement called on Ken Oldham, headmaster of Whitehough Camp School in Lancashire, and Jack Longland to develop junior courses for boys of fourteen to sixteen. On their advice the emphasis on physical endurance was reduced and the testing of stamina was replaced with exercises in geography, geology and natural history.¹⁶³

The association of residential living, appropriate role-models and experiences in the outdoors are reflected in Longland's statement of the aims of Outward Bound's junior courses

to give each boy the experience of living, as one of a small group, for four weeks at a time and for nearly twenty-four hours a day, with a human being for whom the old-fashioned term 'good' is the only sensible description.¹⁶⁴

Longland saw character building as 'a by-product of right activity' and not as a target that could be aimed for directly. In his view, character building, the foundation of all the work of the Outward Bound movement, was to be 'laid down in these dangerous and hopeful years of early adolescence'.¹⁶⁵ Longland's comments contain echoes of the beliefs about adolescence referred to in Chapter 2, namely the views expressed in the 1926 Hadow Report that individual and national character would be strengthened by the 'placing of youth, in the hour of its growth, as it were, in the fair meadow of a congenial and inspiring environment',¹⁶⁶ in the 1933 *Syllabus for Physical Training in Schools* that 'walking tours, school journeys, and camps' could be introduced to pupils especially 'during the period of growth, when body, mind and character are immature and plastic'¹⁶⁷ and in the Spens Report (1938) which noted that activities of a less formal nature were ideal for providing opportunities for older members to exercise 'due influence upon the growth and characters of the younger'.¹⁶⁸

Evidence presented in this chapter illustrates the claim presented in Chapter 3, that by using Bewerley Park Camp School, Clegg was able to create a setting through which, he believed, children could acquire the skills and standards to promote a more socially cohesive society. Chapter 4 has included information on the way activities in the outdoors were used at Bewerley Park to enhance the learning of basic literacy skills. There is no evidence to suggest that the wider developments in outdoor education that took place in the 1950s influenced the curriculum of Bewerley Park Camp School between 1945 and 1958. The outdoor activities at White Hall Centre for Open Country Pursuits in the early-1950s had the potential to develop, in children from secondary modern schools, qualities associated with character training which this study has linked with public school traditions. It seems the activities at Bewerley Park Camp School were linked to classroom subjects deemed appropriate for children in secondary modern schools. They contained no notion of education for leadership. Although apparently minor, the differences in the curriculum for girls and boys reflected wider social assumptions about gender which can be seen more obviously in John Newsom's *The Education of Girls*¹⁶⁹ written in 1948.

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CHAPTER 5

Curriculum change at Bewerley Park School:

The transition to an institution for outdoor pursuits 1958 -1965

In the late-1950s there was less need for the West Riding Local Education Authority (LEA) to put such a high priority on improving the physical health of children because of the effects of, among other factors, the National Health Service (from 1948) and improving housing conditions. The previous chapter noted that Bewerley Park School changed from a camp school catering, primarily, for children from the Authority's most heavily industrialised areas, to a junior field-study centre. This chapter begins with an account of the residential experience of the children and includes a description of the curriculum which pupils followed when the School operated as a field-study centre from 1958. However, it was never the intention of the Management Committee or of West Riding LEA officers that the major role of Bewerley Park School was to teach an academic curriculum, and Members and Officers intervened when teaching staff sought to recruit only children from the 'top' end of secondary modern schools. By 1965 Bewerley Park had become a centre for outdoor education. The influence of a number of individuals on the development of outdoor education has been noted in earlier chapter of this study and this chapter includes biographical information about Jim Hogan with particular reference to his role in the promotion of outdoor pursuits at Bewerley Park School. Hogan sought to introduce outdoor pursuits as a means of delivering a programme of personal and social education. Although the staff were not hostile to the aims of Hogan, many were initially reluctant to relinquish the teaching of field studies and there was inevitably some tension between these positions.

Changes to the curriculum at Bewerley Park need to be viewed in the context of some of the educational and social changes that took place in the 1960s. The suggestion was made in Chapter 4 that, in the mid-1950s, support for outdoor

activities that encompassed character-building was sustained when British troops were engaged in armed conflict on several fronts. Although international political tensions remained high in the early 1960s, the time when Communist expansion and the Cuban missile crisis made nuclear war a real possibility, evidence in this chapter suggests that policy makers saw outdoor education as a way of countering the effects of the 'swinging-sixties' rather than of preparing young men for war. Although the youth culture was viewed by some to be in defiance of social conventions, it was the 'mods and rockers' of the 1950s and the fear of uncontrolled 'hooliganism' that were perceived by those in authority as a significant threat to law and order.

Attention will be given to the way in which a number of official reports published in the early-1960s - the Albemarle Report on *The Youth Service in England and Wales*, the Central Council for Physical Recreation's (CCPR) Wolfenden *Report on Sport* and the Newsom Report *Half our Future* - encouraged the promotion of outdoor education and sustained its inclusion in the secondary school curriculum. In 1964, a Labour government was elected after thirteen years of Conservative administration. In the year following the election, Circular 10/65 was issued which required LEAs to submit plans for the comprehensive reorganisation of their secondary schools. This reorganisation was, Hargreaves suggests, one of a long line of developments that shifted the function of mass schooling from a focus on the needs of society to concern for the individual pupil. The movement towards individualism in education, typified in the case of primary schools by the Plowden Report (1967), and the notion that education for leadership had become unfashionable, will be discussed in relation to growth of outdoor education. Among the theoretical insights into curriculum change explored in this chapter, brief attention will be given to those suggested by Layton, Hargreaves and McCulloch. The chapter ends with a review of responses to the growing interest in outdoor education in the early 1960s.

The residential experience of pupils at Bewerley Park

The West Riding LEA was noted for its promotion of egalitarian reform and this chapter indicates how Clegg's support for Bewerley Park School can be identified with his concern for the groups of children he described as being 'in distress' and with his determination to ensure that the disadvantaged became responsible members of society. Correspondence by the author with four of the staff who taught at Bewerley Park in the period under discussion confirms that it was the residential aspect of the courses that they considered most important. According to Clegg, the setting in which education took place was vitally important, for, although he did not think schools could directly change society, he believed they could change children.¹ He claimed that a child's behaviour consisted mainly of reactions to the physical, mental and moral environment created by his or her elders and that people learnt from examples of good practice.² Clegg had long admired the French 'Colonies de Vacances' movement because, he maintained, it offered an experience of community living, of freer educational methods and because it brought

children together in circumstances entirely different from the school, (and) could offer to some distressed and disturbed children not only the opportunity to succeed, which they have so often missed, but some element of the concern and compassion and affection of which they may be deprived in their homes.³

On the retirement of the headmaster of many years from Bewerley Park School in 1964, Clegg expressed his view that the 'boarding side' should be the 'solid base' on which his successor should build.⁴ A belief in the value of boarding education was also expressed by Clegg's deputy, Jim Hogan, who promoted awareness of 'the profound influence of physical environment' and thought residential courses could be used to demonstrate 'sheer excellence'.⁵ Providing children with examples of 'impeccable taste', he considered, would 'make it easier to establish high standards of conduct and behaviour'.⁶ Two assumptions seem implicit in the beliefs of Clegg, Hogan and the Education Committee, firstly that one life-style was to be preferred to

another and, secondly, that if children were exposed to a 'better' way of life they would aspire to 'higher' things.

From 1958, pupils spent four weeks and four days at Bewerley Park School. There were no lessons on any of the four weekends.⁷ Saturday mornings were spent on domestic activities or children were allowed to walk to the local shops, while on Sunday morning, pupils were escorted to church or chapel.⁸ A male and female teacher were on duty together, discipline was strict and children who misbehaved or smoked were sent home, miscreants numbering about two each year.⁹ The practice, described in the previous chapter, whereby the interests of duty staff determined the weekend afternoon activities continued into the early 1960s and, increasingly, activities of a more adventurous nature were added. Small groups might be taken canoeing or rock climbing by staff who used their own cars for transport.¹⁰ The notion of introducing children to activities that would discourage them from 'loafing' on street corners when they returned to their own homes was an on-going aim of Bewerley Park staff.¹¹ Evening activities might include country or square dancing, a sing-song, a beetle drive or a sports evening. Competitions between the groups, referred to as houses, Beck, Glen, Fell and Dale, were frequent. Differences in the 'leisure' programme for boys and girls were justified by staff on the grounds that the 'excessively high spirits' of boys needed to be curbed.¹² The Saturday night dance continued with each girl being issued with a programme to be signed by prospective partners. Although the 'twist' replaced the 'dinky one step' in the programme, old-time and square dances apparently continued to be enjoyed by the pupils. Recent discussions with about twenty pupils who attended the School at this time suggest that the routines were accepted without question and many have commented that the social skills they acquired at Bewerley Park School gave them the confidence to participate in events which later contributed to their social and career development.¹³

In promoting the change to a curriculum based on outdoor pursuits,¹⁴ it is likely that Clegg was articulating not only his own views but those of Jim Hogan, Deputy Education Officer for the Authority from 1959. Hogan's previous work had given him extensive knowledge and experience of using outdoor pursuits with young people. When working with boys in Outward Bound he had observed the 'mutual respect' that emerged amongst boys from very different backgrounds when engaged in 'testing situations' such as battling against the elements on a sail-training ship.¹⁵ From this, he drew two conclusions. The first was that barriers of class were broken down when groups of boys were involved together in something new,¹⁶ and the second was that, in a new situation, boys could be judged on their present merits rather than have their past behaviour prejudice others' opinions of them.¹⁷

Here, it seemed to them, was an opportunity to pluck a child out of an environment in which he was making little progress and discover to what extent he might be vitalised by a new start.¹⁸

Hogan, as will be seen below, exerted a major and direct influence on the curriculum offered to girls and boys at Bewerley Park. It is therefore appropriate to present some biographical details at this point.

Jim Hogan

Hogan was appointed to the West Riding LEA in 1952 as an assistant education officer with responsibility for further education. In 1959, he was promoted to Deputy Education Officer, a post he held, apart from a short retirement break, until the authority was disbanded in 1974.¹⁹ There is little doubt that Hogan was among the advisory staff shrewdly selected by Clegg because of his reputation for efficient yet innovative development of adult education and the youth service over the previous six years in Somerset and Birmingham. As part of his responsibility to oversee the implementation of Section 41 of the 1944 Education Act relating to youth service provision,²⁰ Hogan recommended that outdoor pursuits be among the recreational activities used to provide youth club members with

socially acceptable interests.²¹ After his promotion to Deputy Education Officer, Hogan encouraged schools to employ the strategies of youth workers and he would sometimes find the financial means to help them to introduce outdoor pursuits.²²

A brief summary of Hogan's formative experiences, including his involvement in the Scout movement, the County Badge/Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and the Outward Bound movement, will explain why he advised those administering and practising education to involve young people in outdoor pursuits. The account will also contribute toward an understanding of why he shared many of Clegg's beliefs.²³ In *Beyond the Classroom*, Hogan writes of the way in which he was captivated by the excitement of a school and his admiration for those who helped to shape the future through teaching.²⁴ From a family without the financial means to allow him to fulfil his early ambitions to become an artist or an airline pilot, a career in teaching was made possible by a Board of Education grant.²⁵ Unsuccessful in gaining immediate appointment to a grammar school post because of the class of his degree, Hogan was appointed as an elementary schoolteacher by Birmingham LEA in 1928. It was here that he discovered what school was like for the majority of pupils, an awareness that remained with him and which made him sensitive to the needs of the majority of children. Hogan identified his 'brutal introduction to teaching' with his first year in which, as a supply teacher, he spent only a matter of days with the same pupils, often moving to a different school every two weeks, and with his inability to find any common ground between himself and those whom he taught.²⁶ A university education was rare for teachers in elementary schools; most were from training colleges where, amongst other things, they would have been introduced to the value of taking children on excursions or camping trips. Board of Education pamphlets and teachers' journals throughout the 1930s expounded the merits of 'active learning' and the benefits to be derived from taking children out of doors.²⁷ This advice would have been available to Hogan but his personal involvement with outdoor activities consisted only of having rowed for his

University Hall and commanding the Officer Training Corps (OTC) platoon.²⁸ It was, however, through these activities, commonly associated with the armed forces and/or with a public school education, that Hogan found the means of relating to his elementary school pupils. Hogan joined the Supplementary Reserve of Officers attached to the Royal Warwickshire Regiment to help him recover his physical strength following an appendix operation (a major factor, according to him, in the cause of his poor degree).²⁹ Here he discovered that he was able to make himself comfortable when camping and 'to shine ...at tramping miles'.³⁰ In realising that he could succeed where others had failed he began to appreciate the power of success as a learning tool. Unlike Clegg, who had captained his school and college football teams,³¹ Hogan was not a natural sportsman in the conventional sense. He referred to himself as a 'life long physical dunce' and recollected his 'desperate effort to conform and to escape absolute disgrace' during school games lessons.³² In 1934, in an established teaching post at Wolverhampton Grammar School, he used the knowledge gained from his army experiences to enliven the scouts' 'dull programme of training'. By 'employing the boys' unbounded energy' through 'the fun of camping', he maintained order and led his scout troop to success in local competitions.³³

Rejected from active war service because of defective eyesight, Hogan started a club for youngsters each evening in a large boys' secondary school.³⁴ Among the many adults he cajoled into helping him was one who introduced him to the ideas of Kurt Hahn and who arranged a visit to Plas Dinan, the evacuation site of Gordonstoun, in the winter of 1940/41.³⁵ Recognition of similarities between Hahn's ideas and the Scout programme led Hogan, by now a Scout Commissioner, to respond to the 'occasional outbursts of correspondence in *The Times* about the County Badge idea'. Hogan wrote privately to a senior member of the Boy Scouts Association, pointing out the fact that Scouting failed to maintain the interest of older boys.³⁶ Hahn responded to the letter, of which he had been sent a copy, by

summoning Hogan to see him and then inviting him to become secretary of the committee established to develop the County Badge idea. Undaunted by practicalities such as serving out one's notice, Hahn arranged for Hogan to be seconded from his teaching post at Wolverhampton Grammar School and installed him at Balliol College, Oxford where Dr. (later Lord) Lindsay, chairman of the County Badge Experimental Committee, was Master.³⁷ Lindsay, according to Denis Healey, a graduate of Balliol, had no desire for the proletariat to win the class war, but wished to spread 'aristocratic' values through the whole of the British people.³⁸

Shortage of money and a dearth of suitable adult leaders made it unlikely that the County Badge Scheme would be widely adopted and so, when Hogan's three months secondment to Balliol College had almost ended, Hahn made plans to establish a training centre, under the wardenship of Hogan, in which the ideas behind his scheme could be demonstrated.³⁹ Hogan's first task was to persuade Laurence Holt to finance the training centre.⁴⁰ Holt, in addition to being a 'Gordonstoun father and Hahn admirer'⁴¹ was a partner in Alfred Holt & Co., a large merchant-shipping enterprise. While Holt was genuinely interested in Hahn's ideas, his incentive was only partly philanthropic as was indicated in Chapter 3 of this study. The Outward Bound Sea School at Aberdovey opened in October 1941, with a staff mainly seconded from the merchant navy. Courses concentrated on small boat sailing, physical toughening and survival in unfamiliar country.⁴²

In his three and a half years at the Aberdovey Outward Bound School, Hogan developed a twenty-eight day programme in which the Wood Badge and patrol system from Scouting were combined with some of Hahn's ideas including that of involving boys in sea and mountain rescue services. Hogan noted that prejudices were eroded as boys from very different backgrounds got on with each other and, free from the conditioning of past association, boys previously branded 'failures' were able to establish themselves and so make fresh assessments of themselves and each other.⁴³ As industrial apprentices began to join merchant seamen on the

courses, Hogan began to recognise the potential of the Outward Bound programme to break down class barriers and even contribute to industrial harmony.⁴⁴

Hogan's relationship with Clegg was described, by Clegg, as 'a wonderfully sympathetic partnership'.⁴⁵ The latter acknowledged Hogan's role in changing his 'attitude for the better in a number of ways'.⁴⁶ Already an advocate of practical activities such as dance and art as a means of broadening the education of children in primary schools, Clegg discussed with Hogan the way in which outdoor activities might fulfil a similar role in secondary schools.⁴⁷ In the late 1950s Hogan looked for a permanent residential base to provide outdoor activities for pupils in West Riding schools and in 1959 he identified Bewerley Park School as an appropriate location. Massingham, who became the Warden of Buckden House, from 1968 an outdoor education centre owned jointly by the West Riding LEA and Bingley College, recalled Hogan as a man who genuinely believed that outdoor activities 'would give self-enhancement and esteem to people who would otherwise be knocked back by the kind of world we live in' and that they could be used to make people 'different from what they might otherwise have been'.⁴⁸ Although apparently not generally regarded as a popular character, Hogan was well respected, not as a visionary in the style of Clegg, but as 'a sharp man with great strength as an administrator'.⁴⁹

Curriculum change and the introduction of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme at Bewerley Park School

Teaching staff at Bewerley Park School did not welcome Hogan's attempts to introduce into the curriculum the type of outdoor activities which physically challenged children. The staff had initiated the change to a curriculum based on field studies themselves, partly as a result of their admiration for the work done at Malham Tarn Field Centre⁵⁰ and, following an experimental course in September/October 1957, the programme changed and the word Camp was taken

out of the name of the School.⁵¹ In 1959, Ledbetter, the headmaster of Bewerley Park School since 1945, did not want field studies to be replaced with what he and his teaching staff interpreted as the 'practical', 'strenuous' and 'arduous' outdoor endeavours that Hogan proposed.⁵² A request was made to schools for children who attended courses to be of a higher academic level than previously.⁵³ An information leaflet distributed to schools explained the focus of the field study courses and noted that 'five weeks in a boarding school atmosphere would produce good results in the study of topics which lend themselves to practical work out of doors'.⁵⁴ A visiting student who was training to be a teacher was impressed by the children's ability to work with interest and enthusiasm and without pressure from teachers.⁵⁵ His report included the following information about the pupils Bewerley Park School staff wished to teach.

1. Children must be in last year of compulsory schooling,
2. Have reached an academic standard whereby they could read for information,
3. Be able to write legibly,
4. Be interested in at least one branch of outdoor life,
5. Be able to undertake a strenuous expedition,
6. Be of reasonably good character.⁵⁶

The staff believed that outdoor activities should be a means of extending the field-studies work. They taught campcraft and navigation skills so that, using maps and compasses and armed with questionnaires, groups of three or four children could wander around the countryside asking local people for information. Research and recording were supervised by staff working in one of three curriculum areas; biology/natural history, geography or local history.⁵⁷ Topics typically studied included churches, vernacular architecture, villages, lead-mining, sheep-farming, birds, ferns, insects, grasses or pond-life.⁵⁸ Each group was supervised by a teacher when it undertook a three-day expedition. Camping allowed studies to be extended beyond the immediate locality, for example, the history group might be based at

Fountains Abbey. In September, this ruined monastery was floodlit and anecdotes from staff report that children were often emotionally moved by what was interpreted by the teachers as a spiritual experience.⁵⁹ Youth hostels were used in winter when, unencumbered by heavy rucksacks, pupils were able to walk further and so conduct investigations over a geographically wider area.⁶⁰ From 1961, hired coaches were used less and more walking was done. The intention was that children would become physically tired from walking a recommended 'seven miles before setting up camp', and so be less boisterous.⁶¹

The reports on pupils, graded A to E and sent to their own schools at the end of a course, often surprised the headteachers, who apparently concluded that the different approach to teaching had evoked a more positive response from pupils.⁶² However, a number of headteachers of contributory schools reacted adversely to the new emphasis on academic selection, commenting that 'the more able children could not easily be spared from their school-based studies'.⁶³ When attendance at field-study courses remained below that hoped for by the LEA, pressure for change from the Management Committee increased.⁶⁴ Previous changes to the curriculum had evolved at the instigation of the staff who resisted change which they saw as being imposed on them. Although a minority of staff did welcome opportunities for a greater emphasis on outdoor pursuits - camping, hostelling, walking, canoeing and rock climbing, because, they noted, children would be able to continue such activities after they had finished school⁶⁵ - the resistance to change of others can be interpreted in terms of self-interest coupled with a fear of the unknown. They felt secure in the working environment they had established and, in the view of many, the conditions in which they would work would be much harder, both physically and mentally. Many may have feared that life would not be quite so 'cosy'.

Despite their best efforts over a number of years, the staff were unable to convince Hogan, Richardson, (responsible for special schools within the Authority) and Boddy (WRCC Inspector) that the curriculum should continue to be based

primarily on field studies.^{66/67} From 1959, Hogan's visits to Beverley Park School focused attention on how more camping activities could be included and on how the expedition section of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme could be introduced.⁶⁸ The adoption of the Scheme by young people in the West Riding, where it had been piloted since 1956, was disappointingly low⁶⁹ and this, together with the need to increase the number of children wishing to attend courses at Beverley Park School, provided Hogan with the excuse to introduce more outdoor pursuits to children at Beverley Park. The Management Committee, in 1960, gave Ledbetter only a few weeks to prepare a plan which would allow training for the Award Scheme to take place at Beverley Park.⁷⁰ The solution, eventually amicably agreed, was to add a fourth activity group to the existing three field-study classes. Providing an opportunity for school and youth club members to complete the expedition section of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award at Beverley Park was intended to provide the motivation for young people to continue with the Scheme. They could fulfil the other requirements of the Award on their return home.⁷¹ Pupils' choice of field studies or expedition work was left until they arrived at the School. Following an introduction from Ledbetter, each of the four teachers with responsibility for the groups gave a talk illustrated with slides on what was involved in each activity.⁷² Apparently groups almost always split (fortuitously) with an even interest, and gender, balance.⁷³

The new programme of Duke of Edinburgh's Award courses was fully implemented at Beverley Park from January 1962 when Harry Skillington was appointed to the school as its Expedition Officer. His 'special task' was to develop the expedition work of the Scheme⁷⁴ and to help in the testing of young people across the County.⁷⁵ When considering his appointment, the Management Committee had looked for a man with the 'qualifications and experience' needed for 'adventure' work. An additional female teacher was later appointed and acted as deputy to Skillington. This brought the teaching establishment of the School to

twelve.⁷⁶ Skillington resigned, for personal reasons, after four terms, when Hogan, anxious to replace him with someone who shared his own views about increasing the role of outdoor pursuits in the curriculum, looked to the Warden of Eskdale Outward Bound School to recommend a suitable candidate.⁷⁷ Describing Bewerley Park as being 'stuck in a rut', Hogan found Lawson, a qualified youth leader who was the first person with no formal training as a teacher to be appointed to the staff of Bewerley Park. However, Lawson soon became frustrated with the slowness of the development of outdoor pursuits at Bewerley Park and moved, after only two terms, to a post which, in his view, enabled him to work with young people in what he regarded as more dynamic ways.⁷⁸

The Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme for girls was launched nationally as a pilot in 1958 when a promotional address declared that this was 'not another version of the boys' Scheme'. It had the 'special needs of girls in mind' (*sic*) and noted that a girl was expected

to fit herself for the dual role in the community - that of wage earner before marriage (and probably for some time after), and that of wife, mother and homemaker.⁷⁹

One section specific to girls was headed 'Preparation for role as home-maker' and included entertaining guests and good grooming. Training in preparation for expeditions, such as walking, riding, sailing and climbing, was intended to encourage girls to widen their horizons and could be completed in a town or country environment.⁸⁰ No member of staff teaching at Bewerley Park at that time remembers any difference in the way boys and girls were treated with regard to their implementation of the expedition section of the Scheme. However, logbook entries suggest otherwise. In 1961, the Authority's adviser for physical education discussed the introduction of camping for girls.⁸¹

Evidence that preparation for a greater emphasis on outdoor pursuits continued throughout the early 1960s comes from Bewerley Park School's logbook. Entries

reveal that canoeing was considered,⁸² and that the deputy headteacher attended a winter mountaineering course⁸³ and visited Ullswater Outward Bound School.⁸⁴ Three, four-week long, experimental courses took place in the autumn term of 1963 and signalled the move to an outdoor pursuits centre. A full programme of courses was due to come into operation in September 1964.⁸⁵ No change in the number of teaching staff was planned, the Management Committee confirming that staffing would remain at five men and five women, plus a headmaster and deputy headmaster.⁸⁶ Bewerley Park, like most co-educational establishments at that time, was managed by a man. When the courses for the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme were introduced, the leading role was taken by a man, with a woman appointed to assist him. At a time when field studies dominated the curriculum at Bewerley Park, the women teachers exerted considerable influence and more girls than boys chose to attend courses. The change to outdoor pursuits was male-led and, despite a gender balance among the teaching staff, opportunities to develop skills in outdoor pursuits were initially all taken by men. Although the number of places on the new outdoor pursuits' courses were the same for boys and girls, more boys applied to attend. It was to be several years before the courses were almost equally popular with girls. Following Ledbetter's retirement in 1964, the ability to teach some outdoor skills was made a requirement of all newly appointed staff, both men and women. The resignations of four of the five women at this time reflects not only their feelings about the changes on educational grounds but also the fact that many judged they were physically unable to meet the demands of the new courses.⁸⁷

The first selection procedure for the headship, which became vacant in 1964, failed to find a suitable candidate. The post was re-advertised and an appointment made for September 1965. In the interim, the deputy headmaster, who had been less than enthusiastic about the change to rugged outdoor pursuits, was appointed to the post of acting headmaster. Many possible candidates for the headship were

apparently deterred because they felt Bewerley Park was not situated in a sufficiently rugged area for a genuine outdoor pursuits centre.⁸⁸ Most LEAs who were establishing outdoor centres were doing so in the mountainous areas of the Lake District or North Wales; the Yorkshire Dales constituted an area generally viewed as insufficiently wild, high or remote for the challenging nature of activities advocated by many at that time for inclusion in outdoor education programmes.

The formal change to adventure courses was delayed because of a fire in the dining room only days before the first group of students was scheduled to arrive in September 1964.⁸⁹ The School's consequent two-term closure gave the Authority the opportunity to develop the skills of teaching staff and several of the men worked in Outward Bound Schools.⁹⁰ Plans to extend the range of activities continued during the School's closure, a search for a suitable venue for sailing began in March 1965⁹¹ and plans for a swimming pool were first made in the following month.⁹² The first of the regular adventure courses eventually commenced on 6th May 1965,⁹³ but the LEA's vision, expressed by the School's Management Committee in 1960, that Bewerley Park should be 'a bold and forward looking establishment',⁹⁴ became a reality only following the appointment of Mike McEvoy as headmaster in 1965. On his appointment McEvoy found that students were taking part in⁹⁵

first aid, map reading, first aid tests, basic training for camping, canoeing, climbing, caving, camping, a dales expedition or exploration, e.g. three peaks and a three day expedition in the final week.⁹⁶

Reports relevant to the development of outdoor education

Clegg was a member of the Newsom Committee which published its report, *Half our Future*, on the education of pupils from 14-16 of average and below average ability in 1963. In a paper presented to fellow committee members in 1961, Clegg expressed his belief, that for children of average and below average ability, it was the personal development of the child that was important rather than

the learning of 'subjects' or any examinable attainment.⁹⁷ He proposed five headings as appropriate aims for what, significantly, he referred to as 'our' Newsom children.

- a) Sound attitudes and behaviour - to include not only self respect and consideration for others but the development of diligence.
- b) The three R's - including the ability to communicate in speech as well as writing.
- c) Alertness of mind - including an intellectual interest in the affairs of men (*sic*).
- d) Imagination - the power to think and act creatively in a variety of fields.
- e) The enjoyment of things that give pleasure, including not only art, music and literature, but a variety of physical activities.⁹⁸

The Newsom Report was one of three reports published in the early-1960s that promoted outdoor education. The other two, both published in 1960, were the Albemarle Report on the *Youth Service in England and Wales* and the CCPR's *Wolfenden Report on Sport*. The various initiatives recommended in the reports appear to suggest that outdoor activities are a corrective for some of the perceived 'ills' of society, especially insofar as young people were held to be directly responsible for them. The initiatives need to be seen in the context of an enduring preoccupation of politicians, educationists and welfare workers with the way in which young people, particularly working-class boys, occupied their leisure time. The Albemarle Report's message, that a dynamic Youth Service could make 'the appeal of the good society stronger than the dynamic of wickedness',⁹⁹ appealed to a society concerned about reported increases in the incidence of delinquency.¹⁰⁰

Each of the three Reports provides an insight into the social conditions of the early 1960s when, because of the post-war 'bulge', a large increase in the number of fifteen year olds leaving school was anticipated. In addition, the abandonment of National Service in 1960 was expected to retain an estimated 200,000 young men aged between eighteen and twenty in civilian life.¹⁰¹ The Albemarle Committee was charged with the task of finding ways in which the Youth Service could assist 'young people to play their part in the life of the community'.¹⁰² The changing

social and industrial conditions, identified by the Albemarle Committee, as leaving adolescents searching for 'direction' included; the 'movement across class and occupational boundaries' which they attributed to the 1944 Education Act, the changing nature of industry, new housing estates and the sharp division of the world into two immense blocks of power, constantly under a threat of nuclear catastrophe.¹⁰³ The Newsom Report also gives valuable insights into social conditions in the 1960s; the Committee identified the environment as 'cramping' for many children and pointed to the need for constructive outlets for their physical energy.¹⁰⁴

Information about the recommendations in each of the three Reports suggests that in the Newsom Report outdoor activities were promoted primarily as a response to social needs, in the Albemarle Report primarily as a means of making character-building activities more widely available, and in the Wolfenden Report as a response to the demand for increased leisure facilities in the outdoors. All three Reports make the assumption, which McCulloch suggests is fundamental to all notions of character building, that the behaviour of adolescents can be moulded by the intervention of adults in order that their 'characters and energies' be channelled into 'new and potentially more positive directions'.¹⁰⁵ Hopkins believes that it is the utilisation of physical and emotional stress resulting from interaction with the environment that leads to changes in the self-concept of the individual.¹⁰⁶ The extent to which the various recommendations for outdoor education were implemented varied considerably. Those in the Albemarle Report¹⁰⁷ were accepted by the government of the day - the statutory youth service was enlarged, a training college for the training of youth leaders was established and training in 'outdoor ventures' for youth leaders was provided. In addition, significant sums of money were made available to youth organisations.¹⁰⁸ A recommendation in the Report prompted the first financial aid from the Ministry of Education for the Duke of Edinburgh's Award scheme. A pump-priming grant of £13,500 was given in

1960/61 and a further £17,00 in the following year.¹⁰⁹ Nationally, the number of entrants, 30,500 in 1960, more than doubled by 1963.¹¹⁰ In contrast, outside the world of outdoor education, the Newsom Report had relatively little influence. By the time this Report was published, just two years before Circular 10/65 was issued by the Department of Education and Science (DES), the comprehensive reorganisation of schools was beginning to gain momentum. However, in its 1983 publication, *Learning out of Doors*, the DES maintained that the Newsom Report had been instrumental in convincing many teachers that activities such as camps, expeditions and residential courses, provided opportunities for 'general educational stimulus, personal and social development and closer teacher/pupil relationships'.¹¹¹ Terry Parker attributes the growth of outdoor education in the mid-1960s to the influence of the Newsom Report,¹¹² and suggests that from that date schools began to offer pupils a curriculum based on, 'enjoyment, enthusiasm, interest, action, adventure, achievement and companionship'.¹¹³

The Newsom Report's backward-looking nature is particularly evident in its recommendations for girls and the assumption that a girl's interests are based almost exclusively on her future role as a mother and homemaker. Nevertheless, recommendations in all three Reports did reflect a desire on the part of the policy makers to increase access to outdoor activities by young people from many sections of society. Although girls were increasingly given equal access to outdoor education, they were absorbed into courses designed for boys. Consequently, neither the 'hierarchical structures within which both sexes operate' nor the 'conventional characters of modern sports' were challenged.¹¹⁴ Because elements of character building recommended in the Reports were largely those associated with *mens sana in corpore sano*, the notion of the 'ideal' character as 'white, male and physically fit' persisted.

The Wolfenden Committee noted that although the causes of juvenile delinquency were many and complex, it seemed reasonable to assume that 'if young

people had opportunities for playing games, fewer of them would develop criminal habits'.¹¹⁵ Although social conformity lay at the heart of each report, the method of achieving this was less obvious. Suggestions included giving individuals plenty of interests so they would be less likely to become juvenile delinquents,¹¹⁶ providing opportunities for each child to fulfil his or her potential and so not feel the need to rebel, and introducing activities for character training in the public school tradition. The qualities thought worthy of encouraging were noted in each report and by speakers in a number of associated debates in the House of Lords.¹¹⁷ Qualities such as 'courage, endurance, self-discipline, determination and self-reliance', it was suggested, could be developed through the use of 'seas, rivers, mountains and moors' with a minimum of capital expenditure.¹¹⁸ Young people, the Albemarle Report stated, were to be encouraged to adopt ideals such as commitment and self-determination.¹¹⁹ In attempting to 'compensate' for the ending of National Service, the Youth Service was expected to develop in young people 'not only physical abilities but also self-reliance and the capacity to work in a group and accept organised discipline for a common purpose'.¹²⁰

During the 1961 debate on *The Youth Service* in the House of Lords, a reference was made to the lack of opportunities for character building and the peers commented that 'the vitality of the nation' would suffer without opportunities for 'adventurous sport'.¹²¹ Three years later in the debate *The Problems of Leisure*, peers referred to an incident at Clacton on the previous Bank Holiday when, following a mass influx of young people, about a thousand had 'slept rough' and seventy six had been charged with criminal offences. The attention of the peers had been drawn to courses which provided some degree of 'training and challenge', 'self-discipline, team-work, adventure, hardship and risk'. The Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and courses run by Outward Bound and some LEAs were given as examples.¹²²

Although the Youth Service was apparently 'not regarded as part of the state's remedial apparatus for dealing with delinquency', it is clear that among the reasons for the appointment of the Albemarle Committee was the need to address public concern about hooliganism.¹²³ The priority of the Youth Service, since its inception in 1939, had been the welfare of young people who left school at the statutory school leaving age.¹²⁴ In the following year a further Board of Education Circular established the general aim of the Service as 'social and physical training', with the 'over-riding purpose' of 'character building'.¹²⁵ The Albemarle Committee suggested that the Youth Service should be able to 'provide young men with challenge and adventure' and it recommended the promotion and encouragement of healthy physical recreation through 'challenging activities'.¹²⁶ Attracting the 'corner-boy and his girl' with all their 'wariness and suspicion' of standards and guidance was accepted as being particularly difficult, and the Albemarle Committee recommended that 'thought should be given to the way in which the uses of mountain, moor, waterway and sea might be exploited'.¹²⁷ Utilising 'a love of sea, rocks and crags' to 'bind together' young people considered 'unclubbable' was also suggested by the Wolfenden Committee as a means of saving people from 'a life of crime'.¹²⁸ Although the Wolfenden Report was not sponsored by the Government, Lord Aberdare requested that the Report should be seen as complementary to the Albemarle Report and asked the Government to look with sympathy upon its recommendations. Following the publication of the Newsom Report, members of the House of Lords drew attention to the recommendation that using the countryside with 'slum' children was valuable¹²⁹ and indicated that the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme could be used as a way of developing future citizens through the 'purposeful use of leisure'.¹³⁰ Strenuous physical effort was identified as being of 'special value' by the Albemarle Committee, for non-academic boys or girls, because it allowed them to 'find powers in themselves they had not known'.¹³¹

Recommendations in each of the Reports set something of an agenda for social equality. The Wolfenden Committee recommended that LEAs should provide cheap and simple accommodation in the 'wilder countryside'¹³² and suggested that,

...because the facilities for outdoor activities are mainly provided by nature, i.e. mountains, rivers, the open country and the sea and because the committee see there is a 'profusion' of these, they think the protection of them by a minority is 'selfish'.¹³³

Members of the Committee also called for more power to be given to the National Parks Commission and the Park Planning Boards so that 'more of the natural assets of our countryside should be accessible to those who will want to find healthy recreation there'.¹³⁴ In particularly recommending Wales for a great variety of outdoor activities,¹³⁵ the Committee promoted its sponsors, the CCPR, by suggesting schools and the Youth Service could make even fuller use of the 'exciting opportunities already offered by such centres as Plas y Brenin (CCPR), Aberdovey (Outward Bound) and Kilvrough Manor (National Association of Mixed Clubs and Girls' Clubs).¹³⁶ In 1964, during the debate on the *Problems of Youth*, Lord Shackleton called for the 'opening-up' of hills and mountains to all, rather than keeping them as the privilege of the leisured classes.¹³⁷ The Newsom Report reinforced the belief that social factors had deprived poor children of adequate educational opportunities and it held the process of selection responsible for obscuring inequalities.¹³⁸ The Committee considered that a team game was not necessarily a great 'leveller' and suggested that non-competitive outdoor activities were also very important.¹³⁹ The Newsom Committee gave unequivocal support to moves to provide outdoor and residential experience for all young people, whatever their level of academic ability.¹⁴⁰ They suggested that all pupils should be given a residential experience, ideally during their final two years at school.¹⁴¹ Participation in activities 'new to all', as a means of reducing perceptions of failure amongst the less academic, was a topic for discussion by the Newsom Committee who concluded that outdoor activities had a 'special value for the pupils with whom we are

concerned'.¹⁴² The Newsom Committee also recommended that a joint survey of outdoor education provision be undertaken by the Ministry of Education and LEAs.

Comprehensive education and a re-definition of education for leadership

The 1960s and early-1970s have been described as a 'period of ferment' in which almost every aspect of the curriculum was undergoing significant change'.¹⁴³ Following the 1944 Education Act, a notion prevailed that if knowledge and experiences were considered worthwhile then they should be open to all.¹⁴⁴ In addition by the mid-1950s, McCulloch maintains, Norwood's ideas for infusing the state secondary school with the ethos of the public school had become unattractive.¹⁴⁵ The introduction of outdoor education into the curriculum, especially in comprehensive schools, needs to be seen in the context of a number of conflicting and contradictory perceptions, namely that outdoor pursuits were a means of bringing public school values associated with character building to all, that they were non-competitive in the team games sense, that they allowed individual excellence and gave children the chance to feel a sense of achievement and that, when all children were new to an activity, they allowed children to mix on equal terms.

Clegg's promotion of outdoor pursuits was for both the personal and social development of the child. In supporting an education system based on the cultivation of individual pupils, he did not ignore the needs of society. He charged delegates at a conference on Outward Bound to use their professional skills to make 'happy and useful citizens'.¹⁴⁶ He believed that if a child's energies were fully engaged in learning he or she would have no time or incentive to misbehave.

He (*sic*) would be good because he is happy and not, as Victorians used to proclaim, happy because he is good.¹⁴⁷

It is a notion that can be interpreted as a form of social engineering in the same way as that used in the nineteenth century when mass education was viewed, by some, in

terms of social control,¹⁴⁸ Hargreaves argues that despite the aims of education appearing to focus on the personal development of the individual during the second half of the twentieth century, in reality a strong social or corporate element was also present.¹⁴⁹

Although it is not easy to separate out the various strands of which outdoor education is composed, it is possible to identify how certain elements benefited from the calls for 'opportunities for all' associated with comprehensive education and the reduction in popularity of team games such as rugby and hockey. Clegg thought praising the 'adept' and ignoring the 'inept' was a feature of competitive team games which, in his opinion, cultivated failure. His approval of outdoor education stemmed from his belief that outdoor pursuits allowed individual rather than competitive excellence.¹⁵⁰ Lowe suggests that the film *Kes*, in which 'bored, wet and miserable adolescents were bullied into a soccer match which only a few of them relished', encapsulated physical education lessons in the mid-sixties.¹⁵¹ In comprehensive schools, endurance expeditions in the hills and adventurous activities in the rugged outdoors could replace the rugby and cold showers of public and grammar schools and so provide opportunities for character building and education for leadership for both boys and girls. Arnold, a lecturer in physical education at Chelsea College, maintained that through the 'experience of a struggle with nature' pupils would acquire physical and moral courage which would enable them to realise the extent to which they were engaged in shaping their own destinies.¹⁵² Teachers who, for different reasons, had taken children walking and camping in the 'healthy outdoors' continued to gain official approval, usually because of the belief that close links forged between teacher and pupil would encourage disparate groups of children to mix and so thus reduce incidents of anti-social behaviour. In addition, outdoor pursuits was a way to motivate and manage pupils who did not want to stay at school and who were unlikely to find academic success. Outdoor activities also had the potential advantage of encouraging future

leisure pursuits among young people; Arnold stated that outdoor pursuits were a cathartic remedy for ill-health in modern society and a counter to physical enfeeblement resulting from increased automation.¹⁵³ Several comprehensive schools had been established in the West Riding in the mid-1950s and, when Circular 10/65 was published, requiring LEAs to submit plans for comprehensive reorganisation, the West Riding LEA's response was to continue to apply the policy it was already implementing.¹⁵⁴ Comprehensive schools, in the view of Clegg and both Labour and Conservative members of the West Riding Education Committee, allowed children to mix and so further their policy of helping children to move off the bottom stratum of society.

Although a new emphasis on personal growth accompanied the trend to individualism, this was not incompatible with hopes for democracy and a cohesive social society. Pedley was among the advocates of comprehensive schools who envisaged a new and more democratic version of leadership emerging¹⁵⁵ and among the aims of some initiatives using outdoor pursuits was the intention to develop qualities associated with collaborative or democratic ideals of leadership rather than those associated with the élitist notion of education for leadership. McCulloch maintains that an emphasis on individual academic achievement rather than the social purposes of secondary education arose from the need for some comprehensive schools, in some geographical regions, to defend themselves in terms of academic standards.¹⁵⁶ Hargreaves notes that, as a culture of individualism strengthened, schools placed less emphasis on 'the honour of the school', on 'team spirit' and on other collective rituals traditionally used as character-building devices.¹⁵⁷ McCulloch suggests that the promotion of social equality was replaced with a growing emphasis on competitive individualism,¹⁵⁸ an emphasis which apparently led to active support for what was deemed to be 'excellence' rather than 'leadership'.¹⁵⁹ According to McCulloch, a fresh rationale and a new champion were needed if education for leadership were to survive.¹⁶⁰

In 1961, Jim Hogan, Sir John Hunt and Jack Longland spoke of the role outdoor activities and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme could play in education for leadership, at a course for serving teachers, 'Youth Leadership and Responsibility'.¹⁶¹ A champion of the old style who did attempt to redefine the notion of education for leadership so that it would appeal to a post-war society was Eric James, High Master of Manchester Grammar School from 1945 to 1962.¹⁶² Colin Mortlock was a physical education teacher at this School from 1961 to 1965 and later became the warden of an outdoor education centre and a lecturer in outdoor education at a teacher training college. Evidence of the influence Mortlock's ideas exerted on those working in outdoor education comes from the positive responses to his articles in *Outdoors*, the journal of the National Association of Outdoor Education (of which he was a founding member) and to his 1973 privately published pamphlet, *Adventure Education and Outdoor Pursuits*.¹⁶³ Later chapters will explore Mortlock's philosophy and suggest that among his aims for outdoor education was the promotion of qualities associated with education for leadership.

In his 1968 book, *Education, Physical Education and Personality Development*, Arnold noted that outdoor education could be used for personal development in a society which increasingly pressed young people to conform and which, he maintained, 'swept the individual into a pool of social and spiritual vacuity'.¹⁶⁴ Most people teaching outdoor education in the 1950s and 1960s probably shared Arnold's opinion that social development and character development went hand in hand. Like him, they would have considered that such socially-oriented qualities as kindness, unselfishness, friendliness, truthfulness, justice, honesty, thoughtfulness, courtesy, helpfulness, tolerance, cheerfulness, loyalty, co-operation and a general consideration for others, could be fostered through outdoor education and that these qualities were complementary to those associated with character building - courage, ingenuity, initiative, decision making,

perseverance, determination, self-reliance, self-restraint, self-control, thoroughness, enthusiasm, reliability and resourcefulness.

Responses to the growth of interest in outdoor education

Bewerley Park changed only gradually from a junior field-studies centre to a centre for outdoor education. In doing so, it was also reflective of and arguably, responding to, the growth of interest in outdoor education in England and Wales in general. In 1962, Longland spoke of 'a complete transformation in the nature and scope of physical education... of more and more parties of children from secondary schools being taken into the mountains and wild country to walk and do things like map and compass work'.¹⁶⁵ Advised by its Camping Advisory Committee, the Ministry of Education continued to promote camping in schools through the publication of pamphlets and recommendations to LEAs to provide basic camping equipment so that large numbers of pupils could live under canvas for periods of five to ten days.¹⁶⁶ The Committee, who saw their main aim as raising the standard of camping,^{167/168} were kept informed of developments in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme and the Mountain Leadership Certificate by Sir John Hunt.¹⁶⁹ However, it seems neither this Committee, nor the associated Camping Panel (a body of HMIs), who apparently recognised that camping was at a 'cross-roads... even at the end of an era', felt able to take the lead in the rapidly expanding area of outdoor activities.¹⁷⁰ For those teachers who sought a more adventurous approach to outdoor activities than camping, opportunities came through access to activities and courses organised by Outward Bound Schools, the CCPR and through the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. In 1956, the Sail Training Association was founded which, like the Ocean Youth Club established in 1960, aimed to provide character training under sail for young people. Extra-curricular time, particularly in public and grammar schools, had long been used for expeditions and, in 1964, the Yorkshire Schools Exploring Society was founded with the intention of enabling

young people from all schools in Yorkshire to undertake more ambitious field-work expeditions.¹⁷¹

The programme of outdoor education at a secondary modern school in the Lake District, Derwent School, provides an example of how, in 1958, the personal experiences and interests of staff allowed a vigorous outdoor programme to be offered to pupils through physical education and a range of extra-curricular activities. Ken Ogilvie was responsible for boys' physical education between 1958 and 1966 when he resigned to take up the position of warden at an LEA outdoor pursuits centre. In addition to annual walks on the fells, there were canoe building sessions and subsequent canoeing sessions on Derwentwater, climbing and rock scrambling expeditions and light-weight camping trips. From 1961 an annual camp for boys and girls was used as the base for more intensive climbing and canoeing sessions. Winter mountaineering expeditions in Scotland and the Lake District were offered to boys and an outdoor club took place during lunch times when 'map and compass' skills were taught to a group of enthusiastic pupils. The teaching of technical skills associated with climbing – knot-tying and rope-handling was enhanced following the building of a climbing wall in the school grounds in 1965.¹⁷²

Staffordshire, Cumberland, Derbyshire, and Lancashire were among LEAs which offered pupils programmes largely comprised of outdoor pursuits in the 1950s. By 1962 a number of other LEAs had established mountain centres, e.g. Brighton LEA (Burwash Centre in Sussex), Cumberland LEA (Hawse End and Penrith Road in the Lake District), Birmingham LEA (Ogwen Cottage in North Wales), Leicestershire LEA (Aberglaslyn Hall in North Wales), Liverpool LEA (Colomendy in North Wales), Sunderland LEA (Derwent Hill in the Lake District), Wolverhampton LEA (The Towers in North Wales) and West Bromwich LEA (Plas Gwynant in North Wales).¹⁷³ The course for thirty boys held in the late 1950s, at West Bromwich Education LEA's centre, Plas Gwynant, provides a typical example of an outdoor education course at this time. Based in a large country house, located

at the foot of Snowdon, which the LEA had recently purchased, the course made use of the mountainous area and included map reading, first aid, rock climbing, canoeing, mountain rescue, knotting, grounds maintenance and an expedition. The aims for the course were listed as.¹⁷⁴

1. To offer an opportunity for controlled adventure,
2. To encourage a job well done for its own sake, in all kinds of weather conditions,
3. To offer the opportunity for individuals to appreciate life in a community and as a member of a patrol within a community,
4. To encourage self-reliance, initiative and resourcefulness.¹⁷⁵

Boys were placed in two patrols, Hillary and Tenzing, and throughout the course there was, it is claimed, 'healthy rivalry which helped to foster a good spirit in the school'.¹⁷⁶

The 1960s were a time of rapid growth in the number of LEA residential centres dedicated to the delivery of outdoor education. In 1960 there was only a handful of such centres but, despite doubts about the accuracy of statistics, because different criteria were used for each survey, it has been estimated that by 1983, 400 centres had been established by LEAs.¹⁷⁷ In 1962 an invitation was extended, by the CCPR in consultation with the Ministry of Education, to representatives from education authorities and other bodies running mountain training centres, and to others known to be thinking of establishing them, to attend a two-day residential conference at Plas y Brenin. Interest was so great that it was necessary to restrict attendance to one representative from each authority or voluntary organisation.¹⁷⁸ Statistics show that among the fifty three people who attended there were representatives from the Ministry of Education, the Scottish Education Department, the Welsh Joint Education Committee, the Ministry of Education for Northern Ireland and the Home Office Children's Department as well as eighteen representatives from LEAs (8 county councils and 10 county boroughs) and twenty two representing voluntary or other organisations. Among the LEA representatives was Henry Scott, senior adviser in physical education with the West Riding. Fifty of

the representatives were men, including a squadron leader and a brigadier, and three were women. Among the twenty-five mountain centres represented, ten had been established by LEAs and fifteen by voluntary bodies.¹⁷⁹ The latter included five Outward Bound Schools - one specifically for the Army, a university centre, an outdoor centre belonging to a school, another to an industrial company and several to youth organisations. Although some centres offered sailing, skiing and field studies, the most usual activities undertaken were 'hill-walking, rock-climbing, canoeing, camping expeditions and training for Duke of Edinburgh's Award tests'.¹⁸⁰ In his opening address, Longland, chairman of the conference, spoke of the need to discuss the aims and purposes of mountain centres as well as problems concerning staffing and standards in training, equipment and safety.¹⁸¹

Longland attributed the fashion for outdoor pursuits in secondary schools and youth organisations to the influence of National Service and wartime training and the experiences of teachers. He described the 'alarm caused by the large crowds' of boys and girls and their leaders seen frequently on such places as the Snowdon Horseshoe, who, he maintained, seemed 'to be paying insufficient regard for safety or to other good mountain habits', and he noted the inability of climbing clubs to continue to convey 'traditions' from 'person to person and from small group to small group'.¹⁸² Although representatives were happy to acknowledge that experiences associated with mountain activities 'did affect the character and outlook of those who took part in them', the term 'character building' was avoided by most. However, in his Conference address 'Arousing Wider Interest in Mountains', Sugden, an HMI from the Camping Advisory Committee, referred to the validity in using mountains to provide¹⁸³

conditions which will challenge physical endurance and physical skills and/or to develop character or personality by putting boys (*sic*) into positions requiring qualities of persistence, initiative, ability to make decisions or courage.¹⁸⁴

The tougher the challenge, Sugden maintained, whether physical, intellectual, moral or spiritual, the more likely was that challenge to develop the whole personality of boys (*sic*).¹⁸⁵

There was general agreement among representatives at the Conference that the success of courses in fulfilling their aims, whatever they were, depended on a teacher working with a very small number of pupils for at least two weeks. Lack of an appropriate recognised qualification was judged by the majority of representatives to be a disadvantage but it was generally acknowledged that 'being an instructor was a young man's activity (*sic*) and not a job for life', and that centres needed 'a regular infusion of new blood and a frequent change-over of instructional staff'.¹⁸⁶ A number of the centres represented admitted to using staff who were not fully trained teachers because, some wardens maintained, although staff had to be 'safe', 'character and the right attitude to the job were even more important than technical proficiency'.¹⁸⁷ Squadron Leader Davies, warden of Ullswater Outward Bound School, said the people to be 'guarded against were those who wanted a paid climbing holiday', the 'scruffy slapdash types', those who were 'immature or irresponsible' and those who were 'fanatics or religious maniacs'!¹⁸⁸ In summing-up the findings of the conference, Longland noted that the work of 'influencing character' needed 'people who are dedicated', who believe passionately in what they are doing because the influence on their young charges is 'profound - and quite probably lasting'.¹⁸⁹ The Conference recommended that an association of wardens of mountain centres be formed with the aim of providing 'an informal exchange of views on common problems and to facilitate closer working relationships'¹⁹⁰ and in 1963, the CCPR established a working party which was to recommend that a Mountain Leadership Certificate be instituted.¹⁹¹

The dominant criteria for the acceptance of a new 'subject' within the curriculum, according to Layton, is its relevance to the needs and interests of the learners.¹⁹² He describes this as the stage when learners are attracted to the subject

because of its bearing on matters that concern them and when the teachers, rarely trained specialists, bring the 'missionary enthusiasms of pioneers' to their task.¹⁹³ There has been no evidence presented in this study, so far, that a tradition of scholarly work, stage two of Layton's model, was being established. Stage three of Layton's model concerns the influence on curriculum development of specialists groups and reference has been made to a recommendation that an association of wardens of mountain centres should be established.

This chapter has suggested that the promotion of outdoor pursuits was encouraged by problems anticipated by the abolition of National Service and a decline in education for leadership. The increase in the number of LEA outdoor pursuits centres was noted and reference was made to a first conference of people interested in residential mountain centres. This chapter has included a description of the way in which support for outdoor education was included in three Reports published in the early-1960s. These Reports set something of an agenda for social equality and the adoption of their recommendations, particularly those given in the Albemarle Report, shows the extent to which character building was, by the 1960s, intended to be an important feature of the youth service. As Chapter 4 showed, the curriculum followed at Bewerley Park did not reflect the wider developments in outdoor education occurring at the time and the teaching staff, throughout the period discussed in the chapter, resisted the attempts of Hogan to introduce the type of outdoor pursuits which some LEAs were increasingly adopting in their outdoor residential centres.

The chapter has also shown that the West Riding LEA continued to give financial support to Bewerley Park School when the need for children to spend a month in the country for health reasons had diminished. The Committee supported the promotion of outdoor pursuits that would help the socially disadvantaged and work towards making a more cohesive society. However, the staff were suspicious of Hogan's motives and were reluctant to acknowledge that in promoting outdoor

pursuits, the personal qualities to be developed were for the benefit of society rather than those that might lead to individual excellence and/or leadership. A student teacher, visiting Bewerley Park in 1960, noted that to meet the particular needs of girls, different kinds of outdoor pursuits would need to be found,¹⁹⁴ a suggestion that reflected the practices of Outward Bound courses and the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme for girls. The account of the rapid growth of interest in outdoor education nationally, given in the following chapters, refers to the way in which, at Bewerley Park as elsewhere, girls were increasingly given equal access to outdoor education. However, attention will also be drawn to the way activities continued to favour boys and to the way in which outdoor education reflected, rather than challenged, wider social assumptions about gender. The West Riding Education Committee, always anxious to have 'jewels in its crown' was very supportive of the working partnership of Clegg and Hogan.¹⁹⁵ The next chapter will indicate that the Committee allowed Hogan to use his extensive knowledge and experience of using outdoor activities with young people to make Bewerley Park into one of those jewels.

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CHAPTER 6

Bewerley Park Outdoor Pursuits Centre 1965-1974

The emergence of Bewerley Park Centre as an outdoor centre following the introduction of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme into the pattern of field study courses was described in the previous chapter. The chapter explored the various tensions that arose when changes took place in the School's programme in the late-1950s and explained how Jim Hogan had seized upon a number of serendipitous circumstances to effect those changes. This chapter examines the way in which Bewerley Park Centre offered outdoor education to schoolchildren in the West Riding of Yorkshire between 1965 and local government reorganisation in 1974 which abolished the West Riding and its Local Education Authority (LEA). The chapter will also consider how Bewerley Park Centre, both as a residential school and through its programme of outdoor activities, sought to give practical effect to the West Riding Education Committee's rationale for educating children for life, with its particular emphasis on care for the under-privileged child. The range of activities undertaken, the pupils and staff involved and the financial governance and management of Bewerley Park Centre and, from 1967, Humphrey Head Centre, are described. Chapter 7 places these activities in the wider national context of developments in outdoor education and explores the important differences in the aims of the West Riding and some other LEAs.

Character training was not a significant feature of outdoor education in the West Riding. Clegg and Hogan aimed to introduce children to a 'better' way of life through residential living and they assumed that after having been given a taste of the 'better life' children's aspirations would be raised. Outdoor activities were perceived as giving children equal opportunities to achieve success and consequently were judged by Clegg and Hogan to be an appropriate basis for the curriculum to enhance the residential provision at Bewerley Park.

Bewerley Park as a manifestation of the West Riding rationale

Motivating average and below-average pupils and ensuring that such pupils became responsible members of society were major areas of concern for the West Riding LEA under Clegg's leadership. In *Children in Distress*, Clegg drew attention to the number of children unable to take advantage of educational opportunities because of disadvantaged home backgrounds.¹ Using data collected by the Newsom Committee,² Clegg wrote of an estimated ten to twelve per cent of all children who lived in 'extreme wretchedness' but who were ineligible to be taken into care.³ Clegg thought outdoor activities could 'do so much for so many' as well as helping to 'establish new and valuable relationships between staff and pupils'.⁴ Outdoor education capitalised on its supposed ability to influence adolescents and it thrived on the belief that it was an ideal vehicle for achieving changes in behaviour.⁵ In the West Riding it can be identified with attempts to strengthen the work of schools, at various times, in relation to such social issues as sexual morality, race relations, smoking and drugs. Notions that the behaviour of young people could be influenced by the examples of adults were not new as Chapter 2 explained. However, it was usually the personal experience of change, to self or others, which lay at the foundation of the convictions held by those who valued the challenging experiences in the outdoors rather than any knowledge of a theory posed over half a century earlier. Clegg acknowledged his debt to Hogan in developing his thinking with regard to outdoor education⁶ and, as Reg Eyles, who replaced Hogan in 1959 as advisor for further education in the West Riding, recalls, there were many occasions when the Chief Education Officer and his deputy would discuss the value of outdoor activities in education.⁷

Clegg valued outdoor education for two reasons. Firstly, it was a means of stimulating the learning of schoolchildren. Activity and experience, in his view, were the twin forces that 'generated education power'.⁸ He equated Hahn's philosophy, the 'duty to impel people into experience' with the findings of the Hadow Report on the

Primary School which thought of education in these terms.⁹ Delegates at an Outward Bound conference held in 1965 were congratulated by Clegg for basing their approach to education on activity and experience and for using the 'sea and the mountains' as the 'most awe-inspiring' of all teaching materials.¹⁰ The second reason why Clegg valued outdoor activities was because he believed they could boost the self-esteem of young people.¹¹ Clegg questioned the tendency of outdoor education to cultivate toughness by putting growing youngsters 'through exacting endurance tests in which some are bound to fail'.¹² He was concerned that while the successful exulted in their own toughness, those who failed would feel only shame.¹³ To Clegg it seemed logical that any testing situation which produced winners would also produce losers, and losers labelled as failures felt rejected and had the potential to be disruptive. The characters of children should be strengthened, so Clegg maintained, to help them resist the temptations of an adult society whose attitudes towards sex, religion, affluence and the welfare state he considered inappropriate.¹⁴ In this sense, Clegg's concern for the welfare of the under-privileged reflected a conservative political stance as much as a caring for pupils as individuals. Clegg felt strongly about what he perceived as the wrong use of outdoor pursuits. He was particularly concerned about notions of training for leadership and para-militarism.¹⁵ In 1965 he disputed notions that the public schools had trained leaders when in fact, he considered, boys had merely taken on positions of leadership through assumptions of superiority cultivated through their school system.¹⁶ In addition, he claimed that to develop qualities of leadership was 'distasteful' because he thought it entailed the idea that some must be educated to follow. He considered it was also dangerous because it implied 'we know what qualities we want in a leader ...those of 'Ghandi, Hitler, Churchill, Schweitzer, Christ or Caesar?''¹⁷ Despite his undoubted support for outdoor education, Clegg rarely visited Beverley Park.¹⁸ It fell to Jim Hogan and Mike McEvoy, two key figures in the organisation of Beverley Park who shared Clegg's convictions, to implement the ideas which he had promoted with the Education Committee.

The contributions Hogan considered outdoor activities could make to education were very similar to those of Clegg. In his opening address to a conference of physical education teachers in 1967, Hogan spoke of the opportunities outdoor activities provided to influence children who had experienced failure in other spheres¹⁹ and of his belief that success in one sphere could lead to improved performance in another.²⁰ Hogan noted that outdoor activities allowed pupils to 'grow in responsibility and that, by working closely with their peers, they would come to appreciate for themselves 'what are likely to be lasting and acceptable values'.²¹ In addition, teacher-pupil relationships were likely to be formed which would open up 'new channels of communication', particularly helpful to the 'Newsom' child he thought.²² A further justification for the introduction of outdoor activities into the school curriculum was, Hogan suggested, that they had the advantage that, unlike traditional team sports, they could be continued into later life and so continue to benefit the individual.²³

McEvoy took up his appointment as headmaster of Bewerley Park School in 1965.²⁴ He has attributed his appointment to his personal vision of outdoor activities as 'tools that could be used in an educational way'.²⁵ It is appropriate at this point, therefore, to give some details of McEvoy to show how his rationale for outdoor education was similar to that of Clegg and Hogan.

Mike McEvoy

The fact that McEvoy, by 1974, was chairing the two professional associations for those working in outdoor activities, the Association of Wardens of Mountain Centres, formed in the early-1960s, and the National Association for Outdoor Education (NAOE), indicates the respect in which he was held by colleagues a decade after his appointment to the West Riding. In 1964, Clegg and Hogan had realised that the appointment of a suitable headteacher was crucial to the effective development of the Centre for outdoor pursuits, and more than a year elapsed between Ledbetter

notifying the Authority that he was to retire and the appointment of Mike McEvoy as his successor. Despite his wide range of personal sporting skills in outdoor and other sports - rugby, football, athletics - McEvoy did not see these as 'ends in themselves'. Beyond this, there is no doubt that he was committed to helping 'the underdog'.²⁶ In addition McEvoy had acquired a wide range of teaching experience in secondary modern, grammar and comprehensive schools as well as four years in the Outward Bound movement.²⁷ A factor in his final appointment was, according to McEvoy, his persuasion of the Chairman of the Committee, Alderman Mrs Fitzpatrick, that he was the man to make Beverley Park Centre the 'jewel in the crown' of the West Riding Education Authority.²⁸ The extent to which McEvoy shared Clegg and Hogan's rationale for outdoor education can be judged from McEvoy's writings and from the fact that both men would seek McEvoy's advice about speeches they were asked to give on outdoor education.²⁹ McEvoy recalls a number of occasions when Clegg asked him to explain his personal view of education to guests of the West Riding LEA, Lady Beveridge and Lady Plowden among them.³⁰

Opinions expressed in his report, as Chairman, to the annual general meeting of the NAOE in 1973 demonstrate the extent to which McEvoy shared Clegg's belief in the importance of the 'all round growth' of young people.³¹ Outdoor education, he maintained, should not be seen as a 'supplementary or peripheral matter but as something fundamental to our thinking about learning, personal growth and social development'. He thought more was learned through active participation than passive acceptance, that education was as much to do with physical and emotional growth as with intellectual development and that, 'in a changing world', society needed 'well-developed people capable of assuming responsibilities and making satisfactory personal and working relationships'.³² McEvoy also valued aspects of Outward Bound training and wrote in 1969 of the benefits of outdoor activities as a means of introducing pupils to experiences which

demanded from them courage, determination, self-discipline, assessment of a situation, loyalty to a group, care and concern for others, the strong must be courteous to the weak, all must respect others opinions.³³

However, McEvoy rejected the 'character building' aims of Outward Bound because he felt change could not be imposed on boys but had to 'come from within'.³⁴ He maintained that the use made of outdoor activities in an Outward Bound school and within an LEA outdoor centre were very different. In the former, demanding situations were manufactured in order to make judgements on how youngsters would react. In the latter, outdoor activities were used as the vehicle for the general educational development of schoolchildren.³⁵ While admitting that outdoor activities could be a 'proving' ground for courage, skill, determination and perseverance, McEvoy also saw the activities as a means through which children could gain confidence, display compassion, charity, concern and cheerfulness and as a way of allowing them to help others.³⁶

McEvoy recognised that the acquisition of technical skills played a part in outdoor education but it was 'honest endeavour'³⁷ and a child's will to complete a task that he most valued.³⁸ Lives, he felt, would be enriched through the sense of fulfilment boys and girls gained by 'achieving the impossible' in a task that had until recently been beyond their wildest dreams.³⁹ Because all children were starting on something new, their past record of success or failure was not important.⁴⁰ Success, McEvoy thought, was essential to the learning process; like Clegg, he maintained that success in one area could 'spill over' into other spheres.⁴¹ Accepting the premise that 'the ailments of contemporary society were of a social nature', McEvoy aimed to use the controlled co-educational residential situation to exploit the possibilities of assisting children's personal and social development.

The information given in this chapter is necessarily patchy and incomplete and although anecdotal evidence can never provide a full representation of student views because those who responded positively to the experience may dominate those who

found the experience less satisfactory, it is not uncommon for those interviewed to describe their stay at the Centre as the 'best time of my life'.

The residential experience of pupils at Bewerley Park Centre

Areas in the south of the former West Riding, especially mining areas, were those where Clegg considered social and economic deprivation to be worst. Ensuring, through residential living, that children from different social and geographical backgrounds mixed⁴² with children with 'decent standards and decent living', was just one strategy which the West Riding LEA employed to help children to acquire 'better standards'.⁴³ McEvoy recalls a significant number of children who arrived with their belongings wrapped in brown paper, some who were unfamiliar with how bed linen was used and others who had never slept in a bed.⁴⁴ Clegg favoured institutions which could abandon the conventions of traditional schools, prizes, mark lists, published examination results and streaming and which could establish appropriate attitudes and values as the basis on which they ran.⁴⁵ Bewerley Park, in his judgement, had the potential to be such an institution. Residential settings, according to McEvoy, allowed young people to leave their normal environment, to meet and mix with other than their usual acquaintances, to become involved in activities which demanded group work and to enjoy some success.⁴⁶

McEvoy concluded from a survey he conducted in 1974 that sixty six per cent of pupils thought Bewerley Park Centre staff formed better relationships with him and his staff than with their usual teachers.⁴⁷ The survey, which was based on information given by participants prior to their departure at the end of each of three courses in January and February of 1974, formed part of McEvoy's study, *Student and Teacher Values of Courses held at an Outdoor Pursuit Centre*, undertaken to fulfil the requirements of an Advanced Diploma in Secondary Education and completed in May 1974. The way in which McEvoy shared Clegg's concern for under-privileged children is shown by comments in the Centre's logbook. He wrote of his concern that

some Bewerley Park staff concentrated too much on teaching outdoor techniques and commented that they were too interested in 'the high flyer, with the desire for selection (based on technical skills in activities) making their approach worse than the 11+ examination'. At one point, it seems, he considered staffing Bewerley Park only with 'teachers who have taught for ten years in schools in poor areas'. McEvoy continued his statement, one of a number of occasions on which he used the logbook for personal outbursts, by noting that some of the current teaching staff had 'no conception whatsoever of the type of background that some of our youngsters come from'.⁴⁸

Evening activities, like the daytime outdoor programme at Bewerley Park Centre, were intended to contribute to the development of 'appropriate' social attitudes.⁴⁹ A mixture of social skills training such as those deriving from country dancing, concerts and sing-songs co-existed with information-giving sessions about activities intended to encourage worthwhile leisure pursuits and with 'challenges' of a social variety. As boys and girls mixed, in controlled situations, the dance, sing-song and concert contained an element of putting children and teachers in situations which were not only unfamiliar but which they might find somewhat daunting; no choice was allowed about participation - all had to become involved.⁵⁰ Probably the only activity that could be described as unalloyed entertainment was the Sunday night film. More often than not, these featured heroes overcoming incredible odds in hostile terrain. The films shown in January and February 1974 were *The Savage Innocents*, a semi-documentary about life among the Eskimos, *Captain Apache*, 'a blood and thunder' Western, filmed from the side of the Indians and *The Heroes of Telemark*, a war film about a group of Norwegian saboteurs which included exciting conditions in Nazi-occupied, winter-time Norway.⁵¹

For some years within the highly structured programme, there was one leisure evening each week when pupils could use the library, watch television or use the common room which was equipped with four table-tennis tables, draughts, chess,

playing cards, newspapers and magazines, radio and comfortable chairs. When asked about the popularity of the evening activities, McEvoy found that neither the preparation for the end of course concert nor the activity films proved as popular as he had expected. Although almost all enjoyed the dance, very few chose the sing-song as their favourite activity and only a relatively small number chose the leisure evening as their first choice.⁵² Table 6.1 provides an example of the evening programme in place at the end of the period discussed in this chapter.

Table 6.1 – A typical evening programme at Bewerley Park - 1976

Tues. - It's a knockout - slides	Fri. - Camp return - films	Mon. - Walk - sing song
Wed. - Camp prep. - dance	Sat. - Local activities - dance	Tues. - Climb - concert prep.
Thurs. - Camp - concert prep.	Sun. - Cave - films	Wed. - Canoe - concert. ⁵³

The daily act of corporate worship was led by McEvoy who used the informal meeting in the assembly hall to attempt to influence the way in which pupils 'reached satisfactory solutions to the demands of residential living and outdoor education'.⁵⁴ Usually included were stories of people's outdoor experiences or moral courage such as those of people like Ivan Denisovich or Joan Baez who overcame adversity or refused to bow to pressure.⁵⁵

Outdoor Activities at Bewerley Park Centre

Activities that demanded stamina and physical fitness featured strongly on the programme of Bewerley Park Centre in 1965.⁵⁶ In an attempt to increase the appeal of the courses to children, the standard school course was reduced, from April 1966, from four weeks to three. A cohort of ninety six was divided into four patrols each of twenty four pupils, twelve boys and twelve girls. One male and one female teacher led their single-sex patrols on broadly similar programmes for the first week of the course. During this time, a considerable amount of technical instruction in outdoor pursuits was given with pupils following their teacher's lead. After eleven days, the groups changed with pupils choosing to follow a specialist activity. These mixed

groups were usually led by teachers with particular skills in the chosen activity. Table 6.2 summarises the standard three week course offered to fourteen year old pupils in West Riding schools in 1967.

Table 6.2 - The programme of a typical 3 week course at Bewerley Park - 1967

WEEK 1	Pupils arrive - Lunch - Equipment issue Artificial respiration - swimming tests
Tuesday	Evening - Fire drill - Slide show
Wednesday	Drown Proofing* - A full day in the pool learning how to keep afloat for long periods without getting tired. Water confidence. Evening social - Dance
Thursday	Canoeing - Capsize drill in the pool, the remainder of the day on the dam and/or river. Evening - School shop open - Organised games - 9.30 p.m. swim
Friday	Sailing - All day at Yeadon Tarn sailing, Evening - Domestic - Leisure - Sing song - 9.30 p.m. swim
Saturday	Caving - Preparation for a day in a cave. Visit to the Upper Wharfedale Cave and Fell Rescue Unit. Visit to a suitable cave. Evening - Dance
Sunday	Church - Lunch 12.00 Camping Preparation - pitch tent, pack rucksack, camp foods, first aid, etc. Evening - Film, entertainment
Monday	Camping Preparation - Cooking, equipment, camp hygiene and organisation etc. Evening - School shop open - Girls, interest evening - Boys, pool
WEEK 2	
Tuesday	Camp
Wednesday	Camp - Three day camping scheme - carrying all your equipment and visiting an area of the Yorkshire Dales
Thursday	Camp Evening - Domestic
Friday	Clear up after expedition - Map and compass work if time permits Evening - Leisure
Saturday	Climbing - A full day at Brimham Rocks learning the techniques of climbing, abseiling and rope work Evening - Selection for final specialist scheme - Dance
Sunday	Church - Lunch 12.00 Prepare and pack for final scheme Evening - Film, entertainment
Monday	Final Specialist Schemes - All pupils out for three days to Canoe, Climb, Sail, Cave or Camp depending on their selection. Groups mixed, boys and girls.
WEEK 3	
Tuesday	As above
Wednesday	As above returning to centre for evening meal Evening - Domestic and Leisure
Thursday	Clear up, clean, replace equipment, Repair any damage. Evening - Final Dance
Friday	Packing. Hand in equipment. Final assembly. Lunch. Pupils depart 1.00 PM

* Drown-proofing was an idea imported from an American Outward Bound School. It aimed not to 'proof' people completely against drowning but to 'banish many fears' and 'increase the ability to survive'.⁵⁷

McEvoy felt strongly that the courses should be physically demanding if they were to achieve their aims.⁵⁸ The extent to which walking expeditions were physically demanding is demonstrated by the way in which they followed the pattern set by Outward Bound. In the second week of a three week course, pupils went on a three-day expedition. One standard route was from Bewerley to Wharfedale to Howgill where the children and their instructor camped; they then walked over Simon's Seat, down to Bolton Abbey and camped at Beamsley. From there the group walked back the seventeen miles to Bewerley, making a round trip of almost fifty miles. Pupils carried all their own equipment and on the final day some navigated on their own.⁵⁹ In 1968, fifty nine boys and twelve girls, with no vehicular support, walked and camped the entire 250 mile route of the Pennine Way carrying all their camping equipment, clothing and food.⁶⁰ In the same year, further Pennine Way expeditions took place, although in some cases the heaviest equipment was carried in a vehicle and on other occasions the children walked only part of the way.⁶¹ Expeditions lasting two weeks took place each summer from 1967. These usually included a 'coast to coast' walk from Robin Hoods Bay to St. Bees Head in Cumbria and a 100 mile walk across Lake District hills.⁶²

A number of features of the programme in the early months of McEvoy's headship can be traced directly to the influence of the Outward Bound movement - calling teaching groups patrols, presenting badges to pupils who fulfilled three training conditions - no smoking, no alcohol and full co-operation, and bestowing an award of 'best' student.⁶³ However, these routines did not continue. The awarding of badges to a select few was deemed to underpin notions of superiority and reinforce the sense of failure that was frequently felt by those that were bound to fail. A decision was therefore made to award badges to all pupils who had not 'blotted their copy book

by stupid or bad behaviour' or by getting a lift to the centre when they were supposed to have walked.⁶⁴ McEvoy defended the policy of giving all participants a certificate on the grounds that many of the children had never received an award and their achievements at the Centre were ones of which they could feel 'justifiably proud'.⁶⁵

A feature associated with Outward Bound Schools that did continue was the link with local rescue services. Two reasons explain the inclusion of what were potentially harrowing experiences for the children who visited the headquarters of the Upper Wharfedale Fell and Cave Rescue Unit and who sometimes took part in real rescues.⁶⁶ The first was to 'kindle a spirit of service' through active participation in fire, sea or mountain rescue services as Kurt Hahn had done in the 1930s at Gordonstoun School.⁶⁷ The second was to provide a warning about the dangers of ignoring rules. As children were shown how to handle rescue equipment and allowed to look through records, diaries and surveys, they were able to see how easy it was to get into difficulties if rules were not strictly followed.⁶⁸ The message conveyed to the children was that rules must be adhered to if success was to be achieved.

Two factors influenced further changes to the curriculum at Bewerley Park from 1965. These were low recruitment to courses and an increase in resources, including teaching staff, made available to the Centre. The change of curriculum to outdoor pursuits did not initially attract as many applicants as had been expected. Fewer girls than boys enrolled on courses and a significant proportion of the girls, overwhelmed by the physical demands of the courses, asked to go home. A number of strategies aimed at encouraging more pupils to apply were tried. Schools were provided with more information and in the winter of 1967 ten-day courses replaced the three-week long courses. In 1966 McEvoy suggested to his Governing Body that horse riding be added to the programme on a trial basis.⁶⁹

The Minutes of the Governing body of Bewerley Park Centre indicate that a great deal of equipment was bought between 1959 and 1964, the time of transition

from a field-study to an outdoor centre. By 1965 there appears to have been no shortage of items to support the specialist activities of canoeing and walking and, when requested, equipment was bought to enable caving and climbing to form part of the programme. Despite the Authority's apparent generosity there was to be no waste, each piece of equipment was well-used, there were 'no frills' and no cupboards full of climbing equipment used only rarely.⁷⁰ A visit from the Duke of Edinburgh in person in 1967 provided the spur for the builders to complete the swimming pool. Equipment, vehicles and staffing were resources demanding major funding and spending on all of these increased throughout the period under review in this chapter. In the mid-1960s, with only one or two vehicles available, all activities involved a considerable amount of walking or waiting for public transport. Teachers and pupils walked to a local mill-pond for canoeing and back from the nearest climbing crags.⁷¹ Transport was made easier in 1966 when a mini-bus was purchased to supplement the Land Rover already in use, and a third vehicle added in the same year. The number of assistant teachers was increased from ten in 1964 to fifteen by 1971.⁷² By 1974 McEvoy estimated that £100,000 per annum was allocated by the West Riding Education Committee for children to attend courses at the Bewerley Park and Humphrey Head centres.⁷³

Sailing began in 1967 when an additional mini-bus could be used for transport to a flooded gravel pit at Yeadon.⁷⁴ The weather had only a limited effect on the programme since, once established, only safety considerations caused a change. Snow was the exception when skis and sledges were used as much as possible. A major outbreak of foot and mouth disease among cattle in the winter of 1967/8 resulted in the programme being changed to prevent access to infected farm land. As a result, construction work in the centre grounds led to a ropes course being built, an orienteering course being established and to two- and three-dimensional art work being included as an activity.⁷⁵ However, these on-site activities did not become regular parts of courses until budget cuts in a later period of the Centre's history.

Drown-proofing, in the newly-opened swimming pool and sailing were added to the course programme in 1967. In the pool, maintained at a temperature of 80°F throughout the year, swimming tests and capsized drill could take place on site. The Yorkshire Dales were used extensively for walking, for shorter expeditions, for day climbing, canoeing and caving trips. McEvoy insisted that children should not spend longer in a vehicle than they did on an activity. His justification was that he thought that locating activities within their home county would encourage continued participation.⁷⁶ Accessibility also lay behind the policy of giving children experience of youth hostelling; an activity which it was felt could be continued without the need for investment in expensive equipment.⁷⁷ Compared with other LEA outdoor centres, the programme offered to pupils at Bewerley Park was relatively flexible. Within the established framework of the programme teaching staff were able to adapt the courses to meet the needs of their group. In many other centres a programme of activities had to be rigidly followed even though it might be inappropriate for the group and/or the prevailing weather conditions.⁷⁸ Table 6.3 shows the programme for a ten-day winter course which took place at Bewerley Park Centre in 1970. The organisation of teaching groups remained the same as for the previous longer courses.

Table 6.3 - The programme for a 10 day winter course at Bewerley Park - 1970

Tuesday	Pupils arrive - Registration - Lunch - Photographs - Equipment issue. Local Walk Evening - Fire drill - Introductory talk - Slide show 1
Wednesday	Cave Evening - Dance
Thursday	Canoe/drown proofing Evening - Indoor games
Friday	Climb Evening - Preparation for end of course concert
Saturday	Walk Evening - Country dancing
Sunday	Hostel preparation Evening - Film, entertainment
Monday	Hostel Evening - Overnight stay at a local youth hostel, sing song for groups not hostelling.
Tuesday	Hostel Evening - Concert Preparation
Wednesday	Local Activities - e.g. ropes course, orienteering Evening - Final concert and dance
Thursday	Clear up and clean up - packing, hand in equipment. Inspection - Bank - Assembly Lunch 12.00 p.m. Pupils depart

Many LEAs establishing outdoor centres at this time chose more mountainous areas, such as North Wales or the Lake District, rather than the Yorkshire Dales because the former were deemed more physically challenging. McEvoy and the Education Committee of the West Riding had no wish to 'test' children and thus felt a mountainous area was not necessary to accomplish their objectives. However, they seized the opportunity to acquire, in 1965, a building used since 1909 to provide holidays for poor children from Keighley. Situated on Humphrey Head, a spit of land just south of the Lake District, it was made available by the West Riding Excepted District of Keighley which felt unable to maintain it fully. The Education Committee, almost certainly prompted by Hogan and McEvoy, saw it as an ideal location for an advanced base for mountaineering in the Lake District as well as for marine biology and for sailing. Discussions took place about how courses at Humphrey Head could be integrated with those at Bewerley Park.⁷⁹ Table 6.4 indicates the range of activities undertaken at Humphrey Head between its opening under the administration of the West Riding LEA in 1967 and 1975. The statistics, taken from Humphrey Head Centre records, give the number of times each activity appeared in the programme over the seven year period and show, as a percentage, the amount of activity time devoted to each.

Table 6.4 - The activities on the programme of Humphrey Head Centre - 1967-74⁸⁰

Activity	Number of times appearing on the programme	Number of times given as a percentage
Canoeing	54	19.0
Rock Climbing	48	16.8
Mountain/Fell Walk	40	14.0
Camping/Huts	28	9.8
Mountaineering	18	6.3
Map & Compass/Orienteering	16	5.6
Winter Mountaineering	16	5.6
Local Walks	13	4.5
Expedition	13	4.5
Field Studies	10	3.5

Training and Assessment for Mountain Leadership Certificate	7	2.4
Sailing	6	2.1
Ghyll Scramble	4	1.4
Traverse/Abseil	4	1.4
Bivouac	2	0.7
Riding	2	0.7
Cross Bay Walk	2	0.7
Swimming	1	0.3
Caving	0	0
Initiative Tasks	0	0

The social development of children became increasingly important at Bewerley Park and evidence of this can be seen in the way some activities changed. By 1974, the local walk had been replaced with a group initiative task in which, by working together, the whole patrol could overcome a series of pre-arranged obstacles.⁸¹ In terms of the range of outdoor activities offered, Bewerley Park could be described as orthodox, when compared with the activities offered at some other outdoor centres. Colin Mortlock, warden of the Woodlands Outdoor Centre which was administered by the City of Oxford LEA, introduced a number of less traditional activities such as 'gorge-walking', 'sand-dune jumping' and traversing the coastline at sea level using rocky outcrops. The activities were intended to focus on the personal development of children who were encouraged to take risks in order to accept personal challenges. Mortlock maintained that there was a need for children to overcome the fear associated with 'risk-taking' in adventurous situations if they were to gain the maximum benefit from a course of outdoor education.⁸²

All pupils attending the three courses which took place at Bewerley Park in January and February of 1974 (126 boys and 123 girls) were asked their opinions about the activities offered. Table 6.5 indicates the relative popularity of each activity. Pupils were asked to rate the activities on a scale of 1 to 6, with 1 identifying the most popular. Account should be taken of the fact that harsh weather conditions, combined with industrial action on the part of coal miners, caused the swimming pool

to be inadequately heated at that time and insufficient domestic hot water to be available for showers.⁸³

Table 6.5 - The activities in order of popularity at Bewerley Park Centre - 1974
(percentages are based on the first choices of pupils)⁸⁴

Climbing	31%
Horse riding	24%
Canoeing	22%
Caving	12%
Hostelling	5%
Camping	3%
Local Activities	3%
Patrol Activities	0

Increasingly, courses for older pupils, the youth service and teachers were added to the annual programme. McEvoy maintains that Bewerley Park was the first outdoor centre to assess the competence of teachers who wished to take children climbing, canoeing, caving or camping and the first to run courses for children with mental and/or physical handicaps.⁸⁵ Bewerley Park was open for use by children within the West Riding Authority for most weeks in the year and the outdoor equipment was made available to visiting groups even if Bewerley Park teaching staff were not involved. Encouraging a wide range of groups to use the facilities at Bewerley Park was a strategy which McEvoy employed for a number of reasons; the Centre would become recognised nationally, staff would increase their range of experience, and more money would be available for equipment if the Education Committee could see the maximum number of children gaining benefit. The programme in Table 6.6 was circulated to all schools, colleges of higher and further education and to youth service providers in the West Riding. It was constructed by McEvoy, perhaps advised by Hogan, but with little consultation with potential clients. Details of a particular course, including the content and who was entitled to attend, were originally given on the reverse of the programme.

Table 6.6 - The programme of courses offered at Beverley Park - 1976

Jan. 18-20	Working break for staff
Jan. 21-22	Safety conference for head and deputy headteachers in WR schools
Jan. 26-Feb. 4	Standard 10 day course - an introduction to outdoor activities, usually climbing, canoeing, caving, camping/hostelling. Sailing, skiing, sledding included when possible. These courses are open to any West Riding school student over 14 years of age.
Feb. 9 - 18	Standard 10 day course
Feb. 23 - Mar 4	Standard 10 day course
Mar 5-7	Conference for Yorkshire Dales National Park Wardens
Mar 9-18	Standard 10 day course
Mar 23 - Apr. 1	Standard 10 day course
Apr. 3-12	Centre Closed
Apr. 13-21	Mountain Leadership Certificate - Introduction and Assessment - The course includes - map reading, movement on rock, hill walking, camping, emergency procedure and first aid, equipment, camping foods, route selection and general mountain safety precautions.
Apr. 21-28	Mountain Leadership Certificate - Introductory course Lady Mabel Teacher Training College
May 2-8	Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme - Gold Residential course
May 15-22	Teachers and Youth Service Leaders - Climbing, Canoeing, Caving, Sailing, Mountain Leadership Certificate. Teachers assessments
May 24-28	Whitwood Mining and Technical College
June 1-17	Standard 16 day course
June 18-20	T.O.R.C.H. (Teenage Organised Children's Holidays) week-end
June 21-25	West Riding Special Schools - a one week course
June 28-July 2	West Riding Special Schools
July 5-9	Specialist Activities for pupils in WR schools - A course of those from WR schools who have previously attended and who wish to further their experience in one activity.
July 11-17	Specialist Activities for College of Education students
July 19-30	10 day expedition course - Pupils must be over 14 years of age and should have done some walking and camping prior to this course.
Aug. 2-6	Open course - open to anyone in the 16-19 year age range who wishes to take an introduction course in outdoor activities..
Aug. 7-Sept. 5	Centre Closed - staff holiday
Aug. 14-28	T.O.R.C.H. Scheme (Teenage Organised Children's Holidays) An exercise in which more fortunate teenagers adopted deprived children and after a series of preliminary meetings assume responsibility for them through a week of holiday away from home.
Sept. 6-8	Working break
Sept. 10-12	Youth Service
Sept. 14-16	Rescue Techniques - Safety precautions and methods of effecting rescues in water, on land and in caves. The course will be of particular benefit to those involved in or responsible for outdoor activities in schools.
Sept. 17-19	Camping Rally - details from the Physical Education advisory staff
Sept. 20-24	Selby Further Education College
Sept. 27-Oct. 1	
Oct. 5-21	Standard 16 day course

Oct. 22-24	Mountain Leadership Certificate - Weekend 1 of Introductory course - Details as above, provided for those who find it easier to attend on four weekends. Canoe Construction for WR Colleges of Education, Teachers and Youth Service Weekend 1 - for those wishing to learn the method of construction of canoes and moulds in fibre glass
Oct. 25-Nov 4	Standard 10 day course
Nov 5-7	Central Council for Physical Recreation Conference on the Mountain Instructors Certificate Mountain Leadership Certificate - Weekend 2 of Introductory course
Nov 9-18	Standard 10 day course
Nov 19-21	Mountain Leadership Certificate - Weekend 3 of Introductory course Canoe Construction - Weekend 2
Nov 23-Dec. 2	Standard 10 day course
Dec. 3-5	Mountain Leadership Certificate - Weekend 4 of Introductory course Canoe Construction - Weekend 3
Dec. 7-16	Standard 10 day course
Dec. 18	Centre Closed

Bewerley Park provided skills training for teachers and youth leaders in specialist activities such as climbing, canoeing, sailing, caving and, from 1968, training for the Mountain Leadership Certificate (MLC). Teachers' courses served two purposes, to provide first a training in technical skills and, secondly, in safety training and qualifications.⁸⁶ Demand from teachers in secondary school for these courses increased between 1964 and 1974 as more and more schools offered outdoor pursuits. The West Riding would not support teachers who took children into the outdoors unless they had first passed an assessment at Bewerley Park.

The pupils who attended courses at Bewerley Park and Humphrey Head Centres

Records show that progress towards achieving completely full courses, with no pupils wanting to go home, was slow. Inadequate information about the new type of course and about what to expect on the part of schools, was blamed for girls not being prepared and consequently not being willing to stay. Table 6.7 indicates the relatively low numbers, particularly of girls.

Table 6.7 – Numbers of pupils attending some courses at Bewerley Park - 1965-67

Autumn 1965	316 children attended	29 went home early including 13 girls from one course. ⁸⁷
Spring 1966	Only 66 girls applied for the 96 places on one course. 80 boys applied for 96 places ⁸⁸	figures not available for numbers who left early
Summer 1966	152 girls out of a possible 192 and 174 boys out of a possible 192 attended the four standard courses	one child left for home. ⁸⁹
January 1967	38 girls for 48 places and 40 boys for 48 places ⁹⁰	figures not available for numbers who left early

By the autumn term of 1967, when a ten-day programme was the norm, courses were regularly filled and the demand for the ninety six places at Bewerley Park and the twenty four at Humphrey Head exceeded supply. At this time, almost as many girls as boys applied to attend.⁹¹ Two years later all courses were heavily oversubscribed as shown by Table 6.8 which gives the figures for four Autumn term courses in 1969.⁹²

Table 6.8 - Number of applicants for places on courses at Bewerley Park - Autumn Term 1969

	Girls' places available	Girls nominated	Boys' places available	Boys nominated
Course C35	48	83	48	96
Course C36	48	71	48	85
Course B35	48	102	48	119
Course C36	48	69	48	108

Evidence of the 'change of fortune' comes from the figures of the number of pupils who attended courses. McEvoy estimated that in 1972, 2,500 had 'passed through a course of some description' at Bewerley Park Centre or Humphrey Head.⁹³ In 1965 the figure is unlikely to have been more than 1,200.⁹⁴

The children who attended Bewerley Park outdoor courses were usually in their fourth year of secondary schooling, with fourteen given as the minimum age for attendance. This may have been because, before the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen in 1973, children would have been in their final year of compulsory education, and/or because the physical demands were considered too great for younger children. Children were required to be physically fit and to have obtained medical

clearance prior to the course.⁹⁵ Demands on stamina were high and the inability of many pupils to cope physically was noted after the first few outdoor courses.⁹⁶ Despite modifications made to the courses in 1974, there were still, apparently, long queues outside the surgery, not because children were suffering from injuries but because they longed for a hearing from the sympathetic matron.⁹⁷ The main criterion for the selection of children, to be applied by the school, was usually identified as, 'if you think they will benefit from attending'. Unless a school believed that a 'better job' could be done if some relevant information were given to the Centre, nothing was known about a student in advance.⁹⁸ The policy fits in with the notion that children were not to be pre-judged and, that in a situation that was new to them all, opportunities for success were equal. No child was to be prevented from attending a course for financial reasons.⁹⁹ The cost of a course to pupils was intentionally kept low, four shillings (20p) per day and never to exceed £3.00 per course, irrespective of the length of that course.^{100/101} The fee was readily waived by the West Riding LEA for social or financial reasons and it was not unknown for a school to pay for a child out of school funds.¹⁰²

McEvoy observed to his Governing body in 1966 that the type of child attending courses was generally of a lower academic standard than when the School operated as a junior field studies centre.¹⁰³ Not many children were recruited from the top streams in schools. They were assumed to be 'busy with examination work'.¹⁰⁴ Although many schools apparently encouraged pupils whose behaviour they judged poor to attend courses, and reports from Bewerley Park frequently referred to the good behaviour of such children when mixed with others, McEvoy noted in 1974 that few children came from the bottom end of a school's ability range. This, he maintained, was because they were thought of as being 'anti-school' and therefore unlikely to 'wish to be enclosed in a residential centre which made certain demands on them'.¹⁰⁵ By 1974, McEvoy noted that the type of student normally selected by the school was one who

does not seem to be having any success at school, and who would benefit from getting away from his (*sic*) normal environment for a short period of time, who would have the opportunity to meet people who would not prejudge him and for whom a new start might be of some benefit.¹⁰⁶

Very few children from ethnic minorities attended courses at either Bewerley Park or Humphrey Head Centres, even though a significant numbers of immigrants from the Indian sub-continent lived in Keighley and about one-third of courses at Humphrey Head were allocated to Keighley schoolchildren. There is no evidence to suggest that any changes to the outdoor activity, social or residential programmes were made for the few children who did attend from this or any other ethnic minority. The Management Committee stated that 'there should be equal opportunities for girls as well as for boys at Bewerley Park'.¹⁰⁷ It maintained that there were no differences in the courses offered to boys and girls and when McEvoy asked for the staffing ratio to change from six men and six women, to eight men and four women (because of the lack of suitably qualified/experienced women applicants for teaching posts) the Committee refused.¹⁰⁸ There was only one dormitory at Humphrey Head and although groups of mixed sexes were possible if boys or girls camped in the grounds, attendance usually comprised one sex only. An analysis of the numbers attending courses at Humphrey Head between 1967 and 1974 show that eighty per cent were boys.¹⁰⁹ While McEvoy accepted that, for residential supervisory purposes, equal numbers of men and women were required, he did not distinguish between men's and women's ability to deliver a curriculum of outdoor activities to either sex. Several of the women members of staff were credited with having physical skills superior to many of their male colleagues.¹¹⁰ Towards the end of the period studied in this chapter, mixed teaching groups were introduced at the instigation of the senior mistress.¹¹¹ Until that time each of the four groups, named Crag, Dale, Fell and Glen, was made up of twelve boys and twelve girls; the boys of a group would do one activity and the girls would do the same on the next day.

Course reports from Humphrey Head often refer to difficult boys as 'spirited'. The youth service in the West Riding had for many years used camping activities to demonstrate how the experience influenced the boys' behaviour for the better. A natural development was, therefore, for teachers and youth leaders to investigate the possibilities of using courses at Bewerley Park Centre for children classed as 'juvenile delinquents'. The perceived upsurge of pupil behavioural problems such as 'insolence, disobedience, truancy and violence' caused by 'reluctant stayers-on' as a result of the raising of the school leaving age could, McEvoy suggested, be minimised by engaging the relevant pupils in outdoor pursuits in a residential setting.¹¹² A course for forty two 'near delinquents' was held in July 1970 in conjunction with the youth service.¹¹³ The freedom allowed to the pupils was much greater than on a standard course; they could choose their day's outdoor activity, were allowed to smoke and could go to bed as late as they wished. The justification for this, according to the youth tutors, was the need to establish good relationships with the youngsters. Bewerley Park staff apparently accepted this and put in much extra time and effort. Staff thought most of the pupils would manage, and benefit from, a standard course but considered that they were unlikely to put themselves forward for one.¹¹⁴ Another course, new to Bewerley Park, also took place in 1970. It resulted from discussions between McEvoy and the headteachers of schools catering for children with special educational needs. The belief was that the basic literacy and numerical skills of children could be promoted through courses at Bewerley Park and the first such course took place for pupils from the Pontefract area in 1970.¹¹⁵

McEvoy concluded, from the findings of the questionnaire study he conducted in 1974, that a 'spirit of adventure' prevailed among young people.¹¹⁶ Of the 249 pupils asked about their reasons for coming on a course at Bewerley Park Centre, McEvoy found that, for forty four per cent, it was the chance to take part in new activities, for thirty four per cent it was because it was 'something different', whilst for nineteen per cent it was the opportunity to meet and mix with others.¹¹⁷ In

addition to this questionnaire, McEvoy collected opinions about the effects of the courses from pupils, parents and teachers in sixty seven of the seventy five schools who regularly sent children to Beverley Park. Although teachers admitted that no 'follow-up' studies were made, the majority reported that the pupils who gained most were the ones who had experienced little success at school and for whom a complete change of environment had 'proved a good thing'.¹¹⁸ McEvoy accepted that only broad generalisations could be drawn because of the qualitative nature of the study and because few ex-pupils were available to express their views of the effect of their course. Table 6.9 lists the comments McEvoy selected to represent the views most frequently expressed by pupils.

Table 6.9 - Comments of pupils following a course at Beverley Park Centre - 1974

I became more confident

I think about other people more and try to get on with them.

I enjoyed being part of a team.

I learned not to give up.

I was nervous and frightened but overcame my fear.

The feeling of satisfaction at achieving a task.

I learned to look after myself - couldn't run home to 'mam' when things went wrong.

I did things I never thought I would have the chance of doing.

It increased my interest in outdoor pursuits - I learned new skills.

I achieved an ambition.

It made me want to try all the new things that came along.

It boosted my morale and made my life a lot better.

The most enjoyable time of my life.

I have done many things with friends since then and it all started at Beverley Park.¹¹⁹

From his study McEvoy concluded that the aims of Beverley Park were being accomplished and the report he produced suggests that the West Riding rationale was clearly in evidence at the Centre. However, it is important to note that McEvoy cannot be regarded as an unbiased source. His study was made on the eve of the abolition of the West Riding LEA and he is undoubtedly among those whom Layton

would describe as bringing a 'missionary enthusiasm' to his task.¹²⁰ McEvoy wrote in his study that children were provided with educationally acceptable, worthwhile experiences which could provide motivation for their reading, learning, thinking, speaking and art-work. In addition, because pupils had been emotionally moved by their experiences he felt they returned to school 'bubbling with enthusiasm' and confidence, wishing to communicate with teachers and their peers, and therefore better able to establish satisfactory relationships. The attitudes of some of the children had been changed because, he suggested, the Bewerley Park visit had been the most exciting thing that had ever happened to them or, alternatively their most chastening experience. Such changes could include, McEvoy suggested, general improvements in attitude, confidence and learning.¹²¹ Achieving something they had previously thought impossible was identified by ninety four per cent of those who responded to the questionnaire.¹²²

An analysis of gender differences in the way pupils responded to the courses did not form part of McEvoy's study. However, because McEvoy collected evidence according to gender it is possible to draw a number of conclusions. More boys than girls found the activities enjoyable and interesting and boys were more likely to respond to the 'challenges' offered than the girls. More girls welcomed the chance to work in a group and to be more 'natural'.¹²³ Climbing emerged as the most popular activity for boys while girls preferred horse riding.¹²⁴ Noting that three times as many boys as girls enjoyed the Sunday night film, McEvoy has admitted that 'perhaps the films shown were 'boys' rather than 'girls' films.'¹²⁵ Reports from courses offered to schools at Humphrey Head show that a greater proportion of field studies were included in courses for girls than in those for boys. There is no indication whether this was in response to requests from the girls or their teachers or because the Centre staff thought them more appropriate.

McEvoy's awareness of the different ways in which boys and girls responded to activities is shown in notes made in the Centre's logbook and from the Minutes of the

Governing body, several of which reflect his anxiety to find an activity that would discourage so many girls from wanting to return home. McEvoy thought perceptions of militarism probably resulted from the physical similarities of the buildings to an army camp, from the daily routine which included 'inspections', from the reference to teaching staff as instructors and from stories that had filtered down from pupils who had attended courses at Bewerley Park before he became head.¹²⁶ Although McEvoy maintained that evening inspections were used by duty staff to check that all equipment was clean and in place, he claimed that morning inspections provided an opportunity for him to talk to all the children and praise them for their achievements. Suggestions of militarism, whether actual or imagined, were likely to have held a greater appeal for boys than girls. McEvoy quoted one unhappy girl who, in 1970, complained 'it's just like Belsen... it's like the army - you have to stand to attention at the end of your bed for inspection every morning'.¹²⁷

The teaching staff at Bewerley Park Centre

When the Centre changed to providing courses in outdoor pursuits, the Governing body of the LEA confirmed that staffing should remain at five men and five women plus a headmaster and deputy head.¹²⁸ Staff who found some of the outdoor pursuits intimidating decided they were in the wrong job and left,¹²⁹ but by the autumn of 1966, the Centre was 'fully staffed' with people who were competent to teach outdoor activities.¹³⁰ 'Dynamism and enthusiasm' was the phrase used by one past teacher from Bewerley Park to describe the staff in the early years of the change.¹³¹ Bound by their common interest in outdoor activities, teachers shared much of their leisure time climbing, canoeing or caving, either for personal pleasure or with the intention of finding suitable venues for pupils. In a supportive economic and educational climate, most staff found the work rewarding and accepted that working long hours was part of the nature of the work. Although many former members of the teaching staff describe their years at Bewerley Park as the happiest of

their teaching career, most stayed for only a few years. In 1969, there was almost a complete change of staff and McEvoy noted that, with four years service at Bewerley Park, he was currently the longest serving member of teaching staff.¹³² In 1972 the teaching establishment was given as Headmaster, Warden at Humphrey Head and fifteen assistant teachers.¹³³ A technician was also employed to maintain the outdoor pursuits equipment. As more and more LEAs established outdoor centres, career opportunities became available and this encouraged people to move on. McEvoy was apparently happy for his staff to stay only for a few years because it was a way of bringing 'new blood' to the Centre.¹³⁴ In 1974 fourteen of the eighteen staff were in either their first, second or third year at the Centre. Expectations and demands on staff were high, particularly with regard to the residential aspects of the courses. McEvoy expected high standards and total commitment from his staff.¹³⁵ His dislike of having married staff was based on his fear that such teachers would try to make life 'easier' for their own sake, for instance by allowing access to a telephone to influence their choice of camp site.¹³⁶ He was also opposed to instructors who were interested in promoting their own technical skills and who sought to push children beyond the first stage of an activity for their own personal satisfaction.¹³⁷

When selecting assistant teachers, the interviewing panel of governors disregarded those who only 'wanted to go caving' in favour of those who could promote a range of skills, particularly social skills. The panel was unlikely to appoint people who had never had a job away from home, and they were particularly interested in a candidate's explanations of the way in which unwilling pupils could be managed, for instance in encouraging them to go caving.¹³⁸ Although there was an equal number of men and women assistant teachers, all the senior posts were male. Until about 1973, teachers were called Mr. or Miss/Mrs, although at most other outdoor pursuits centres staff were usually known by their first names.¹³⁹ McEvoy's long delay in allowing pupils to call staff by their first names and for staff to address pupils similarly was justified, by him, on the grounds that first names should be

reserved for the rare occasions when a personal 'bond' was needed.¹⁴⁰ Although the term 'pupil' rather than 'student' has been used in this study to distinguish those who came from schools and those from colleges, as a part of the aim to make the Centre unlike school, young people were not referred to as pupils during their stay at Beverley Park.

Most teachers who were appointed had taught in mainstream conventional secondary schools where they had enjoyed taking children out of doors. It seems likely that they wished to extend this work, which they had found the most satisfying part of their job. A teaching qualification was the normal requirement of candidates although, on rare occasions, a person who had worked as a temporary instructor was appointed to the full time staff without being a trained teacher. The men appointed had a range of subject specialisms but almost all of the women were trained physical education teachers. The physical resourcefulness of several female staff was noted by some of the men whose memories frequently relate to their admiration for tasks they would themselves have found daunting; for instance an instructor who carried a girl through a blizzard on a winter expedition over to Kettlewell.¹⁴¹ Voluntary instructors occasionally supplemented permanent staff and were encouraged as a means of broadening the horizons of pupils and staff.

The extent to which all the teaching staff shared the West Riding LEA's concern for the under-privileged is uncertain but teachers were encouraged to find out about the regions from which their pupils came. Hogan, who visited Beverley Park on several occasions each term, talked to the staff about the need to widen the horizons of children from 'urban backwaters' who 'might never visit anywhere more exciting than Blackpool or Scarborough'.¹⁴² Centre teaching staff accompanied children on their way to and from the centre, and an ex-member of staff recalls a training exercise which involved each teacher accompanying two children for a day in the children's own environment.¹⁴³

Staff training placed considerable emphasis on working together. Immediately after his appointment, McEvoy seized opportunities to get all the staff together and 'do something', perhaps a trip to the Scottish Cairngorms in winter for skiing or mountaineering.¹⁴⁴ Although staff were encouraged to gain qualifications and money was readily available to finance training for the Mountain Leadership Certificate and British Canoe Union awards, staff training was largely unfocused.¹⁴⁵ Accreditation became increasingly important when a need for safety standards to be secured was highlighted following a number of fatal accidents, including the tragedy on Cairngorm in November 1971, involving children from other LEA outdoor centres. Tom Price, adviser in social education for the West Riding LEA and one-time warden of an Outward Bound School, provided staff with training in orienteering and helped them to devise an orienteering scheme for use with children. Likewise Wally Keay from Bingley Training College instructed staff in the skills of fibre-glass canoe building.¹⁴⁶

Although Bewerley Park Centre was regarded for administrative purposes as a residential secondary school and responsibility allowances calculated accordingly, the conditions of service for the staff were not quite the same as for conventional teachers employed by the LEA or for those in standard residential schools. Staff worked a six day week with the working day extended to 6.00 p.m. when the evening meal was taken.¹⁴⁷ A male and female member of staff worked as a pair when on duty. Each shift was of twenty-four hours, during which time the team supervised meals, bed time, morning and evening dormitory inspections, patrolled at breaks and ran the evening programme. Most teachers were in their early or mid-twenties and moved from the Centre for professional advancement, although some report that they found two or three years of residential commitment sufficient.¹⁴⁸ While some teachers returned to conventional schools the majority either gained a more senior post in another centre or employment in a school for children with behavioural problems or learning difficulties. In 1971 two staff took up posts in Rossington and Minsthorpe

comprehensive schools, one with special curriculum responsibility for outdoor pursuits¹⁴⁹ and the other as part of the youth provision.¹⁵⁰

This chapter has described ways in which Bewerley Park Centre, both as a residential school and through its programme of outdoor pursuits, gave practical effect to the West Riding Education Committee's rationale for educating children for life, with its particular emphasis on care for the under-privileged child. The chapter provides further evidence that, in the West Riding outdoor activities were seen as a vehicle for other aspects of education to be provided, especially for the underprivileged. Financial support for equipment, transport and staff was adequate and McEvoy's appointment was seen by Clegg and the Committee as a way of strengthening the Authority's rationale for outdoor education. It was not for economic reasons that the length of the standard course was cut, but in order to accommodate more children. Despite an apparently genuine desire for children to be given equal opportunities, the evidence suggests that outdoor pursuits, as delivered at Bewerley Park, favoured boys and, among these, those who were physically strong. Although there was no obvious discrimination about who attended courses, it seems that some groups excluded themselves. The attendance of children from ethnic minority groups was low, as was that of children in the lower streams of secondary modern and comprehensive schools or who were deemed to have significant behavioural problems. Courses at Bewerley Park were, therefore, not able to achieve fully the aims of Clegg in reaching those children perceived as most in need of persuasion to become responsible members of society. The extent to which practices at Bewerley Park differed from those at other LEA centres of outdoor pursuits will be explored in detail in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 7

Bewerley Park Outdoor Pursuits Centre and national developments in outdoor education

This chapter considers the extent to which Bewerley Park was an atypical outdoor centre by describing the experiences of students in a number of other LEA outdoor centres and outlining a number of courses intended to train teachers in outdoor education. The chapter concludes with information about outdoor activities in a number of West Riding schools and considers whether outdoor education delivered through a child's own school was able to fulfil Clegg's desire to motivate and 'bolster' children, to enhance pupil-teacher relationships, to facilitate learning through the environment and to enable children to become responsible members of society.

Earlier chapters in this study have shown that taking children into the outdoors for educational purposes was often a response to one or more social or educational priorities. By the 1960s, the need for young people to be physically and emotionally fit to serve the needs of the Empire had long passed and there was a much reduced need for them to be prepared for military service. In addition, the need for children to be taken into the country to improve their physical well-being had also diminished. By the 1960s, outdoor education was thus considered by some to have a particular role to play in countering the perceived decline of moral values within society and Chapter 6 provided evidence to show that this was so in the West Riding. In 1961, Jack Longland recommended the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme as an appropriate means of educating young people for leadership.¹ Although Sir John Hunt agreed there was a need for leaders, he acknowledged that for some, leadership was a 'dirty' word.² Like the term 'character building', the word 'leadership' is rarely associated with outdoor education in the literature of the late-1960s and 1970s.

Despite the substantial devaluation of the pound sterling in 1967, the economic climate that marks the beginning of the period under discussion in this chapter was sufficiently supportive to sustain a wide range of interpretations of outdoor education. This chapter begins with examples of what was meant by outdoor education in the late-1960s and early-1970s and the purposes it was seen to serve. In doing so, reference will be made to the observations of Lowe, Goodson and Layton. Lowe argues that educational developments can only be understood by reference to changing socio-economic circumstances³ and, as Chapter 5 indicated, the growth of outdoor education needs to be seen in the context of the comprehensive reorganisation of secondary schools. Goodson acknowledges the influence of individuals and groups on the promotion of a subject⁴ and an account will be given on the influence of two individuals, Barbara Roscoe and Colin Mortlock. Attention will also be devoted to the formation of the two professional associations for outdoor education. Layton's third stage of curriculum development is identified as the time when a professional body is formed.⁵ Differences of opinion about the nature and purpose of outdoor education caused some tension within the emerging professional organisation and this chapter will explore the effect of these tensions on the subsequent development of outdoor education.

Interpretations of outdoor education

In the 1960s and early-1970s, the breadth of views about what constituted outdoor education is evident in the increasing number of conferences and articles in professional journals about this rapidly developing form of education. Stress on the utilisation of the countryside for the development of recreational skills - climbing, sailing, canoeing and expeditions⁶ can be attributed to the influence of the Albemarle and Wolfenden Reports published in 1960, while the view that outdoor education could provide a wider understanding of the natural environment as a contribution to the cultural values of a liberal education,⁷ reflects the view of those

who sought to extend the privileges of an education system once denied to the majority of children. Contributors to *Outdoors*, the journal of the National Association of Outdoor Education (NAOE) established in 1970, variously described outdoor education as an extension of physical education,⁸ a medium for the delivery of social education⁹ and as a form of environmental education.¹⁰

Some advocates thought it possible to integrate environmental studies and outdoor pursuits^{11/12} and one considered that outdoor education could support general education objectives in the following way.

- a) Understanding the physical environment and man's relationship to it,
- b) learning to appreciate natural resources and how to use them wisely.
- c) provide direct learning situations, including purposeful work experiences, where many of the skills and attitudes developed in the classroom may be applied,
- d) developing outdoor recreational skills.¹³

However, others disagreed, considering that the emphasis in outdoor education should be on adventure, thrills, risk, challenge and excitement. Mortlock, in particular, questioned the ability of programmes based mainly on camping and walking to help pupils to learn to control their fear.¹⁴ For him, fear was an essential ingredient in adventure education, as the quotation taken from his privately published essay explains.

The initial feeling of uncertainty of outcome is fear of physical or psychological harm. There can be no adventure in Outdoor Pursuits without this fear in the mind of the pupil. Without the fear there would be no challenge. Fear extended to terror, however, is not adventure. This is misadventure as the journey is psychologically too demanding for the person concerned.¹⁵

A definition of outdoor education circulated in 1969 with the first draft constitution for the NAOE stated that outdoor education was

the education of the individual in the art of living, working and playing in those parts of the country which still exist in their natural state.¹⁶

Although this satisfied the environmental educationists, others felt an element of adventure was 'the most vital part' of outdoor education and, in a later draft of the

constitution, the words ‘in the art of’ were deleted and the following supplementary clause added¹⁷

the providing of a controlled outdoor adventure environment for the development of the individual.¹⁸

The definition adopted when the NAOE was eventually constituted in 1970, reads as follows.

Outdoor education is a means of approaching educational objectives through guided direct experience of the outdoors, using as learning material the resources of the rural and coastal environments.¹⁹

For the group of teachers that adopted the term ‘adventure education’, Mortlock’s definition came to be widely accepted.

The education of the individual through the use of controlled adventure situations within a rugged and generally natural environment.²⁰

As Chapter 6 demonstrated, the West Riding LEA did have a rationale for including outdoor education in the curriculum and Clegg encouraged teachers to evaluate any educational activity by asking ‘Why am teaching what I am teaching in the way I am teaching it to these particular children at this moment in their development?’²¹ Clegg’s views about the contribution outdoor activities could make to education were, in most respects, shared by Longland. However, unlike Clegg, Longland firmly believed that schools should aim to instil leadership in pupils.²² Hogan, in his concluding address to the teachers attending a course about the Duke of Edinburgh’s Award Scheme, appeared uneasy about endorsing the views of Longland and Hunt with regard to education for leadership.²³ Saunders, an adviser in outdoor pursuits to Leicestershire LEA, shared Clegg’s views and he, too, felt that much teaching of outdoor pursuits was skills-oriented and had not broken away from the ‘technique-bound roots’ of physical education.²⁴ Saunders thought making outdoor education a curriculum subject with the acquisition of skills at its base would work against outdoor education being seen as a medium for personal and social development.²⁵

McEvoy argued that not everyone had clear educational motives for taking children into the outdoors and he considered that some people were merely 'jumping on the bandwagon'.²⁶ Hopkins and Putnam note that, 'in a typically pragmatic British way', benefits were assumed to flow from adventure experiences and that few attempts were made to assess and explain the effects systematically.²⁷ In response to a questionnaire distributed in 1967 by a working party investigating the support for the establishment of a professional association, John Baxter, Warden of the Sunderland LEA outdoor centre, Derwent Hill in the Lake District, noted that although many authorities had recognised the value of outdoor education and were instituting outdoor centres, the rapid development of outdoor education had been 'haphazard'.²⁸ Terry Parker, adviser in outdoor education with Edinburgh Education Department, considered it was quite acceptable to have a 'pluralism of objectives' with regard to outdoor pursuits, providing there was a system to accommodate both the objectives of leaders and the preferences of individual participants.²⁹ Jasper Hunt suggests that in the 1960s and early-1970s there was a shared belief that outdoor education should teach virtues,³⁰ and that the 'virtues needed to be lived in order to be learned'.³¹

It appears that in the 1960s and early-1970s, it was not the Ministry of Education/Department of Education and Science (DES) that brought together those working in outdoor education, but the CCPR and/or the NAOE.³² The tragedy in November 1971 on Cairngorm, in which six members of a party of Edinburgh schoolchildren and three adults lost their lives, made policy makers, and some practitioners, think more deeply about the extent to which children should be offered ever-greater challenges against ever-greater technical, geographical and climatic difficulties.³³ As a result, the group of Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMI) that formed the Camping Panel promoted a broader concept of outdoor education than that they felt currently prevailed.³⁴ In 1973, HMIs from the Panel joined the Schools Council Geography Committee in a working party on outdoor education. The initial aim was

to assess the value of outdoor education in terms of pupil social, academic and leisure needs in the context of day schools and residential centres.³⁵ In 1975 a Conference, to bring together experienced practitioners for the purpose of ‘integrating outdoor education into an overall strategy’,³⁶ was convened by the DES and organised by HMI. John Huskins has described himself as the ‘new boy’ who joined the somewhat ‘cosy’ Outdoor Education Committee (previously the Camping Advisory Committee) at this time.³⁷ Huskins introduced ideas from, interestingly, scouting and suggested that a more ‘rigorous analytical approach’ to outdoor education was needed.³⁸ Described as a ‘seminal event’,³⁹ it was the social aims of outdoor education that were promoted⁴⁰ at this 1975 Dartington Conference which, Hopkins and Putnam suggest, marked the ‘first systematic attempt’ to identify and categorise the different goals of outdoor education and to identify the processes by which they might be achieved.⁴¹ Among the outcomes was an agreed definition of outdoor education as ‘those activities, concerned with living, moving and learning in the outdoors’.⁴² Activities were said to include ‘survival, residential experiences, and a variety of activities, both physical and those concerned with observing the environment’. The emphasis given in the Conference report, written by Huskins, was on ‘affective learning and relationships, rather than cognitive skills’ and the aims were given as ‘to heighten awareness of and foster respect for -

Self - through the meeting of challenge (adventure)
Others - through group experiences and the sharing of decisions
The natural environment - through direct experiences.⁴³

In 1979 the HMIs influential in the Dartington Conference produced a working paper intended to give curriculum guidance to teachers using outdoor education.⁴⁴ Viewing outdoor education as an area of the curriculum rather than a specific subject, they showed their approval for outdoor activities which were used within programmes of personal and social education which accommodated concerns and aspirations not easily addressed elsewhere in the curriculum.

Bewerley Park: an atypical outdoor education centre?

In the 1970s, Bewerley Park gained a reputation for being a 'safe, sound but unexciting centre', respected for the educational experience it offered to young people but with a 'school-like' atmosphere.⁴⁵ This, it was claimed, could easily 'kill the level of excitement and spontaneity' that, one commentator at least, thought important in 'getting youngsters to become more open'.⁴⁶ By giving an insight into the approaches to outdoor pursuits at a number of other residential outdoor centres, this chapter aims to assess the validity of the statement and to judge whether Bewerley Park was indeed an atypical outdoor centre in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Woodlands was typical of many centres in the size of group for which it catered; forty students, usually from one school and accompanied by its own staff.⁴⁷ The Woodlands was also typical in that it was a large country house situated some distance from its administering authority. Such centres offered a pleasant and comfortably furnished, non-school, indoor environment with 'antique' furniture and classic art reproductions providing a sense of pseudo-gracious living. In contrast, outdoor activities gave students a taste of the Spartan.⁴⁸ A school-like atmosphere was perhaps inevitable at Bewerley Park because it catered for much larger numbers of students, usually 120, with no accompanying school staff. In addition, it was housed in surroundings previously used as a school, even though this had been a camp, and not a conventional, school.

Outdoor education at The Woodlands, the City of Oxford's outdoor centre where Mortlock was Warden, had much more in common with the turn of the century boys' progressive school Abbotsholme founded by Cecil Reddie, than with an ex-camp school such as Bewerley Park Centre. Mortlock, like Hahn and Reddie, was a neo-Platonist who promoted the personal qualities associated with notions of leadership. The West Riding was noted for its pragmatic approach and one councillor and member of the governing body of Bewerley Park from the 1940s to

the 1980s, commented that the West Riding had viewed the ideas of Colin Mortlock as 'snobby little ideas' of which the committee wanted none.⁴⁹ Hogan and Tom Price, later adviser for social education in the West Riding, rebutted the suggestion, made in 1963, that the underlying aim of Hahn's initiatives was the 'preservation of privilege'.⁵⁰ As evidence in this study has shown, Hogan interpreted the ideas of Hahn as egalitarian rather than élitist. Price used his lecture on *Some aspects of character building*, given to the Royal Society of Arts in 1966, to explain that his own aims for outdoor education were to do with the 'enlargement of mind and spirit' so that the young 'might have life and have it more abundantly', that they might experience 'freedom and light' and that, by learning 'life's truest values... endurance, the hard work, the facing of dangers, the abstinence, the plodding on in rigorous conditions', they might learn to discipline themselves in 'order not to be disciplined by others'.⁵¹

Ghyll Head, the outdoor centre belonging to Manchester Metropolitan LEA, reflected a rationale different from that of both Bewerley Park and of The Woodlands. Opened in 1966, it was a joint venture between the youth service and schools in the maintained sector. The Warden, from its opening until his retirement in 1988, was Ken Ogilvie and, from about 1974, he changed the orientation of the centre so that courses were group - rather than teacher - led.⁵² Pupils arrived after lunch on day one of their eight or ten day course and were introduced to the Centre and the area. A talk from staff introduced them to possible activities and from that point onward it was the participants who chose the activities to be followed. All decisions, whether about social activities, what time to go to bed or about the action to be taken if someone had done something unacceptable to the remainder of the course, were discussed by participants and staff together.⁵³

Harold Drasdo, warden of the Wolverhampton LEA centre, The Towers in North Wales, has been described by Hopkins and Putnam as a 'romantic and a subversive'.⁵⁴ He believed in the cathartic value of 'exciting' leisure pursuits and

thought them important to the mental health of people in a rapidly changing society.⁵⁵ From his analysis of the different educational approaches adopted in mountain centres, Drasdo concluded that most fell short of their expressed intention to promote personal growth through adventurous experience and environmental awareness, and that most limited, rather than enhanced, individual awareness and creativity. He argued that the limiting methodology of field studies, the narrow aim of mastering new physical skills or the suspect purpose of 'character building' all denied the true potential of the outdoor environment to help young people gain freedom and self-fulfilment.⁵⁶

Bewerley Park was typical of most centres in that students were usually physically fit, fourteen and fifteen year old girls and boys. It was also typical in giving girls and boys equal access to the activities offered. In groups of ten or twelve, children commonly spent one or two weeks at a residential centre where they followed a programme of activities under the special responsibility of a teacher, frequently referred to as an instructor. However, Bewerley Park was unusual in not allowing pupils to call Centre staff by their first names and in using the term 'group tutor' rather than instructor. Despite an aura of informality, the imposition of safety rules meant teachers in almost all centres maintained firm group control. Teachers, in all centres accepted that although it was sometimes necessary to be 'cruel to be kind', they were unlikely to see maximum effort by a student unless their relationship with that student was of a cordial nature.⁵⁷ However, fear of getting lost or of physical harm usually ensured that rules were followed.

Many of the qualities highly valued by staff at all outdoor centres were those associated with physical toughness, stamina and physical strength. At The Woodlands, a half-day activity - the 'jungle gym', a high ropes course clearly based on military type training, was used as a 'testing ground' to indicate to staff how children would react under certain circumstances. While some jungle gym activities required a good sense of balance to achieve success, others such as launching

oneself from a tree while attached only to a pulley, required considerable courage.⁵⁸ Character reports written about pupils attending The Woodlands might comment on a pupil's ability to remain cheerful in adverse conditions of cold, wet and mud. In addition, the reports noted the level of effort, attitude and unselfishness displayed. Comments giving credit to those who found satisfaction in 'canoeing in a blizzard', 'not complaining when (their) hands were blistered' or 're-trying a rapid when (their) face (was) bleeding from a previous attempt' appeared in reports from The Woodlands and these indicate the extent to which 'testing' children's physical abilities formed part of the programme at that centre.⁵⁹

Although children were usually expected to achieve personal targets, rather than to compete against one another, some outdoor centres emphasised individual excellence, and evidence from some centres does suggest that competition between groups was encouraged and that instructors took pride in the achievements of the most physically able students.⁶⁰ The role models given to pupils visiting The Woodlands were heroes. The dormitories were named after such adventurers as Scott, Amundsen and Nansen and the library was well stocked with biographies and autobiographies of male explorers.⁶¹ Tim Ellam, an Oxford City teacher who regularly accompanied groups of children to The Woodlands, concluded in a study, made in 1969, that opportunities were afforded equally to boys and girls.⁶² From the responses to a questionnaire he conducted with the pupils, he concluded that boys and girls both enjoyed their course and he saw no reason for male traditions to be a barrier to participation by the girls. Ellam's results showed that significantly more boys than girls were eager to accept physical challenges but that more girls felt they had achieved something they had previously considered 'physically impossible'.⁶³

All centres, including Bewerley Park, thought teacher-pupil relationships very important and expeditions were frequently stated to be the most valuable part of a course in outdoor pursuits because of the opportunities they provided for discussion between teachers and the young people. At Bewerley Park, McEvoy recommended

a lengthy period of time in a remote region so that a sound relationship between group tutor and pupil could be established.⁶⁴ At Ghyll Head, the expedition was used for whole group discussions while Mortlock expected instructors at The Woodlands to give each pupil a significant 'moment' that would 'bind' instructor and pupil together.⁶⁵

Barbara Roscoe from the University of North Wales (UCNW) in Bangor was responsible for organising teaching practice for students on the College's post-graduate certificate in education (PGCE) courses.⁶⁶ Her experience in directing the PGCE course for twenty five years enabled her to categorise centres into those she described as 'safe and educationally sound' such as Bewerley Park, as 'adventure-oriented' like The Woodlands, as physically demanding with an emphasis on character building, for example Outward Bound schools, and as focusing on technical skills like Ogwen Cottage where the teaching involved having an instructor at the front of a group with another at the back. Ghyll Head, she thought, was unusual in that the decision-making process had been largely delegated to course participants.⁶⁷ One problem with this, according to one observer, was that groups were deciding what to do from a basis of ignorance and it could take up to two hours to decide the activity which all would do.⁶⁸ The students Roscoe sent to Bewerley Park Centre were those who, she felt, would benefit from a 'good grounding in education' but not those that were particularly competent in a physical activity. A thorough analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of each centre was an important part of the review of teaching practice that took place amongst the course members on their return. The characteristics of Bewerley Park which regularly featured in these discussions were the large number of children catered for compared with other centres, the working group of twelve rather than the more usual ten, the safe but relatively formal and school-like structure, and the ways in which these characteristics might work against the creation of an exciting and spontaneous atmosphere.⁶⁹

Although there was less chance of a child at Bewerley Park experiencing the intense excitement of outdoor activities associated with a course such as that at The Woodlands, they would have been less likely to have experienced feelings of failure. Jack Parker taught at Bewerley Park for four years and, following a period as deputy Warden at Tower Wood, a Lancashire Local Education Authority (LEA) outdoor centre, he became a colleague of Mortlock at Charlotte Mason College. Parker noted that, at Bewerley Park, the emphasis on walking meant that activities tended to emphasise the 'long hard slog' rather than the 'quick exciting challenge', and he thought it was easy for the element of 'fun' to be missed from life at Bewerley Park.⁷⁰ He noted that the Centre was unusual in starting the day with a corporate act of worship and commented that the camp school background remained in evidence.⁷¹ Mortlock, like McEvoy, aimed to help adolescents to become responsible members of society. However, while Mortlock thought this was best achieved by using adventure education for personal development so that each could recognise his or her own abilities,⁷² McEvoy stated that the various activities used would be 'exploited' to give children a 'code of behaviour' based on 'thought and respect for others'.⁷³ McEvoy took particular pride in quoting a comment from a visitor who said 'this is the only Centre I have been in where the students are more important than the activity'.⁷⁴

The development of outdoor education at a national level

By 1969, outdoor education was sufficiently well-established nationally for one lecturer in physical education to note that what had once been the 'sophisticated pursuits of an exclusive leisured class' were now regarded as 'an essential component of a liberal education available to all'.⁷⁵ By 1974, the growth of courses, intended to build 'characters', was described as an industry.⁷⁶ In 1960 only two or three LEA residential centres for outdoor activities existed, but thereafter growth was rapid. When the Central Council for Physical Recreation (CCPR) Outdoor

Activities Advisory Committee organised a conference at Plas y Brenin in 1962 there were ten LEA centres and fourteen others in England and Wales.⁷⁷ By 1974, Mantle, using statistics compiled in the previous year by the Sports Council, noted that there were thirty seven establishments in England and Wales and five in Scotland.⁷⁸ By 1979, HMI found that there were 400 centres officially listed⁷⁹ and, in 1981, the DES noted that, in addition to these 400 day and residential centres established by LEAs in England and Wales, 'huts, cottages, disused railway stations, village schools and camping facilities had been acquired by individual schools and youth groups', so that some 300 field study centres and 500 outdoor pursuits centres were providing residential accommodation for voluntary, charitable or commercial organisations.⁸⁰

The impetus for the establishment of the Association of Wardens of Mountain Centres came from the 1962 CCPR Conference⁸¹ and the decision to form an Association to act as a 'collective voice of people working full time in outdoor activities within the state system of education' was made at a meeting of these Wardens five years later.^{82/83} The NAOE became an important and influential forum for debate and, despite internal differences, it became a well-respected body of opinion. By the end of the first year, the NAOE had 300 members. Although the professionals were not scholars, there are parallels here with the third and final stage of Layton's model of curriculum development when, he notes, teachers establish rules and values and when the 'selection of subject matter is determined in large measure by the judgements and practices of the specialist scholars who lead enquiries in the field.'⁸⁴ In 1967, the Schools Council advocated the establishment of stronger teachers' groups to plan curriculum developments and Lowe identifies a feature of this time as the determination of young teachers to become more closely involved in the implementation of new curriculum ideas.⁸⁵ However, many of those teaching outdoor pursuits were undertaking their own explorations in the outdoors and increasing their own level of personal skill, rather than becoming involved in

curriculum development or in the building of a solid foundation of academic research which, Goodson maintains, is necessary to the establishment of a credible curriculum subject.

Hogan spoke of the need for the NAOE to become the authoritative body for outdoor education and thereby set standards of safety.⁸⁶ During the formation of the NAOE, correspondence and published articles show how tensions between various groups representing different aspects of outdoor education became increasingly pronounced and much time and energy was expended on debating competing philosophies. Goodson has identified the unwillingness of groups to work together as a contributory factor in the difficulties the environmental education movement encountered when trying to establish the subject as an interdisciplinary component of the curriculum.⁸⁷

There is no evidence to suggest that anyone from the West Riding LEA was directly involved in the early tensions associated with the formation of the NAOE. Following the inaugural meeting of the Association in October 1970, Hogan became the Association's president and McEvoy, at this time chairman of the Association of Wardens of Mountain Centres, was co-opted onto the Committee. Mortlock, by this time Senior Lecturer in Outdoor Pursuits at Charlotte Mason College, was elected as chairman of the Committee. The vice-chairman was Terry Parker and other officers included Jack Parker, (Honorary Secretary) Chief Instructor at Tower Wood Outdoor Pursuits Centre, Lyn Noble (Honorary Treasurer), Principal of White Hall Centre for Open Country Pursuits in Derbyshire, Graham Mollard (Editorial Bulletin Production) teacher Cheshire LEA and later Warden of Buckden House, and Tom Price (Literary Editor). The other members of the committee were M. K. (Ben) Lyon, Warden of the National Scout Caving Activity Centre in the Yorkshire Dales and Joe Jagger, principal lecturer in physical education at St. Mary's College, Twickenham. The only woman able to attend the meetings was Pat Parker who acted as Minuting secretary. One contentious issue that emerged during the

formation of the NAOE was whether the Association should campaign first for 'professional' issues, such as better working and living pay and conditions, identified as concerns through a questionnaire distributed in 1967 by the working party,⁸⁸ or whether 'educational' issues should be the priority. The 'educationists' were anxious to press for the promotion of outdoor education so it could be awarded a higher status than that traditionally given to 'non-academic' subjects.⁸⁹

According to Goodson, unless a curriculum component is academically oriented it inevitably has a low status. The benefits of outdoor education were seen most obviously with less-privileged children and with those of average and below average ability. Perhaps because outdoor education was recommended by the 1963 Newsom Report and in the early-1970s was found to motivate children who, because of the raising of the school leaving age (ROSLA) to sixteen, were unwillingly made to stay in school, it was generally regarded as a low status subject in a school curriculum. In addition, Lowe suggests that because of the preference for established practice and procedures, various attempts to restructure English education from the 1960s were largely unsuccessful.⁹⁰ His ideas support the findings of Goodson who suggested that academic status, 'classism' and élitism overwhelm both the content of a subject and its relative position within the curriculum.⁹¹ Lowe argues that comprehensive schools tended to pursue academic curricula in order to compete with the more prestigious schools which they sought to replace. He suggests that this resulted in a retreat from progressivism and child-centred education towards more didactic approaches. In addition, he considers that the battle to defend the *status quo*, on the part of those within the selective system, meant that novel approaches to the curriculum were likely to be 'castigated as a dilution of standards' and eventually largely rejected.⁹² He also notes the resistance to changes in ascribing gender roles and the way gender distinctions were reinforced through provision which supposedly offered equal opportunities.⁹³ Certainly the Newsom Report can be seen as an attempt to maintain attitudes about the role girls

and women were expected to play in society.⁹⁴ In the move to co-education in the later-1960s and 1970s, there was a significant reduction in the number of women in positions of authority who could provide role models for girls⁹⁵ and no one seems to have questioned the almost exclusively male appointments to positions of authority within outdoor education.

Mortlock influenced the thinking and practice of many teachers through his promotion of adventure education in the 1970s.⁹⁶ However, tensions arose from differences in opinion about the stress that should be placed on adventure in outdoor education with the ideas of Mortlock⁹⁷ provoking considerable controversy. According to Mortlock, adventure education could allow a pupil to acquire the character traits of sound judgement, self-discipline, concentration, determination, empathy, unselfishness, humility, self-confidence, self-respect, awareness of and respect for others, an awareness of the environment and a desire to learn.⁹⁸ However, Mortlock maintained that these character traits could only be acquired if the student was enabled to reach his (*sic*) threshold of adventure. Fundamental to Mortlock's philosophy was that all children have an 'instinct for adventure' and that if their search for excitement were not carefully guided to provide a 'socially acceptable outlet, then the adolescent would seek his (*sic*) satisfaction in anti-social ways'.⁹⁹ It led Mortlock to suggest that adventure, within the framework of outdoor pursuits was 'potentially the most dynamic form of education currently available'.¹⁰⁰ He firmly believed that adventure education could equip an adolescent for 'living, in its broadest sense, as a responsible member of society'.¹⁰¹ Mortlock, in an outburst of frustration, accused those directly responsible for outdoor pursuits within the DES and the LEAs of failing to recognise that 'adventure education is not misadventure', and that it had a 'great role to play in the maturing of the school population far beyond the learning of skills'.¹⁰² Reviewing Mortlock's essay, *Adventure Education and Outdoor Pursuits*,¹⁰³ Peter Noble noted that Mortlock set teachers a 'high ideal' and thought him 'a brave man' for publicly advocating a form

of education based on fear.¹⁰⁴ It was not always appreciated that safety was the first consideration of Mortlock because, he maintained, the teacher not only had to ensure that his (*sic*) pupils were ‘free from possible physical or psychological harm but he had to be able to ‘face himself, the pupil or the parents and the coroner by knowing that he was justified in being in that place at that time, and that he had taken all sensible precautions for that journey’.¹⁰⁵ The physical education adviser for Hertfordshire voiced the view of many when he stated that ‘a teacher with children must not take even a calculated risk’.¹⁰⁶ Safety became an even more contentious issue following the Cairngorm tragedy referred to above.

Mortlock categorised experiences within outdoor activities into four levels of adventure and these pervaded the whole of the analysis of activities with which his students at Charlotte Mason College were engaged.¹⁰⁷ The first of the four stages of adventure, according to Mortlock, is recreation or play, when fear of physical harm is absent but which may, he maintained, evoke the adolescent response of ‘boring’. Stage two is the learning of technical skills when the individual has a personal challenge to overcome but still feels in control. It was at stage three, the supposed adventure level, later renamed ‘frontier adventure’¹⁰⁸ that, according to Mortlock, real learning through outdoor pursuits took place.¹⁰⁹ It was only at this stage, he maintained, that the young person accepted that his (*sic*) skills were about to be tested and he was poised on a knife-edge between success and failure. Stage four was misadventure, the stage when the challenge was deemed to be physically and/or psychologically way beyond the control of the person. Mortlock’s philosophy provoked considerable discussion, particularly after the publication of his book, *The Adventure Alternative*, in 1984 and, although he has gained recognition for making a significant contribution to the development of outdoor education, he has not been without his critics. Roger Greenaway, in his review of *The Adventure Alternative*, considered the early part of the book demonstrated the way in which ‘adventure education’ was ‘merely another opportunity for success’.¹¹⁰ Greenaway also

disagreed with Mortlock's suggestions that 'without adventure, civilisation is in full decay' and that the Welfare State was the cause of 'a great deal of irresponsibility'. If this were true, Greenaway commented, then the book should be renamed 'the Adventure Necessity'. In Greenaway's opinion, those suffering from welfare cuts would not regard adventure as a necessity or even an alternative. Greenaway was more generous in his acknowledgement of Mortlock's opinion that adventure education could counter an 'imbalance' in education and contribute to the emotional development of young people.¹¹¹ Following the publication of *The Adventure Alternative*, Peter Lowe, a graduate of Ilkley College where he had undertaken a four year course under Pete Livesey and others, examined Mortlock's view of how emotional development could be affected by adventure education.¹¹² In addition to questioning the validity of theories based on 'highly personalised and subjective evidence', Lowe expressed his concern about Mortlock's 'preoccupation with success' which, he considered, indicated a 'stance of superiority and a dismissive attitude to those not perceived as sporting the 'right' behavioural traits'. Lowe's views echoed the educational ideology of many in the West Riding, which sought to 'accept people (and their emotions) for what they were, and to value them as individuals'.¹¹³

The struggle for qualifications

To a large extent, safety depended on the judgement of the teacher working with the group of children and on the guidelines established by individual institutions and LEAs. In 1962, addressing delegates to the Conference, *Residential Centres for Mountain Activities*, Jack Longland stated that, in the absence of recognised qualifications, appointments were usually made on the strength of subjective judgements about the competence of applicants, their 'safe' technique in mountain activities, their 'personality and character' and on their experience in instructing.¹¹⁴ Longland, who chaired the Conference, presented a 'traditional' view

that valued the 'mountaineering code' which thought of an accident 'as a disgrace'. One reason for recommending more formal training was that those making appointments might have some guarantee of quality.¹¹⁵ In the discussion that followed Longland's talk, there was agreement that a course, at least two weeks in length and following a syllabus devised by the CCPR, should be recommended. In 1963, the CCPR established a working party which was to recommend that a Mountain Leadership Certificate should be instituted.¹¹⁶ The Certificate was introduced nationally in 1965 under the auspices of the Mountain Leadership Training Board (MLTB). In 1967 the working party for the establishment of the NAOE saw the raising of standards of safety and teaching methods as a priority and considered that the Association should seek to give guidance in good practice to LEAs proposing to establish outdoor centres. In 1969, Sagar, who chaired the Camping Panel, considered there was a need for teachers who could combine the skills of outdoor pursuits with those of environmental studies. However, he rejected Mortlock's proposal for a college to train teachers specifically for outdoor education because, he stated, it was out of line with the general pattern of training.¹¹⁷ Not until 1972 did the DES issue formal advice on safe practice in outdoor pursuits. Even then, the booklet, *Safety in Outdoor Pursuits*, was not universally welcomed because some judged the advice and regulations as excessive control which prevented any autonomy or freedom to experiment and thus rendered adventurous activities impractical.¹¹⁸ The British Mountaineering Council expressed concern not only about the level of overcrowding in some mountain locations but also about the outdoors being used as part of organised schemes of training. Members felt that mountaineering should be pursued as a matter of personal choice and their attempt to assume control of the Mountain Leadership Training Board resulted in an 'open and angry dispute', resolved eventually by reference to a tribunal.¹¹⁹

The training of teachers in outdoor education

The excitement and enthusiasm that typified the teaching of outdoor pursuits in schools in the later-1960s was also a feature of many of the courses offered to teachers at that time. The personal excitement of outdoor pursuits and the desire to allow young people's lives to be similarly enriched, characterised the motivation of some who established teacher training courses. An overview of the courses will demonstrate the differences between outdoor education in the West Riding and in other parts of England and Wales.

In 1962, Wally Keay was appointed to the West Riding's Bingley College, an all-women's institution that was among the first colleges to include outdoor activities in its training programme for certificated teachers.¹²⁰ Bingley College aimed to produce teachers who would use outdoor activities in extra-curricular time and to enhance their teaching of more conventional curriculum subjects.¹²¹ The PGCE course in outdoor education offered at the University of Leeds, from 1948, shared the same aims. Don Robinson, who directed the PGCE course from 1964 for twenty four years, had worked with Keay in the immediate post-war period at Bradford's Linton Camp School. They shared a belief in the importance of outdoor activities for children from deprived backgrounds and students from both institutions were involved in activities with children from the poorer areas of Leeds and Bradford.¹²² Clegg told Keay, on his appointment, that his role was to develop outdoor activities with new and qualified teachers in such a way that they would 'spread the word to schools' about the value of 'learning through the environment'.¹²³ Only in the second of the two year teacher training course at Bingley did students specialise in their main teaching subject. During the first year, students were to be made aware of the value of 'learning by doing' and their course included a broad spectrum of activities, ranging from sculpture and science to archaeology. Each student was also required to take part in some form of adventure activity and following a week-long camp, they were each asked to devise an

exploration. Until 1965, when the Mountain Leadership Certificate was introduced, Keay used his own rather crude assessment - 'if they came back, they were OK'.¹²⁴

The PGCE course at Leeds had from the start given a high priority to students working with children. Close links were established in the late-1940s with a teacher of physical education at Morley High School and an annual week-long programme of activities was organised by the students for the school pupils. In addition to standing camps, use was made of the University's climbing hut in the Lake District.¹²⁵ From 1965, Keay and Hogan looked for a base from which student teachers at Bingley College could learn the techniques associated with outdoor pursuits and practice the skills involved in using them with groups of children. Ernest Butcher, Principal of Bingley College, proposed a joint usage agreement whereby students at Bingley College and pupils in the West Riding had access to a residential centre.¹²⁶ Apparently hundreds of buildings were considered - 'old mills, halls, all sorts' but, in 1968, Buckden House, an eighteenth century Dales manor house, was bought from Abbot Halls, a Methodist Holiday organisation. Buckden House was deemed to be ideal in that it was only an hour's drive from Bingley and its location in Wharfedale in the Yorkshire Dales gave easy access to suitable venues. However, accommodation was basic, the only furniture in the house consisted of camp beds, and there were 'rats looking up through the floor boards'. Although glad to have the rats removed when the West Riding Education Committee spent money on Buckden House, Massingham thought an unfortunate consequence of the loss of self-catering from the programme was that the 'social-bonding' diminished.¹²⁷

In 1969 Peter Massingham was appointed as a lecturer at Bingley College and, with a job specification written by 'Hogan or Clegg, or possibly both' and with some involvement from Butcher, he was immediately seconded to act as Warden at Buckden House. Massingham was previously a teacher in Conisborough Northcliffe School, the school Clegg used as one example of how outdoor pursuits could be

used to 'bolster kids'.¹²⁸ Massingham saw 'no merit in producing experts in a particular pursuit', his aim was to provide people with an experience of life so they could influence the quality of their own lives. Massingham's instructions from the Management Committee were to oversee the use of the premises by the West Riding's youth organisations, Further Education Colleges and sixth forms, to build up the youth work and 'to get things going with other colleges for teacher training'.¹²⁹

Although Bingley College was unusual in offering so much outdoor education as part of its initial teacher training course, a one or two week course in outdoor activities was, by the early-1960s, included in the three year programme in a number of colleges that offered training for physical education teachers. Most of these courses, including Lady Mabel College in the West Riding, were designed to give students some personal experience in a number of outdoor pursuits rather than to provide the safety training needed for potential leaders. At the West Riding's Lady Mabel Teacher Training College of Physical Education for Girls, an introduction to outdoor activities was compulsory by 1959. The course, intended to give students an appreciation of the value of outdoor activities, included mobile camping, rock-climbing, canoeing, map and compass work.¹³⁰

By the time the Schools Council Geography Committee reported on *Outdoor Education in Secondary Schools*, in 1980, they noted that there had been a 'proliferation in the number of certificates and qualifications available in the various outdoor activities'.¹³¹ The Committee attributed the demand for recognised standards to the 'alarming increase' in the number of accidents to 'organised' school parties.¹³² However, the Committee stated that, because of the DES and LEA's reluctance to recognise outdoor activities as part of the education of every child, it was the national governing bodies of the various sports that controlled these certificates and qualifications. An unfortunate result of this, the Committee noted, was a concentration on the technical aspects of activities rather than any assessment

of the 'nebulous' qualities involved in good leadership such as 'good judgement and awareness of the needs of children'.¹³³

In 1974, a survey of 135 colleges by Judith Hubberd and Robert Clayton, *Outdoor Education in Colleges of Education*, provided information about the initial and in-service teacher training programmes in outdoor education.¹³⁴ Their findings indicate that most courses were intended either to prepare teachers to extend opportunities for children in physical education or, like the courses offered by Bingley College and the PGCE course at the University of Leeds, to prepare teachers to offer outdoor education as an extra-curricular activity or to enhance the teaching of a more conventional curriculum subject. Details of courses run by two institutions of higher education are given below to provide examples of courses which aimed to prepare teachers to specialise in outdoor education and to work full time, very probably in an outdoor centre. They provide a comparison with courses offered to teachers and potential teachers in the West Riding and also indicate the powerful influence of a number of individuals on the development of outdoor education.

In the late-1950s, Barbara Roscoe (then Sparks) a hockey player and gymnast, trained to teach physical education at I. M. Marsh College in Liverpool. Her three year course finished with a week at Plas y Brenin where she was captivated by outdoor activities and, in particular rock climbing. For several years she taught physical education to Liverpool schoolchildren and, appreciating that not all children responded to traditional sports and games, she took groups to youth hostels and accompanied them on outdoor activity courses at Plas y Brenin. On a personal level, she continued to rock climb and spent some time instructing rock climbing at Plas y Brenin. She took part in two expeditions to the Himalayas, including one as a member of the prestigious all-women's Pinnacle Club expedition to Nepal. In 1965 she was appointed to the School of Education at the University College of North Wales (UCNW) in Bangor where she was given the task of establishing an optional,

ancillary course in outdoor activities as part of the PGCE course. The aim of the programme was to 'select and train graduates to become more effective teachers of outdoor activities for the secondary school age group'.¹³⁵ By the mid-1970s, Roscoe had established a popular and well-respected course for training teachers in outdoor education. In the early-1970s the course at UCNW in Bangor had been upgraded, first to a 'second method' and then to a 'joint main method' subject, to be taken alongside a conventional classroom subject. The department had expanded to include a canoeing specialist on the staff.¹³⁶ In the early years, whoever applied for the course was accepted. However, when competition for the twenty-four places became such that selections had to be made, this was done on the basis of the likelihood of an applicant becoming a 'good' teacher and not solely on their level of personal competence in outdoor activities.¹³⁷

Roscoe's approach was to use outdoor activities to engender confidence, an approach she advocated as an aim for those working with children. Her aim was to get her students, and consequently their pupils, to be 'open' and to have sufficient confidence to be able to accept the opportunities open to them.¹³⁸ Among the teaching techniques Roscoe employed, two are worthy of comment, not least for their common-sense approach. She would put each of her post-graduate students in the position of being a beginner so that he or she would have a greater appreciation of the feelings of the children to whom they were to teach outdoor activities. Another of her techniques was to manipulate the composition of groups of students so that each was placed in a situation that would enable him or her to gain the respect of their peers, perhaps by sharing a particular skill.

The majority of the course took place outside the lecture room. To extend their personal experiences, students spent two weeks winter mountaineering in the Cairngorms and, more locally, week-ends sailing, sea kayaking, rock climbing, mountaineering, orienteering and undertaking solo night journeys. Equipment making, a first aid course, lectures on theories of education and many discussions

took place within the University. Inevitably some technical skills were taught through didactic methods but during her twenty-five years at Bangor, Roscoe increasingly found a task-oriented, problem-solving approach to be the most effective. This was especially useful, she noted, in allowing students to work out 'their own salvation'. For her this was an important element in the personal and social developmental aims of outdoor education.¹³⁹

In 1971, Mortlock became director of the outdoor education programme at Charlotte Mason College in Ambleside in the Lake District. From at least 1969, when Warden of The Woodlands Outdoor Centre, Mortlock had been calling for the establishment of a training college set in an outdoor environment and able to offer a two or three year course to prepare teachers for teaching outdoor education 'in its own right'. Mortlock emphasised the solo, self-reliant journey as part of the necessary experience of those intending to work in outdoor education.¹⁴⁰ The course, he considered, should allow students to pursue a major adventure activity to a high level and to study an aspect of field studies and follow a general course in environmental studies. Integral to the whole course would be an appreciation of nature, meteorology and navigation.¹⁴¹ By 1979, Mortlock had established an outdoor education component for the B.Ed. course and a one year course leading to the Advanced Certificate in Outdoor Education.¹⁴² An advertisement for the one year course invited applications from teachers with several years experience and personal skills in one or more outdoor pursuits. The course was advertised as offering students the opportunity to investigate 'adventure and challenge for young people in a framework of safety'.¹⁴³ Mortlock's belief that individuals, whether child or student, should be put into challenging situations so that they would experience genuine fear and so reach their personal threshold of adventure, determined the way he managed his courses. On arrival, students were asked to meet for a gorge-walk. Without prior knowledge of what to expect or the most appropriate clothing to wear, students were plunged into the activity which involved

following a fast-flowing stream - in the water. With varying degrees of skill and confidence, the students followed Mortlock as he negotiated fallen logs and underwater rocks, slid down cascades and jumped down waterfalls which might have as much as a three metre drop.¹⁴⁴

The 'drop-out' rate on Mortlock's courses was very low. Students learnt to assess situations for their potential to provide children with an adventurous experience. More importantly they learnt how to assess risks and how to make potentially dangerous situations safe.¹⁴⁵ The fear which children were to experience was to come from 'apparent' not 'real' danger, so students spent a long time learning rope-handling skills, 'releasable abseils' and the use of 'throw-lines'.¹⁴⁶ They were also given guidance on how best to assess children's potential adventure threshold so that the risk of them being physically or psychologically damaged was minimised.¹⁴⁷ The heuristic approach of Mortlock to water-based activities was tempered, to some extent, by the 'nurturing' approach which his colleague, Jack Parker, adopted as he involved the students in mountaineering experiences. One ex-student reported that although many of the naturally physically adept responded positively to the 'go for it' approach of Mortlock, others, many of them women, preferred a style of teaching that allowed them to build up their skills in outdoor activities more gradually and from a basis of confidence.¹⁴⁸

In 1975, Hogan noted that leaders from the UCNW in Bangor and Charlotte Mason courses were capable of exploiting strenuous and hazardous outdoor activities for purposes of character development. However, he also expressed his concern that some leaders, trained elsewhere, might attempt to 'stretch' pupils to 'their limits' but, because their training had not prepared them, nor intended to train them, for such work, young people might be put at risk.¹⁴⁹ Courses available in other colleges were shorter or put outdoor pursuits within a broader framework of outdoor education. John Jackson described a course due to start in the winter of 1970 based at the CCPR's outdoor centre, Plas y Brenin. Intended to introduce

teachers to the environment of mountains, lakes, river and sea from safety and environmental angles,¹⁵⁰ he noted that the DES would recognise it as a supplementary course for qualified teachers. The DES had agreed to pay the £55.00 tuition fee and to recommend to LEAs that they should support qualified teachers by paying the £125.00 board and residence fee.¹⁵¹ Training for 'outdoor educationists' was first offered to students embarking on a three year Environmental Education teacher training course at I. M. Marsh College, in 1969.¹⁵² Under the direction of Ron James, previously Warden of Birmingham LEA's outdoor pursuits centre Ogwen Cottage in North Wales, the course apparently grew out of a progressive biology department. The course was in a strong position to gain validation from the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) because it had extended the physiology and geography education syllabus to include academic studies associated with the history of exploration and the dynamics of skiing and canoeing.¹⁵³ When more stringent academic requirements were introduced by the Universities or the CNAA for validation in 1975, a number of strategies were used by colleges in attempts to gain validation. Interestingly, the academic/philosophical analysis that pervaded the course designed by Mortlock allowed his course to be validated.

As a non-traditional field of activity, outdoor education had a problem securing its credibility with the Universities and CNAA. Gaining a sympathetic understanding was apparently made more difficult because there was no agreed definition of outdoor education. Hubberd notes that validating bodies were reluctant to recognise 'affective, aesthetic and sensitive aspects of outdoor education'¹⁵⁴ but, if outdoor education aligned itself too closely with environmental studies, insufficient emphasis would be placed on the 'tremendous opportunities' the subject offered for 'developing and improving social skills'. Forging links with physical education was also likely to pose problems, she suggests, because not only would such a link over-emphasise the physical skills element of outdoor pursuits but physical education was having its own problems gaining validation.¹⁵⁵ Some of

those pioneering their courses appear to have been unwilling to seriously discuss a joint approach to validation and Hubberd suggests that a number of those submitting course proposals over the previous two or three years had lacked the guidance that would have come from an agreed rationale for outdoor education and a firmer understanding of the assessment requirements of validating bodies. Many courses were rejected by the CNA and Universities because the aims and objectives had not been adequately identified.¹⁵⁶ Others, like that at Bingley College, were affected by the closure or amalgamation of the training colleges that marked the later 1970s.

Outdoor education in West Riding schools

This study suggests that not all LEAs had an Education Committee and a team of officers as committed to the value of outdoor education as in the West Riding. Despite this, there were few curriculum links between Bewerley Park and individual schools in the West Riding. Contact between teaching staffs resulted from attendance at Bewerley on specialist activity courses or from when teachers were assessed for competence in the appropriate activities by staff at Bewerley Park Centre. In addition, groups of teachers went to Bewerley Park to build canoes and canoe moulds for use with their own pupils.¹⁵⁷ Four schools situated in the industrial mining areas in the south of the West Riding were among those that in the later-1960s included outdoor pursuits on the timetable. Rossington, Thrybergh, Minsthorpe and Conisborough Northcliffe were situated in areas from which children had been encouraged to spend time at Bewerley Park Camp School in the immediate post-war period. Outdoor education in these schools in the late-1960s and early-1970s aimed to broaden the horizons of children, to enhance their curriculum studies and to increase their social skills.

Between 1964 and 1975, outdoor pursuits were introduced into physical education lessons. Alternatively, in some schools, outdoor education became part of a programme of personal and social education (PSE). A number of comprehensive

schools in the West Riding included outdoor education as a means of promoting social harmony. Conisborough Northcliffe School was praised by Clegg for using carefully planned projects in school time which involved canoeing, caving, camping and sailing', to 'win over the energy and resources of its pupils and to deepen the relationships between pupils and staff'.¹⁵⁸ At Thrybergh School, near Rotherham, half-day trips to Derbyshire were timetabled on alternate Fridays. Pupils went fell-walking, climbing and caving and collected materials which were used for project work in school lessons during alternate Friday half-day sessions. Four teachers accompanied two mixed-ability classes of boys and girls. Giving pupils self-confidence and helping them to develop social skills through real-life challenges, were the professed aims of the teachers.¹⁵⁹

Minsthorpe School was a community school built in September 1968. The aims of the school centred on the social and educational needs of adolescents and young people up to the age of twenty-one and can be attributed to recommendations in the Albemarle¹⁶⁰ and Newsom Reports. The Carnegie Trust, anxious to fund a 'prestigious project',¹⁶¹ was persuaded by Clegg to contribute financially to the building of a youth centre within the school complex. Staff working in this Carnegie Centre, including Rebecca Lloydlangston who had taught at Bewerley Park, were employed to teach some evening and some day time sessions. Activities that took place in the evenings and weekends were to be complementary and equally important. Each was to contribute to an educational programme which aimed to demonstrate that living and working together was possible. Until 1973, all pupils aged sixteen at Minsthorpe School took only the Certificate in Secondary Education (CSE) examinations, with those staying on to the sixth form being entered for 'A' levels.¹⁶² The five departments established in 1968 at Minsthorpe - Humanities which included English, Mathematics and Science, Creative Studies, Career and Community, Personal and Outdoor Pursuits, all held equal status.¹⁶³ The Friday timetable of pupils in Years 9 and 10 was devoted to Personal and Outdoor Pursuits.

Staff could opt to teach on this programme and pupils could choose from a range of activities which included hobbies such as photography as well as caving and other outdoor pursuits.¹⁶⁴ In the late-1960s Minsthorpe School established a field centre at Runswick Bay, an ex-RAF block house rented from the Normanby Estate for £1 a year. All children from the school went for seven days in groups of up to one hundred. Boys and girls chose an activity for each day with walking, sea canoeing, marine biology, local history and sailing the options usually available.

Rossington School was situated in a relatively poor catchment area and although the headteacher had 'great ideas' about outdoor education, no money was allocated to support activities and initially money was raised through an Open Day.¹⁶⁵ Outdoor education lessons were adapted to fit in with timetable and financial constraints. Camp-cooking, basic rope skills and map and compass work took place on the school playing field. Orienteering in the urban area of Bawtry was first organised so that pupils responded to clues using information made from their observations. Later, when compasses were available, more conventional orienteering became possible using a local woodland.¹⁶⁶ In 1971 when Derek Littlewood moved from Bewerley Park Centre to work in the school's department of physical education, he was given special responsibility for outdoor education and was able to spend the entire autumn term planning courses.¹⁶⁷ From the following January the whole of Year 10 was timetabled for a morning of Community/Physical education, with pupils able to pursue a chosen activity for an entire term. As an alternative to sports and outdoor pursuits, pupils could choose to work in a nursery or infant school or with old people. Although the options were open to the full ability range, more of those from the low ability range apparently opted for outdoor pursuits.¹⁶⁸ The outdoor pursuits option for Years 10 and 11 was part of a non-examination scheme, since the school believed that it was possible for pupils to achieve high standards without examinations. Each teacher worked with a group of twelve pupils and courses often began with equipment production - clothing,

rucksacks and fibre-glass canoes. A Mirror dinghy was made from a commercial kit, and, with the involvement of the Craft, Design and Technology department, trailers produced from tubular steel.¹⁶⁹

Table 7.1 – Activities undertaken by Year Group at Rossington High School - 1970s¹⁷⁰

Year 8	Youth hostel in Derbyshire - part of humanities project.
Year 9	Standing camp in Derbyshire, introducing a wide range of activities, plus humanities. Communal aspects considered important. Canoeing, climbing, abseiling, orienteering plus traditional camp activities.
Year 10	Range of activities based at Buckden House - stress put on giving children independence.
Year 11	Expeditions in the Midlands using narrow boats.
Years 12/13	Expeditions on narrow boats, or in mountains or sometimes abroad.

In considering the extent to which Bewerley Park was atypical, this chapter has provided further information about the response of the West Riding LEA to the promotion of outdoor education. Chapter 6 concluded that Bewerley Park Centre did not fulfil all the aims of the West Riding with regard to outdoor education because the section of the school population Clegg considered most in need of moral and behavioural guidance rarely attended. However, as this chapter has shown, the use of outdoor education in comprehensive schools was encouraged and there were a number of links between some schools in the south of the West Riding and Bewerley Park Centre. In addition, aspects of outdoor education were included in the training of teachers in the West Riding to provide them with the knowledge and experience necessary to use outdoor education as an educational strategy.

Although Bewerley Park Centre shared some characteristics with other residential outdoor centres, particularly in the range of activities it offered, it was an atypical centre in other respects. Some of the differences can be accounted for by size. Bewerley Park catered for much larger groups than most centres and also retained the relatively formal, school-like atmosphere of a camp school. The absence of a country-house atmosphere did not allow pupils at Bewerley Park to feel they were enjoying some of the privileges afforded to those at a public school. In

common with other centres, outdoor pursuits at Bewerley Park were intended to instil moral virtues into pupils. However, aspects of character building associated with cultivating an élite or providing an education for leadership were absent from Bewerley Park. Sharing experiences, frequently of hardship, were intended to allow close teacher-pupil relationships to develop at Bewerley Park, while at some other LEA centres a 'significant' moment for each child, perhaps generated through fear, was intended to have the same result.

Despite a multiplicity of meanings and diversity of rationales, there appears to have been a general acceptance of the view that outdoor education would benefit society in some way. However, opinions varied about the nature of the benefits and the way in which the desired aims should be achieved. It was not until the end of the period under discussion in this chapter that the DES's Camping Advisory Committee (renamed an Outdoor Education Committee at some unidentified point) began to exert an influence on outdoor education. Russell Kitchin, chairman of this Committee in 1975, described Clegg as 'a man before his time' and Hogan as 'inspiring'.¹⁷¹ Although the rationale held by the West Riding for outdoor education was regarded as an 'isolated' view in the late-1960s and early-1970s,¹⁷² the view which HMI promoted at the Dartington Conference in 1975, as Chapter 8 will demonstrate, closely resembled that held by the West Riding.

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CHAPTER 8

Outdoor Education at Beverley Park following Local Government

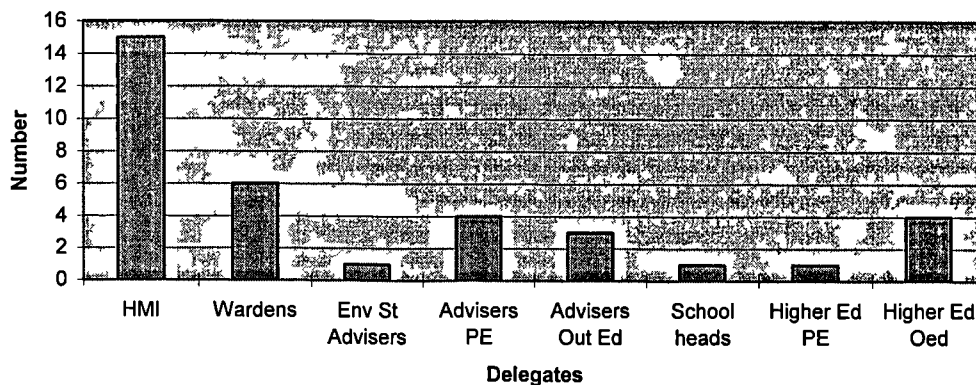
Reorganisation in 1974

This chapter describes outdoor education at Beverley Park Centre following the demise of the West Riding County Council and its Local Education Authority (LEA). When Local Government reorganisation took place in 1974, responsibility for the education of children previously in the West Riding area was given to either newly formed LEAs or reformed existing ones. The chapter considers the effect of the reorganisation on outdoor education in some areas of Yorkshire previously accommodated within the West Riding. It also considers the extent to which the rationale for outdoor education of the West Riding, and especially that of Clegg, was affected by changing economic circumstances. The account of the experiences of children at Beverley Park Centre in the late-1970s and early-1980s will be set within the wider context of national developments in outdoor education. The chapter does not aim to give a comprehensive review of the development of outdoor education during this period. Rather, it explores selected aspects through the work of Beverley Park Centre and Buckden House. Consortium arrangements were made for the administration of both centres following the demise of the West Riding. Although the same nine Yorkshire LEAs initially subscribed to both centres the lead authority for each was different, North Yorkshire for Beverley Park and Bradford for Buckden House. An opportunity is, therefore, provided for noting the contrasting ways in which two former West Riding institutions developed after 1974.

Reference was made in Chapter 7 to the report of a conference called by the Department of Education and Science (DES) in 1975. Referred to as the Dartington Conference, Hopkins and Putnam ascribe its influence on the subsequent development of outdoor education to the 'pertinence and freshness' delegates gave

to the current scene.¹ At the Conference, outdoor education was described as ‘an amorphous field’ including under its umbrella environmental education, a range of physical activities from observing the environment to ‘adventure’ challenges and survival in a rugged outdoor environment, as well as residential experiences and the development of ‘attitudes and relationships’.² The range of occupations of the delegates is shown in Figure 8.1 which indicates that thirty-eight delegates were Her Majesty’s Inspectors (HMI), eight were advisers, three of them advising in outdoor education, six further delegates were heads of outdoor activity centres, and five more came from institutes of higher education which prepared students to teach outdoor education.

Figure 8.1 – Occupations of delegates to the 1975 DES Dartington Conference³



The under-representation of women in outdoor education is reflected in the gender balance of delegates to the Conference. Of the four women delegates, two were HMIs, one retired and the other acting as secretary, one was an adviser for physical education in Devon and the fourth was Barbara Roscoe, responsible for training teachers in outdoor education at the University College of North Wales in Bangor.⁴ According to John Huskins, one of the HMIs present, the Dartington Conference was the first to formulate the purpose of outdoor education as ‘promoting... personal and social development’⁵ and, as was noted in Chapter 7, this marked the start of real efforts to evaluate systematically the effects of outdoor activities used for educational purposes.⁶

As Huskins noted at the 1975 Dartington Conference, in the relatively supportive climate of the 1960s and early-1970s, 'vague thinking' characterised much of outdoor education and the notion that it was generally 'a good thing' was sufficient to justify its place in the curriculum.⁷ This chapter will note that in response to the economic needs of the nation, and in reaction to post-war progressive education ideologies, a 'different, less generous, more realistic and more utilitarian set of views' emerged.⁸ As Maclure notes, the Ruskin College speech, made in 1976 by the then Prime Minister, James Callaghan, marked the acknowledgement of the change to 'education as preparation for work'.⁹ This chapter describes how outdoor education responded to changing government priorities by including information on courses for the Youth Opportunities Scheme and a project designed to counter juvenile delinquency. The chapter concludes by reviewing the changes in relation to the rationale for outdoor education established by Clegg and the West Riding LEA.

The 1974 local government reorganisation and Bewerley Park Centre

The commitment of the West Riding Education Committee to outdoor education was reflected in the financial support it gave Bewerley Park Centre. Clegg, as earlier chapters have demonstrated, saw outdoor education as a way to motivate and 'bolster' children, to enhance pupil-teacher relationships, to facilitate learning through the environment and to enable children to become responsible members of society. He and the Committee especially favoured its use for disadvantaged children. Clegg ensured that through a residential experience at Bewerley Park, children from areas of social deprivation mixed with more privileged children, believing they would be influenced for the better. In 1972, a sub-committee of the Yorkshire Association of Education Committees, appointed to consider residential centres within the three Ridings of the County, confirmed these views by noting that

...outdoor education is now seen as an integral part of general education and its value is recognised for all children, especially for those with mental or physical disabilities or from urban backgrounds.¹⁰

Evidence presented in this chapter indicates that following the demise of the West Riding in 1974, outdoor education became more selective and served to reinforce rather than narrow divisions within the social class structure. As the cost of outdoor education increased and authorities were less able, and/or willing, to subsidise outdoor education, so those children whose parents were without the financial means to pay were less likely to be involved in outdoor education unless they were perceived as a potential social problem.

In the last few years of the West Riding's existence, much of Clegg's energy was spent in ensuring the work of its LEA continued in the new LEAs¹¹ and, many of the new authorities were apparently eager to appoint councillors and officers from the West Riding.¹² A number of joint-user agreements were established to manage institutions that had previously belonged to the West Riding LEA. The LEAs in Yorkshire that wished to participate in the use of Beverley Park Centre would contribute to the running costs in proportion to the size of each Authority's population. Authorities would then be allocated places in proportion to their financial contribution. Members agreed that they would honour the agreement, initially, for three years. The nine LEA members of the Consortium for both Beverley Park Centre and Buckden House were Barnsley, Bradford, Calderdale, Doncaster, Kirklees, Leeds, Rotherham, Wakefield and North Yorkshire.¹³ The geographical location of the institution determined, in most cases, the administrative lead-LEA among the member LEAs of each consortium. Bingley College wished to retain its links with Buckden House and apparently thought it financially expedient to allow Bradford LEA to take the administrative lead in that Consortium.¹⁴ Leeds LEA, citing the example of Bradford LEA and Buckden House, proposed that Beverley Park should form links with the City of Leeds Training College and come under the administrative lead of Leeds despite Beverley Park's location within

North Yorkshire.¹⁵ For Leeds LEA it may have seemed a just retribution for an injustice they felt had been done thirty years earlier. Leeds had apparently 'born a grudge' since 1945 when Sir Edward Howarth, managing director of the National Camps Corporation, had refused to renew the Authority's contract to manage the Camp School at Beverley Park¹⁶ and had allowed the West Riding to take over the responsibility for education.¹⁷ It seems the West Riding Authority had formally agreed to transfer Beverley Park to Leeds LEA before 1st April 1974, and arrangements were put in place for staff to be transferred to the payroll of Leeds. However, it seems the lawyers did not have time to complete the conveyance before April 1974 by which time North Yorkshire County Council had successfully resisted the claim of Leeds on geographical grounds.¹⁸

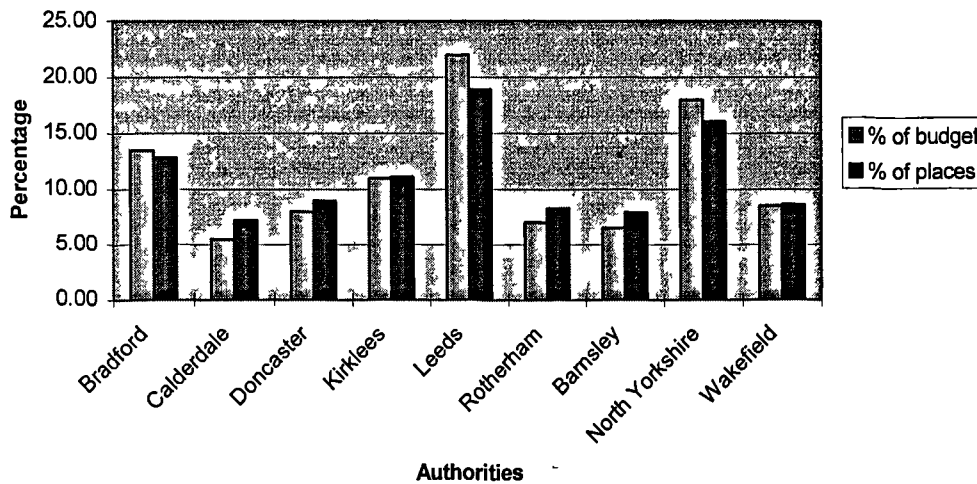
The estimated net expenditure for 1974/5 was expected to be £110,000. Contributions ranged from £7,150 (Barnsley) to £24,200 (Leeds).¹⁹ The financial estimates for 1975/76 are shown in Table 8.1 together with the number of places allocated to each contributing LEA. When given as a percentage it can be seen that the number of places allocated is in a similar proportion to the financial contribution made by the Authority with the exception of North Yorkshire and Leeds which were each allocated a lower percentage of places in relation to their financial contribution, Leeds coming off the worse.

Table 8.1 – The financial contribution of each LEA involved in the Consortium 1975/76²⁰

LEA	Financial Contribution	% of whole	Approx. no of places	% of whole
Bradford	£17,814.00	13.50	373	12.88
Calderdale	£7,256.00	5.50	209	7.22
Doncaster	£10,557.00	8.00	260	8.98
Kirklees	£14,515.00	11.00	322	11.12
Leeds	£29,032.00	22.00	548	18.92
Rotherham	£9,237.00	7.00	240	8.29
Barnsley	£8,577.00	6.50	229	7.91
North Yorkshire	£23,754.00	18.00	465	16.06
Wakefield	£11,217.00	8.50	250	8.63
Total	£131,959.00	100.00	2896	100.00

The graph below is based on the data in Table 8.1.

Figure 8.2 –LEAs involved in the Consortium and the proportion of the budget each paid in relation to the proportion of places each was allocated for 1975/76



Members of the sub-committee of the Yorkshire Association of Education Committees, formed to consider the future of Bewerley Park Centre, issued a paper in July 1972, outlining plans for the post-1974 reorganisation of outdoor centres.

They agreed that the Centres should be retained and made the following recommendations²¹

- The two centres, Bewerley Park and Humphrey Head, should continue to operate as one unit.
- The allocation of places on courses and the necessary costs in running the centres would be allocated on a basis of population.
- Bewerley Park Centre and Humphrey Head would also be involved in the in-service training of teachers.
- Administrative organisation would be by a governing body. This would be composed of, one elected representative from each participating authority, plus the chairman and vice-chairman of Leeds Metropolitan District as ex-officio members. In addition there would be two governors from Carnegie College. Powers of vote were to be vested in the elected members. This committee would approve annual estimates and exercise the general direction of the Centres including staffing and approval of courses.
- A Professional Advisory Committee would be composed of the principal and director of physical education of Carnegie College, plus the headteacher of Bewerley Park Centre and officers/advisers from each participating authority. This committee would have responsibility for physical education, plus the administration of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme for Leeds Metropolitan District as well as advising the Governing Body on outdoor education courses
- Maintenance would be the responsibility of the Leeds Metropolitan District who would operate the centres on behalf of the remaining Metropolitan Districts in the West and South Yorkshire Metropolitan Counties.
- A charge of £1.00 per pupil would be made over and above that required for residential trips. Any money accrued was to be used for equipment and other necessary items.
- An association with a college of education in Leeds (Carnegie School of Physical Education) should be established.
- College students would be closely involved in the children's courses in order to develop the awareness of the students about the way in which outdoor education courses helped in the promotion of close pupil-teacher relationships and in the development of desirable social attitudes.
- In addition both Centres were to be part of the provision for leisure and were to provide recreational family holiday schemes.²²

McEvoy, the headmaster of Bewerley Park, was on leave in the year prior to the reorganisation of local government. However, he, and his deputy acting as headmaster during his sabbatical year, made two points in their response to the proposals. These were, firstly, that the mixing of children from different areas

should continue and secondly, that greater use be made of both Bewerley Park and Humphrey Head Centres for teachers' courses so that an increased amount of quality outdoor education could be offered to pupils in the Yorkshire region.²³ The plans made in 1972 remained much the same although the administering authority changed from Leeds to North Yorkshire. The most significant change was a reduction in the links with the training colleges.

The first meeting of the new governing body for Bewerley Park, which consisted mainly of County and other councillors, was held in July 1974. Margaret Martin, previously a long standing co-opted member of the West Riding education committee, was elected to the chair of the Management Committee of Bewerley Park Centre,²⁴ a position she was to hold for a number of years. In addition to the Management Committee, a Professional Advisory Committee was established with representatives from the advisory service of each LEA involved in the Consortium plus two advisers from North Yorkshire LEA and the heads of Bewerley Park and Humphrey Head Centres.²⁵

Evidence of the way in which the decade following local government reorganisation in 1974 was characterised by uncertainty comes from the minutes of the Management Committee. Faced with growing economic constraints, almost all the nine LEAs discussed, at some time, either withdrawing from the joint-user agreement or reducing their financial contribution. Rotherham and Calderdale LEAs stayed for only two years and in 1976, the LEAs of Doncaster and Leeds reported to the Governors that they would either withdraw or reduce their level of participation.²⁶ Six months later, Leeds LEA reported to the Governors that they would stay but with a reduced level of financial commitment.²⁷ This would be for only 400 places in 1977/8, a reduction of almost 150.²⁸ Bradford LEA's reason for reducing its commitment in 1980 was apparently the withdrawal of North Yorkshire from the Consortium arrangements for Buckden House and Ingleborough Hall Outdoor Centres.²⁹ Although Bradford LEA remained in the Consortium until 1984

its financial commitment was gradually reduced.³⁰ Leeds LEA gradually reduced its commitment³¹ before ending its association in 1993, when the reason given was that the resources previously allocated by the LEA for outdoor education were now delegated to individual schools.³² The length of time for which each LEA was involved is indicated in Table 8.2. However, the Table gives no indication of the timing or scale of reductions in financial contributions.

Table 8.2 – The involvement of LEAs in the Joint-User Agreement and the length of time for which each was involved³³

LEA	'74	'75	'76	'77	'78	'79	'80	'81	'82	'83	'84
Bradford '74 - '84	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Calderdale '74 - '75	*	*									
Doncaster '74 - '77	*	*	*	*							
Kirklees '74 - '79	*	*	*	*	*	*					
Leeds '74 - '93	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rotherham '74 - '75	*	*									
Barnsley '74 - '81	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
N. Yorks. '74 - present	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Wakefield '74 - '80	*	*	*	*	*	*	*				

Local government reorganisation was not the only change to affect Bewerley Park Centre. In addition to the economic difficulties of the mid-1970s and the varying and inconsistent demands of Consortium members, there was a change of headmaster. North Yorkshire LEA, reconstituted from the North Riding LEA, did not have a strong tradition of using the rugged outdoors for educational purposes. However, possibly influenced by the Authority's new chief education officer, Ted Owens, previously an officer in the West Riding LEA, North Yorkshire LEA decided to appoint an adviser for outdoor education. McEvoy, headmaster of Bewerley Park Centre, was duly appointed and so, in 1975, a new headteacher was

required for the Centre. The appointment was apparently made before the new committee of governors was established³⁴ and some potential applicants, including Jack Parker, a teacher at Bewerley Park from 1965-9, were concerned that the consortium arrangements would prove financially detrimental to the Centre.³⁵ Mike Barrand, an English specialist with responsibility for Drama at the College of Education in Hull, was selected from an all-male shortlist which included a number of people, including Parker, with considerably more experience than Barrand of working in outdoor centres. Barrand felt his appointment was 'political', with some of the selection panel pressing for an 'educationist' rather than a specialist in outdoor pursuits.³⁶ Although Barrand felt outdoor pursuits offered young people challenges through physical, social, environmental and residential experiences, and believed that children could learn through 'stressful' experiences, for him the residential aspect was the most important.³⁷ When Barrand arrived at Bewerley Park, he considered it to be very 'activity based and with a very narrow focus'.³⁸ He found the staff to be 'highly specialised', somewhat 'idiosyncratic' and lacking 'vision of the world outside'.³⁹ He quickly changed the name from Bewerley Park Outdoor Pursuits Centre to Bewerley Park Outdoor Education Centre.⁴⁰ Barrand's appointment was not what the staff at Bewerley Park had expected or wanted.⁴¹ Many were anxious about change and had hoped Parker would be appointed.⁴² The staff, Barrand remembers, 'tested him' and made clear their opposition to change.⁴³

The programme of courses offered in 1976 and 1977 suggests there was initially little change for pupils.⁴⁴ Extracts from the diary of a fourteen year old pupil indicate that in 1976, activities on the standard ten-day course for children of fourteen and over were much as before. The first impression was 'very strict overall ...cleaned up dormitory (jailhouse)'.⁴⁵ The boy's concern was with his physical well-being, 'got cramp twice but have survived! ...rucsac was fairly heavy to have to carry it everywhere around ...had two blisters on my feet'.⁴⁶ Details of the activities were also included

Straight away we went for a 10 mile walk to Scar Reservoir.

We got in (the cave) and crawled through a very narrow entrance, the worst part. We walked along then came to a 15 ft. drop, so we used a rope and did a chimney climb with back against wall and feet pressing out and sliding down. I was very glad of my helmet as I would have smashed to pieces without it.

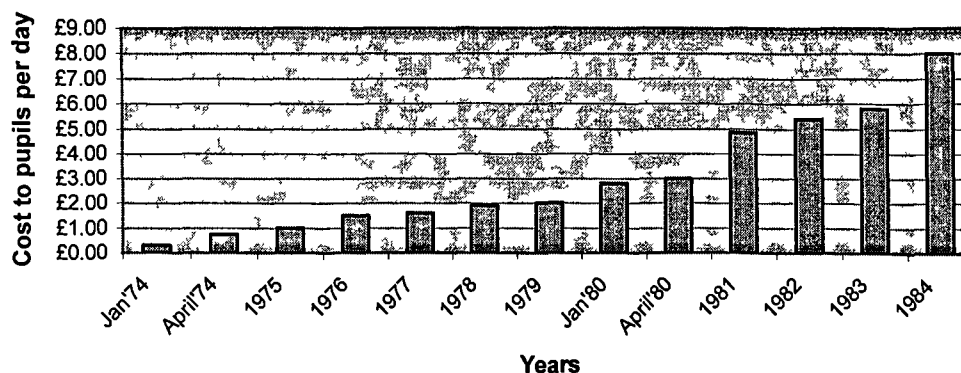
Abseiling was really scary going over the edge at first but once you got down it was superb, you jumped down in strides.⁴⁷

Reports from the Professional Advisory Committee indicate that financial, rather than educational thinking, determined the direction of Bewerley Park Centre in the late-1970s. From being a Centre of expertise with little direct contact with teachers in schools, activities became less specialised and teachers began accompanying their own pupils to supplement staffing.⁴⁸ In September 1975, even though it was recognised that the aim of achieving groups of 'sufficiently diverse backgrounds' would be sacrificed, the Professional Advisory Committee asked Barrand, at his first meeting of the Committee, to consider allocating places on each course to only two or three Authorities, rather than the whole nine, so that savings could be made in transport and administrative costs.⁴⁹ Members also suggested that courses should emphasise 'outdoor education in the broadest sense', by which they meant that a higher proportion of environmental studies should be included. In September 1976, two new activities, both of which reduced transport and staffing costs, were introduced into the standard ten-day course programme. An assault course of ropes was built in the trees of the Centre grounds and locally-based orienteering was introduced. One member of staff could easily manage a group of twelve orienteers and the level of training needed for a leader in this activity was less than that required for climbing, sailing, canoeing or caving.

From the mid-1970s, fewer pupils applied to attend courses. In the early-1970s, there was usually a one hundred per cent take-up and a waiting list for places, but, between June 1976 and May 1977, only eighty nine per cent of the 960 places available on the ten-day standard courses were booked.⁵⁰ The most difficult to fill

was apparently the first course in January at the start of the Spring term. Although the poor take-up rate was attributed to impending 'mock' examinations, the significant increase in fees, from £3.00 for ten days in January 1974 to £13.50 in January 1977,⁵¹ was probably a contributory factor. In subsequent years, the charge to pupils increased even more sharply as is shown in Figure 8.3 below.⁵² Inflation obviously accounts for some of the increase but it is probable that the LEAs in the Consortium were less willing to subsidise courses than the West Riding had been.

Figure 8.3 - Charges per day, to pupils at Beverley Park Centre - 1974 to 1984



Records show that the number of applicants for courses for teachers and youth leaders also decreased.⁵³ It seems that, as Hubberd had suspected in 1975, despite the initial optimism of the James' Report, teachers were experiencing difficulty in obtaining financial support from their LEAs for professional development.⁵⁴ Some headteachers may have been reluctant to release teachers in the face of examination pressures and in the climate of safety consciousness which required higher staff to pupil ratios.

With the financial outlook described as 'bleak', and prompted by the decision of Leeds LEA to reduce its annual commitment by £20,000, effectively halving its contribution, a working party was established in 1976, probably at the instigation of North Yorkshire LEA, with the brief of 'retrenchment'.^{55/56} Members of the Working Party included, from North Yorkshire LEA, the chief education officer, the

county treasurer and the adviser for outdoor education, plus the headmaster of Bewerley Park Centre and one officer nominated by each of the other Consortium members.⁵⁷ Their report, presented to a special meeting of governors in November 1976, confirmed the purpose of Bewerley Park Centre as being to give pupils from a 'wide variety of schools and backgrounds' a 'unique social experience'.⁵⁸ The aim of the Centre had never been, so the Report stated, to 'merely impart technical skills' or 'even self-confidence'.⁵⁹ The proposals of the Working Party were accepted by the Management Committee and implemented at Bewerley Park over the following three years. Teaching and domestic staff were reduced by natural wastage from April 1979 and bookings increased for shorter courses from schools who brought their own teachers, and so required fewer specialist staff.⁶⁰ The number of five-day courses increased as did the number of primary school courses. From Table 8.3 it can be seen that the number of pupils of fourteen and over attending courses between April 1980 and March 1981, in comparison with that for 1976/1977, had dropped from 1138 to 940 and the number of primary/middle school age children had risen from 24 to 704. Some of these children were as young as eight years old.

Table 8.3 - The ages of children attending courses at Bewerley Park Centre in 1976/77 and 1980/81 and the number of days they attended

		1976/7 under 14	1980/1 under 14	1976/7 14+	1980/1 14+
10 day	Standard/ Introductory	0	0	858	192
5 day	Schools/Open	24	704	0	624
5 day	Specialist	0	0	213	66
5 day	Special Schools	0	0	57	58
5 day	Community Schools	0	0	10	0
	Totals	24	704	1138	940

Figure 8.4 - The ages of children attending courses at Bewerley Park Centre in 1976/77 and 1980/81

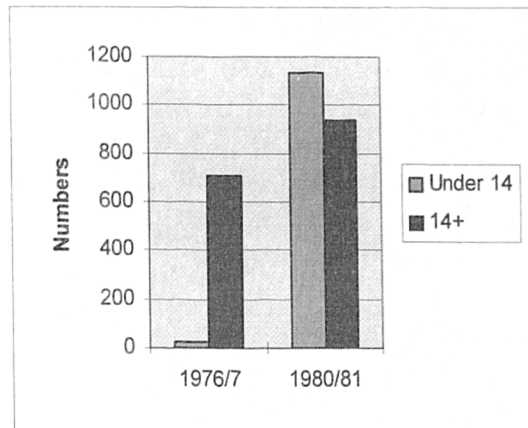
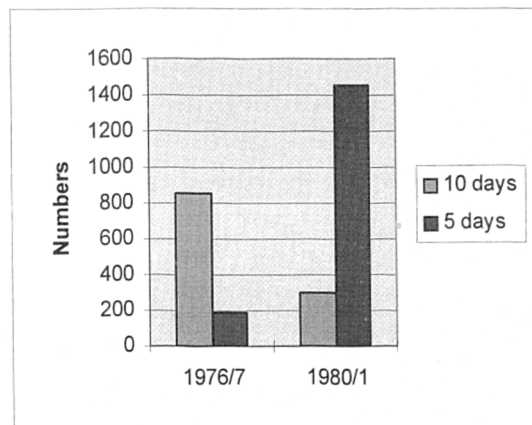


Figure 8.5 indicates that the number of pupils attending for ten days dropped from 858 to 192 and those attending for five days rose from 304 to 1,452. The change from ten-day to five-day courses resulted in the total number of children accommodated rising from 1162 to 1644.

Figure 8.5 - The length of courses at Bewerley Park Centre in 1976/77 and 1980/81 and the numbers attending each



When courses were introduced for individual schools, the school and Centre staff worked together to design the course programme and in 1979 an outdoor pursuits specialist was replaced by a member of staff responsible for liaising with primary schools. Course records indicate that a high proportion of primary school staff chose to use Bewerley Park as a base for field-work.⁶¹ Studying the limestone and gritstone features of Nidderdale or using Fountains Abbey as the basis of a historical study were popular choices. Figures 8.6, 8.7 and 8.8 indicate the extent of

the change from staff-intensive ten-day Standard/Introductory Courses to five-day Schools/Open courses.

Figure 8.6 - The number of days allocated to different types of courses at Bewerley Park Centre in 1976/77

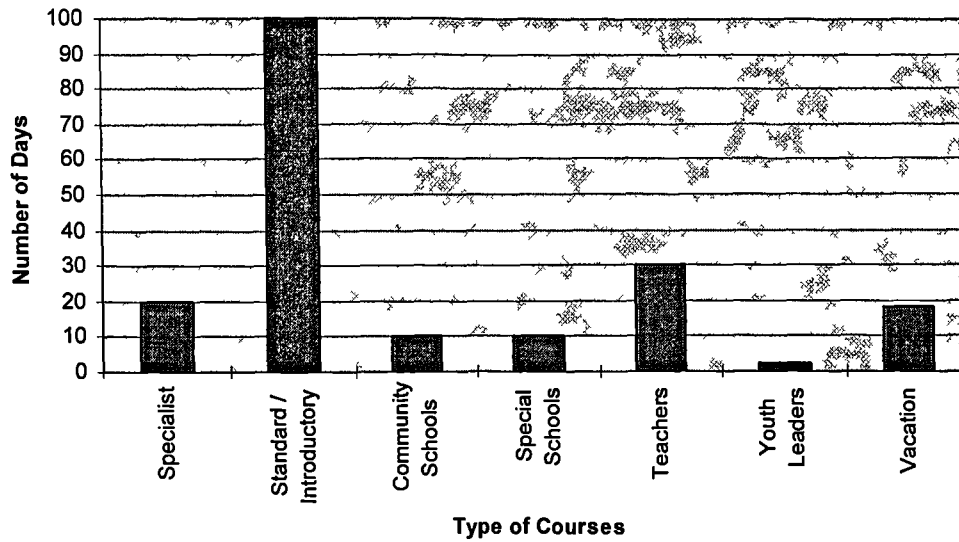


Figure 8.7 - The number of days allocated to different types of courses at Bewerley Park Centre in 1980/81

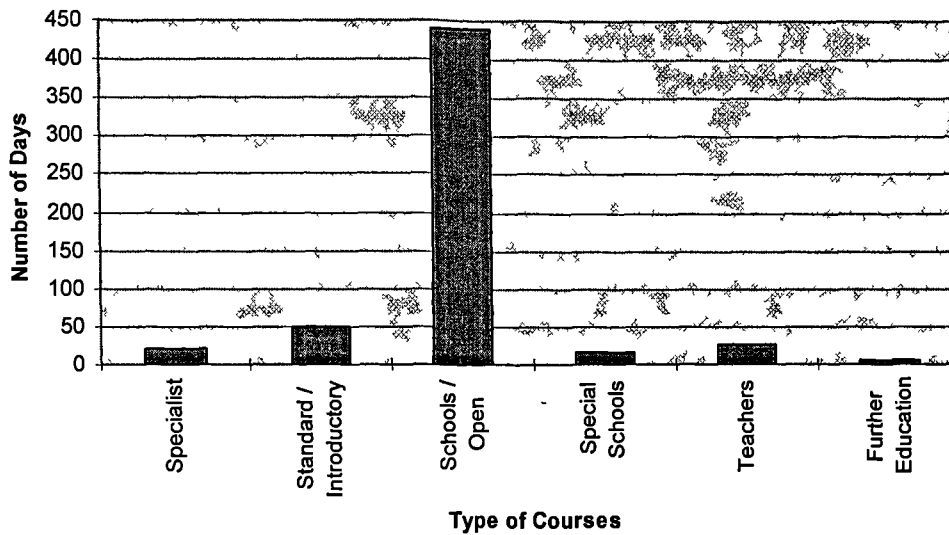
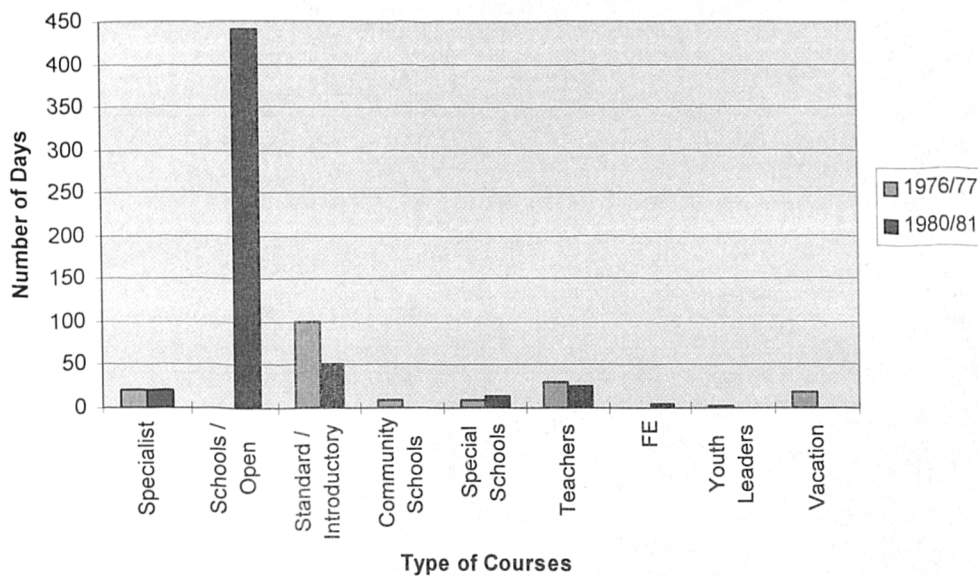


Figure 8.8 - The number of days allocated to different types of courses in 1976/77 and 1980/81



It seems clear that financial considerations were a major factor in shaping the programme of courses at Beverley Park after 1974. Five-day courses, when based on non-adventurous activities, required fewer staff and so represented a considerable cost saving over the ten-day courses. Despite the position of McEvoy, and later Massingham, as adviser for outdoor education in North Yorkshire LEA, the West Riding ethos of concern for the under-privileged child was not reflected in the selection of course members. Although children whose families were in receipt of some state benefits could attend courses at no cost to their family, steep price rises may have discouraged other children from attending courses. Results from a survey conducted in 1984 suggest that by that time, a number of other outdoor centres had closed.⁶² The fact that Beverley Park remained open can be attributed, in part, to Barrand's strengths as an administrator. Like Clegg, Barrand gave a high priority to the value of residential experiences. However, from a study he made of the residential experience of children attending Beverley Park Centre, Barrand concluded that although children were provided with opportunities for interacting socially there was no real evidence that socialisation occurred.⁶³ By socialisation he

meant social training and the acquisition of appropriate social skills. Barrand commented that it would be unwise to 'oversell' residential outdoor education as capable of delivering 'impossible goods'.⁶⁴ The case for supporting such 'a high cost enterprise' should, he suggested, be made on other grounds,⁶⁵ although he did not specify what these might be.

The West Riding Education Committee and Clegg would have been saddened if they thought rising costs had prevented children, identified as being in need, from benefiting from outdoor education, and at the loss of courses which allowed children from different geographical, and thereby probably social, backgrounds to mix. Hogan would also have been aware that, because teachers accompanied their own pupils, the children had lost the opportunity not to be pre-judged.

The 1974 local government reorganisation and Buckden House

The previous chapter indicated how Buckden House operated as a joint venture between Bingley College and the West Riding LEA. Before, and for some time after, local government reorganisation, organisations using Buckden House were expected to supply their own teachers and equipment so that each course depended on the interests and abilities of visiting staff.⁶⁶ Until 1974, the views of Clegg, Hogan and the Management Committee had exerted a strong influence, and the Warden, Peter Massingham, knew that he was not expected to make policy decisions.⁶⁷ Massingham missed the direction of a 'strong' LEA and he has commented that because of differences of opinion between, and among, politicians and advisers he was given little direction after 1974.⁶⁸ Apparently Leeds wanted one thing and Barnsley wanted something else and, according to Massingham, no-one ever knew what Bradford wanted.⁶⁹ It seems that the only matter on which the LEAs did agree was that they would pay their share only if they got what they wanted.⁷⁰ One by one financial pressures resulted in authorities withdrawing their support until Bradford LEA became the only financier and user. Massingham

recalls that, on his return from a one-year secondment to Outward Bound, Bingley College was encountering financial problems with the result that he was transferred to Bradford's payroll.⁷¹ In 1977 Massingham left the employ of Bradford to join the advisory service in North Yorkshire. The role of Buckden House in teacher training diminished when Ilkley College became Bradford's institution for teacher training.⁷² When Bingley College closed, the department of outdoor education transferred to Ilkley College with one of its lecturers, Pete Livesey. Wally Keay did not transfer and links with Buckden House thus weakened.⁷³

Some members of the Consortium, particularly Bradford LEA, allegedly wanted to appoint an administrator rather than an educationist familiar with the outdoors, and so some time elapsed before a permanent warden replaced Massingham.⁷⁴ Graham Mollard, the new warden, had worked as a voluntary instructor at The Woodlands before obtaining a teaching post at Bewerley Park Centre. On his arrival at Buckden House in 1978 Mollard determined to increase the level of specialist outdoor activities offered to pupils and to promote Buckden House as a 'skills training base'. He gave three reasons for his decision: first, his own personal satisfaction and that of his staff, second, because, in his judgement, the acquisition of skills was measurable and third, because he saw himself as educating young people to make good use of their leisure.⁷⁵ Mollard has described the Consortium, from about 1980, as 'seriously falling apart' and recalls that Bradford LEA exerted pressure on him to find courses that would generate more income. His response was to accept courses with the Youth Opportunities Programme and to introduce 'management training' courses.⁷⁶

Youth Opportunities Programmes and Youth Training Schemes at Buckden House

The Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) began in 1978 as a five year programme funded by the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). Initially intended to provide work experience for school-leavers, it is relevant to outdoor education because of the residential projects introduced to fulfil the requirements of the 'life and social skills' training element.⁷⁷ Hopkins and Putman note that the value of adventurous activities in residential courses had previously been recognised by several of the Industrial Training Boards who had drawn on the programmes used by Outward Bound and Brathay Hall Trust to devise courses intended to ease the transition of employees from school to work.⁷⁸ The Brathay Hall Trust had been founded in 1946 with the aim of providing young people in industry with the opportunity of widening their horizons through new experience and challenge.⁷⁹ Although courses shared similarities with those of Outward Bound, courses at Brathay were not directed so overtly at 'character training' but aimed to foster self-discovery and the growth of self-confidence.⁸⁰ Brathay was one of the first groups to apply the expression 'developmental training' to the process of facilitating all-round personal development for young employees.⁸¹ According to Lowe, the YOP succeeded mainly in generating a cheap pool of labour for employers. He maintains that in the early-1980s, when faced with increased unemployment, new initiatives were desperately needed to cope with the problem of unemployed school-leavers.⁸² Nearly 500,000 young people were expected to be out of work in the summer of 1981, a summer marked by inner-city rioting.⁸³ The MSC, Lowe suggests, were drawn into a device to control the schools more closely and, under the guidance of Lord Young, the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) began in schools and the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) replaced YOP.⁸⁴ A number of Labour controlled local authorities boycotted the TVEI, suspicious of its real intention and fearing, as *The Times Educational Supplement* put it, that TVEI and YTS schemes were 'no more than anti-riot devices to keep sixteen year olds off the

unemployment register and off the streets'.⁸⁵ Concern was expressed by both the NAOE and the Association of Wardens of Mountain Centres about the MSC initiatives. Although their concerns reflected the genuine fear that standards of quality and safety established by LEAs might not be maintained in courses run for monetary gain⁸⁶ and when accountability meant that targets had to be reached within a specific budget,⁸⁷ they also appear to have been anxious that 'control' of outdoor education would be taken from them.

Despite the reservations the TVEI continued to expand and became fully national in the summer of 1987 by which time it had been funded to the tune of £900 million over ten years.⁸⁸ The generous funding provided a much needed source of income for many residential outdoor centres affected by the economic recession of the 1970s. Buckden House, though not Bewerley Park, offered courses for YOP and YTS students. To justify government funding, course-organisers were required to analyse and measure the process by which trainees were affected or changed by their experience.⁸⁹ Keighley considers that training courses led to a more structured analysis of the way outdoor education was used as a medium for experiential learning and an increasing acceptance by outdoor educationists that if young people were to be changed or moulded in a programme of personal and social development then it was not enough to merely subject them to 'exciting and challenging' activities.⁹⁰

In the early-1980s, Mollard began to review the aims of Buckden House and to appreciate that Massingham had sought to promote personal and social development through residential and outdoor experiences.⁹¹ However, despite acknowledging the way Massingham had implemented the rationale of the West Riding for outdoor education, Mollard felt he was pioneering the use of outdoor activities for personal and social developmental ends.⁹² The type of courses Mollard devised at Buckden House were based on tasks that demanded problem-solving skills and group co-operation and, in 1983, he proclaimed that through a programme of personal

development many 'desirable traits' could be instilled, at least 'to a degree', into young people.⁹³ Self-assurance, determination, integrity, unselfishness, humility, insight and initiative were the traits he thought achievable even though he recognised that many of the traits were the 'negative' of the trainees' characters.⁹⁴

As a result of the work with YOP and YTS courses, the emphasis on the courses for children at Buckden House changed from teaching the technical skills associated with outdoor activities to 'group initiative exercises'.⁹⁵ Mollard devised a number of tasks aimed at encouraging pupils to be responsible for their own actions. For instance, a group might be given the problem of solving how, with limited equipment, they could get a group across a stream. Planning, working as a team and reviewing became the most important aspect of the activity and teachers became facilitators rather than instructors.⁹⁶ As the tasks became bolder and made more use of the rugged outdoor environment, concerns were expressed by Bradford LEA about safety. Mollard was adamant that their concerns were unjustified and explained that although groups of children might travel without a member of staff between activities, at every 'risk-site' there would be a member of staff to ensure the pupils were safe.⁹⁷

'Catch 'em Young' at Bewerley Park Centre - Juvenile Delinquency

Bewerley Park Centre did not become involved in courses funded by the MSC. Like the majority of LEA outdoor centres in the late-1970s and early-1980s, it reduced spending and coped with restrictions on extra-curricular activities resulting from the industrial action of teachers by shortening the length of courses and introducing less staff-intensive courses for younger children.⁹⁸ In addition to their normal annual programme of courses, the governors and headmaster of Bewerley Park were eager, in the 1980s, to adopt a scheme which would generate income for the Centre. The notion that physical challenge, through outdoor pursuits, could counter juvenile delinquency is a strand evident throughout this study. It is what

Hedy Cleaver, in her evaluation of the Bewerley Park Project, 'Catch 'em Young', suggests made sport and outdoor activities an attractive idea for those wishing to counteract delinquency.⁹⁹

'Catch 'em Young' was a three-year project which aimed to test the effectiveness of using outdoor pursuits to reduce the 'anti-social behaviour' of children. The target group consisted of children who had been identified by their primary school teachers as currently experiencing 'difficulties' and whose behaviour was likely to lead to juvenile delinquency.¹⁰⁰ The project was born out of two conferences held in 1980. The first, organised by the DES, aimed to find a way of reducing the financial cost to the state of vandalism, and the second, organised by the National Association of School Masters and the Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT), aimed to explore ways to counter disruptive classroom behaviour.¹⁰¹ The Trustees of the Project, some of whom were associated with the King George's Jubilee Trust,¹⁰² issued a promotional leaflet aimed at attracting sponsorship from business and industry. In it, they declared that corporations could save hundreds of millions of pounds each year if they did not have to repair the damage 'wrought' by 'mindless destruction' and, in addition, the taxpayer would be saved tens of thousands of pounds because each offender who was caught and sentenced cost £10,000 a year.¹⁰³ The diversity of interests and political orientations of the Trustees and members of the NASUWT meant that the working group were faced with a number of potentially conflicting dilemmas. However, such was the belief in the ability of the project to fulfil a range of aims that compromises were made.¹⁰⁴

A working group 'from various fields' was established and the members decided to use an educational strategy derived 'directly from the Outward Bound movement and the ideas of Kurt Hahn'.¹⁰⁵ Members were apparently persuaded by Hahn's thesis that 'a measure of self-respect, based on achievement of some kind', is necessary 'if one is to respect other people and their property'.¹⁰⁶ Outdoor pursuits - canoeing, camping and rock-climbing, the leaflet suggested would become

the 'pegs' on which to hang character development and positive social training.¹⁰⁷ Skilled instructors were to 'exploit small-group activities' to develop co-operation within the group and 'healthy rivalry between groups'. In addition, suitably graded challenges would provide opportunities for courage, skill, self-reliance and self-respect to grow.¹⁰⁸ The leaflet claimed that undisciplined youngsters would come to understand that discipline was not merely a matter of obeying proper instructions because they would learn that 'if one does not do things in the right way... one comes a cropper'. They would thus impose their own discipline.¹⁰⁹ Exploratory discussions about using Bewerley Park for residential experiences for children 'at risk' first took place in February 1981 following an approach to the governors from an unnamed source.¹¹⁰ Probably this was Lord Masham, one of the Trustees and a member of the Management Committee of Bewerley Park from 1974.¹¹¹

Evaluating the 'Catch 'em Young' Project was considered to be important so, in 1983, Sir Keith Joseph, then Secretary of State for Education and Science, promised funding from the DES to cover the cost of the necessary research.¹¹² The evaluation was intended to assess whether or not there was any evidence of progress and improvement among individual children and to allow other interested parties to learn from the experiment.¹¹³ The evaluation was led by Hedy Cleaver from the Dartington Social Research Unit based at the University of Bristol. In her evaluation report, Cleaver noted that there were two broad views as to the way behavioural change might be facilitated through outdoor activities. The first, subscribed to by the Trustees, meant putting young people into challenging and stressful, but supposedly 'character building', situations in the rugged outdoors so that self-discipline would be instilled into them. The second, an alternative and gentler approach, involved promoting the self-esteem of young people through enjoyable but nevertheless stimulating outdoor activities. Crucial to the success of both, but particularly the latter approach, she noted, was the relationship established between the teacher and the young person. From her observations she concluded

that, on the positive side, outdoor pursuits could claim to counter delinquency because

...rock climbing and abseiling are simple to understand and do not require academic skills or intellectual prowess. They are exciting, immediate experiences which have few rules yet demand concentration, co-operation and reliance on others. The consequences of not holding onto the rope, even for the most maladjusted child, are abundantly clear, although in reality the safety of each child is always assured. Because of the need for reciprocity and trust in potentially dangerous situations, previously insurmountable barriers to communication and relationships can sometimes be overcome. Furthermore, because outdoor pursuits take place away from classroom and school, children's stereotypes of teachers and peers can be challenged and recast.¹¹⁴

However, Cleaver was anxious to point out that

...failure in outdoor pursuits can, if not carefully managed, reinforce a child's already poor self-image and peer pressure can lead to desperate and dangerous acts. In addition, outdoor pursuits, like some types of residential care, are often divorced from home and community and fail to provide children with the means of translating achievement on the rock-face to success at home.¹¹⁵

Unfortunately, as the NAOE confirmed in 1984, those establishing 'Catch 'em Young' seem to have had 'scant' knowledge of the information Cleaver drew on in her Report.¹¹⁶ The executive committee of NAOE expressed reservations about the Project, not just because it considered plans for putting it into practice lacked detail but because it felt it would impinge on the wider application of educational outdoor pursuits.¹¹⁷ It is probable that the Trustees of 'Catch 'em Young' did pay attention to reports of a number of courses which had, allegedly, gained some success in using outdoor activities as a corrective for criminal behaviour. Most had targeted teenage boys who had been in trouble with the law and had taken place at Outward Bound Schools. Apparently they were a response to the reference to Intermediate Treatment in the Children and Young Persons Act of 1969.¹¹⁸ Also receiving attention in the early-1980s were reports that argued that delinquent young people should be offered challenge-exercise as a means of rehabilitation or in order to direct the 'inherent aggressive urge' of 'normal' students into beneficial channels and so prevent delinquency.¹¹⁹

The cost of the 'Catch 'em Young' Project was estimated at £300,000. The Trustees anticipated that the bulk of the money would come from industry and commerce, and/or from those whose 'enlightened self-interest', combined with a social conscience, could persuade them to support the project.¹²⁰ Appeals for funding by the all male group of Trustees resemble those employed by the trustees of the Duke of Edinburgh's Scheme. The titles of some of the Trustees indicate a military background and, as the Director of the Project confirmed, the majority had been educated in the public school system.¹²¹ The Trustees of the 'Catch 'em Young' Project had initially intended to focus on children from the Leeds, Bradford and York areas,¹²² but because the launch received adverse media publicity, claiming it was a 'short sharp shock' for 'very young naughty children', Leeds and Bradford LEAs withdrew support.¹²³ York LEA was keen to continue its involvement as was Beverley Park Centre.¹²⁴

Cleaver noted that some educationists and teachers had expressed concern about the suitability of Beverley Park because its sheer size, they felt, led to a more structured and rigid approach than was ideal when working with young disturbed children.¹²⁵ Anyone looking at the past record of Beverley Park in dealing with 'difficult' children would not have been filled with confidence about the chances of the Project succeeding. Although McEvoy had written very positively, in 1970, about a course held at Beverley Park Centre for forty two 'near delinquents', he had also referred to the considerable increase in staff and time needed to ensure that the course achieved its objectives.¹²⁶ Comments in subsequent course reports give no indication of adaptations being made to suit the particular needs of 'difficult' pupils or of any 'job satisfaction' being felt by those working with them. For example,

An unsuccessful course because of lack of co-operation of 'rougher' children.¹²⁷

Discipline poor among children from Leeds of low intelligence.¹²⁸

Two boys sent home following a fight on Saturday night.¹²⁹

Twenty seven students from a College of Further Education in Keighley, most from ethnic backgrounds 'caused problems' because of their 'communication, language, age and ethnicity'.¹³⁰

Schools had sent many 'trouble-makers' without informing us.¹³¹

Four pupils from a Community Service Project apparently 'did not integrate' well and the girls 'were found hiding' so they did not have to take part in activities.¹³² Nor did the Centre really seem to have come to terms with working with children from primary schools. Following the first course for ten and eleven year old children, the deputy headteacher made the following statement in his end of course report.

Still a matter of debate as to the value of outdoor pursuits with some young children who have difficulty coping with the physical difficulties involved, fear of darkness, tolerance of cold, etc. etc.

I felt some children could be inadvertently traumatised and be put off activities for life.¹³³

The children it was proposed to accept in the 'Catch 'em Young' Project were to be younger than the group to which Martland referred. Perhaps, not surprisingly, many of the staff at Bewerley Park were 'wary of the scheme'.¹³⁴

'Catch 'em Young' was eventually inaugurated in April 1986 by which time the difficulty of raising funds, including a failure to attract an Education Support Grant, had necessitated several changes to the timing, organisation and size of the Project.¹³⁵ A director, Dave Cass, was seconded from a North Yorkshire school from April 1986, to run the outdoor activity programme. He became a member of the Professional Advisory Committee which oversaw the management of the Project.¹³⁶ The recommendations of the Committee, composed of educationists, a representative from the Trust and Massingham (by then adviser for outdoor education in North Yorkshire LEA), reflected their realisation that it would be difficult to gain support for a project that not only labelled young children as 'potential delinquents' but which used methods considered by many, including Massingham, as inappropriate.¹³⁷ The Committee then persuaded the Trustees to

change the name of the Project so that there would be less emphasis on delinquent and anti-social behaviour¹³⁸ and in 1988, following the death of Terry Casey, General Secretary of the NASUWT, it became the Terence Casey Memorial Project.¹³⁹ Thereafter, the easing of the transfer of a group of children from primary to secondary school became the publicised focus.¹⁴⁰ Subsequently children described as 'isolated and withdrawn' were selected as well as those exhibiting anti-social behaviour.¹⁴¹

The intention of the Project had been to recruit equal numbers of boys and girls. However, anti-social behaviour was not evenly divided by gender and consequently some of the girls recruited were described as 'ordinary' while some 'disturbed' boys were rejected.¹⁴² It was proposed that the children selected should attend four, five-day courses, two to take place before they transferred to secondary school and two during their first year at secondary school. Table 8.4 summarises the timing of, and attendance at, the courses.¹⁴³

Table 8.4 – The timing of 'Catch 'em Young' courses at Bewerley Park Centre

	Primary School		Secondary School	
	Course No 1	Course No 2	Course No 3	Course No 4
Boys	6	6	6	6
Girls	6	6	6	6
Primary Teacher	1	1	0	0
Secondary Teacher	0	1	1	1
Older Pupils	0	2	2	0
Project Director	1	1	1	1
Member of Bewerley Staff	1	1	1	1
Duration of course in days	5	5	5	5

Courses ran from Monday to Friday and included activities such as rock-climbing, hiking, canoeing and sailing, as is indicated in the example of a course programme given in Table 8.5.¹⁴⁴

Table 8.5 – A typical 5 day programme for a ‘Catch ‘em Young’ course

	Day-time	Evening
Monday	Arrive 11.00 am. Settle in. Assault course Swimming pool	Games Night walk
Tuesday	Rock-climbing at Brimham Rocks Walk 4 miles back to centre	Sleep in barn
Wednesday	Visit historical site of Scar Village and reservoir Walk 3 miles to Middlesmoor Explore Howstean gorge, possible abseil	Visit local museum
Thursday	Orienteering Building raft on local mill-pond	Disco or camp fire
Friday	Games	Return home after lunch

Clearly not all the activities were ‘outward bound’ in character.¹⁴⁵ Cleaver’s evaluation states that rock-climbing and canoeing were particularly successful because, in her opinion, the high levels of supervision allowed ‘adults and pupils to be drawn into close relationships where the need for mutual help and trust was unavoidable’.¹⁴⁶

Supervision of the children between 5.00pm and 8.00am was the responsibility of the school staff. To keep control they realised that the children needed to be kept busy and well-organised. As one teacher put it.

It was clear from the outset that their time had to be fully programmed and supervised. All the boys immediately misbehaved as soon as the teacher was out of sight. All wanted to be the centre of attention, they generally were selfish, scheming spoil-sports who had to be watched.¹⁴⁷

Although social activities, the evening programme and other less-structured activities were said to be more difficult to implement successfully, it was apparently during ‘gentle walks or quiet moments beside the camp-fire’ that the ‘lessons of the day could most readily be explored and related to the wider contexts of family and school’.¹⁴⁸ The evaluation report makes clear that the children enjoyed ‘Catch ‘em Young’ as did the majority of the teachers and older pupils recruited to befriend the children when they transferred to secondary school. However, the teachers and

Bewerley Park staff apparently experienced a 'significant problem adjusting to the strains of controlling disturbed children in front of strangers'.¹⁴⁹ Many of the adults had only a fleeting acquaintance with each other and there was, according to Cleaver, sometimes a lack of consensus about 'when and how to intervene when children embarked upon one of their regular and unnerving upward spirals of raucousness'.¹⁵⁰ Clearly an atmosphere of uncertainty did not help children who already had a 'heightened level of stress and anxiety'.¹⁵¹

Doubts about the way secondary school staff were recruited¹⁵² were confirmed by Cleaver who noted that the difficulties both primary and secondary schools encountered in recruiting and releasing staff led to a lack of uniformity and consistency in courses.¹⁵³ Cleaver concluded that examining the effects of 'Catch 'em Young' on different groups of children had proved 'inconclusive and rather disappointing'.¹⁵⁴ In studying the results, Cleaver concluded that the team had 'been unable to show any general differences in the behavioural outcome of disturbed primary school children who attended the scheme when compared with similarly disturbed children who did not attend'.¹⁵⁵ However, Cleaver also noted that none of the children studied got into serious trouble with police or assaulted teachers or pupils.¹⁵⁶

Clegg may well have welcomed the opportunities given to disadvantaged children through this Project, particularly the placing of them in an environment in which they could 'acquire civilised standards and values',¹⁵⁷ and the attempts made to 'bolster' them by raising their self-esteem. However, he would not have approved of what appears to be a high risk of failure for many, nor of them being 'labelled' before they had been given an opportunity to 'prove themselves'.

The national context of developments in outdoor education - examinations and personal and social development

This section will discuss two ways in which outdoor activities contributed to the education of 'normal' children, first as an examination subject and, secondly, as a process for personal and social development. Most of the teachers who chose to run examination courses in outdoor pursuits apparently did so 'as a last resort' in order to gain some curriculum time and to get outdoor pursuits accepted within the mainstream of education.¹⁵⁸ Most acknowledged it was difficult, even undesirable, to assess the achievement of aims such as 'to present challenge, experience and adventure'.¹⁵⁹ By 1974, most Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) Examination Boards examined outdoor pursuits in some form.¹⁶⁰ The working party of the Schools Council Geography Committee expressed the hope that examinations might 'increase communication between teachers from different schools' and thereby 'help to break down traditional insularity and make for a freer exchange of ideas'.¹⁶¹ From a survey of thirty-two courses in outdoor pursuits conducted in 1974 the working party found a wide variety of, and subjectivity in, the aims and objectives listed,¹⁶² and they considered that there was a 'real need to chart the direction in which outdoor education was moving and to assess accurately the value and use of activities within the curriculum'.¹⁶³

Only the CSE boards offered examination courses for sixteen year olds in outdoor pursuits. Almost all were Mode III syllabuses written by the teacher or teachers delivering the courses. A syllabus was more likely to be accepted by a regional CSE Examinations Board if it contained a high percentage of theoretical work and was assessed through conventional means, for instance written examination papers, projects or assignments.¹⁶⁴ However, as some teachers noted, this could mean that 'heavy sections' of 'sociology, physiology, history or environmental studies' became a 'burden' for pupils who had been initially attracted to the subject by the 'exciting' practical aspects of outdoor pursuits.¹⁶⁵ The Schools

Council noted that because Mode III CSE syllabuses were the personal property of the schools, information about the examinations offered was not easy to find.¹⁶⁶ Twenty years later it has been even more difficult. However, an example of a Mode III CSE examination syllabus in outdoor pursuits from the Yorkshire region was included in the Schools Council's 1980 report and details of this are given below. The aims were concerned with the constructive use of leisure and three objectives were listed. The first 'to instil in the student confidence and self-reliance', the second, to 'encourage initiative, responsibility, reliability and thought for others' and the third, 'the application of theoretical knowledge and common-sense'.¹⁶⁷ The one and a half hour written paper was worth fifty marks and had five sections - first aid, map features, weather, camp-craft and safety factors.¹⁶⁸ Table 8.6 gives the mark allocation of the assessment.¹⁶⁹

Table 8.6 – The assessment grids for practical sections of a Mode III CSE examination syllabus in outdoor pursuits

	<u>Section 1</u> Assessment of Route Finding	<u>Section 2</u> Overnight camp or Camp Tasks	<u>Section 3</u> Expedition Practice	<u>Section 4</u> Final Expedition
Reliability	0	2	1	4
Responsibility	1	1	0	3
Preparation	2	2	1	4
Application	2	2	1	4
Common Sense	2	1	1	3
Initiative	1	1	0	3
Group Awareness	2	1	1	4
Total Marks	10	10	5	25

Additional to these fifty marks were twenty awarded for a logbook, twenty for performance in one of the three practical activities - canoeing, sailing or fell-walking and ten for the assessment of a folder to accompany the practical activity chosen by the pupil. It appears that a very low proportion of the total mark was awarded for the acquisition of technical skills related to outdoor pursuits, a high proportion for writing about and recalling factual information and a similar proportion, about one

third, for the acquisition of personality traits such as reliability, common-sense and initiative.¹⁷⁰

Although examinations did allow outdoor education to remain on the timetable for longer than otherwise might have been the case, its practical slant and the type of pupil it attracted is unlikely to have raised its status. The subjectivity of assessment made outdoor education problematic as an examination subject and the increased demands for accountability by the CSE boards may have contributed to its decline.¹⁷¹ Other contributory factors were teachers' industrial action in the mid-1980s which drastically reduced the non-directed time teachers were prepared to give to activities out of school, the abolition of the Schools Council by the Conservative Government in 1983 and, finally, the demise of all CSE examinations. The flow of resources, finance and recognition to more 'scholarly disciplines' left outdoor education a poor relation once the initial flood of interest in the subject had subsided. Teachers who could see no long term career prospects through outdoor education moved to other areas of education. Rossington School, which transferred from the West Riding LEA to Doncaster in the 1974 local government reorganisation, provides an example of a school where outdoor education remained on the time-table until 1985.¹⁷² In 1984, Keighley estimated that 201 residential outdoor education centres were administered by LEAs in England and Wales.¹⁷³ Of these, fifty five were said to offer field studies and outdoor pursuits, and forty six offered only outdoor pursuits.¹⁷⁴ The apparent reduction in numbers of centres from the figure of 400 given for 1979 in Chapter 7 may reflect an actual reduction in provision or it may be due to the difficulty in collecting reliable statistics. It is likely that questions had been phrased differently on the various questionnaires and/or varying interpretations had been offered of what constituted outdoor pursuits. However, Keighley's survey does suggest that, by 1984, there had been a significant decline in outdoor education provision.¹⁷⁵ In addition, Keighley calculated that, because of the distribution of LEA outdoor centres, children living in the shire

counties were far more likely have access to a residential course in outdoor pursuits than were those from Metropolitan areas.¹⁷⁶

Many of those promoting outdoor education thought it should not be delivered as time-tabled lessons but rather it should be a vehicle for the development of personal and social skills. Members of one discussion group at the Dartington Conference, presumably including a strong representation of LEA residential centre wardens, went so far as to suggest that, despite centres having the capacity to provide only a small proportion of the outdoor education in an LEA, outdoor education experiences near to the school should be resisted.¹⁷⁷ These particular delegates may have been protecting their own interests and/or they may have genuinely believed that outdoor experiences away from the pupil's usual environment would be more effective in fulfilling aims associated with personal and social development or in instilling in pupils public school notions of character building.

At the 1975 Dartington Conference, Huskins identified two strands of social development, the first to do with personal growth and the second with the acquisition of skills which would enable an individual to operate effectively and creatively in a group.¹⁷⁸ Individual activities such as canoeing could, Huskins maintained, be successfully used by a sensitive adult to ensure an individual was 'challenged' and 'stretched' to allow him (*sic*) to acquire 'self-confidence, a sense of proportion, self-discipline and self-reliance'. Huskins also suggested that group skills could be developed through 'safely-led' expeditions, especially in 'wild or potentially hazardous' country.¹⁷⁹ Until local government reorganisation, the West Riding had been promoting this type of outdoor education and Huskins was echoing a sentiment of Clegg's when he stated that adults should be able to 'fire the imagination' of the young by transmitting 'enthusiasm and vision'.¹⁸⁰ Although Huskins acknowledged similarities with character building, he chose to use the label of social development. Richards suggests Huskins drew his 'model' for outdoor

education from the Brathay Hall Trust.¹⁸¹ However, Huskins maintains that it was his own work with the Scout Movement that influenced his thinking.¹⁸²

From a comprehensive survey into the aims of outdoor pursuits in LEA residential centres in Britain, Hugh Mantle, who had taught at Bewerley Park Centre before he embarked on a full-time Master of Education course, classified the thirty-eight different aims referred to by his respondents, into seven categories.¹⁸³ Table 8.7 is taken from Mantle's analysis and gives the categories in frequency order according to the references each respondent made to each aim.

Table 8.7 – The relative emphasis on the aims of outdoor pursuits in outdoor centres according to Mantle – 1978
(percentages are calculated on the number of references to each aim)

Personality Development	22.9%
Social Competence	16.37%
Skills Development	11.86%
Inter-disciplinary Enquiry	9.66%
Environmental Studies	8.95%
Safety Awareness	8.9%
Organic Development, i.e. physical strength and endurance	8.4%
Attitude - essentially towards others	6.95%
Leisure Time Activities	5.95%

The qualities listed under the heading of 'personality development' were those previously thought of as character building. As Mantle noted, notions such as self-discovery for leadership purposes, initiative, self-respect, self-confidence, self-reliance, self-discipline, perseverance, honesty, humility and courage were abound with 'moral implications regarding the desirable qualities of personality'.¹⁸⁴

Among a number of tensions that can be identified in relation to the use of outdoor activities for personal and social development is one identified by Livesey. He commented that outdoor activities, such as climbing, supposedly enabled young people to 'fit in'. However, he maintained, climbing is essentially a selfish activity which allows people to 'escape from what they didn't like', in other words to 'drop out'.¹⁸⁵ A second area of contention concerned safety and, in *Adventure by*

Numbers, Tom Price, adviser for social education in the West Riding, noted that 'We say we give our children thrilling adventures but make absolutely certain nothing untoward happens to them'. He also argued that the more hazardous the activity, the less opportunity remained for adventure.¹⁸⁶ Writing in a similar vein, Morgan noted that because 'safety' had become paramount, the experience of the wild outdoors for purposes of personal development seemed to have been completely lost. 'Getting lost', he wrote, is headline news 'even if it is only 800 metres from a landrover'.¹⁸⁷ Price noted the irony in the, supposed, role of outdoor education in bringing 'people to maturity' when one of the strengths of teachers of outdoor education was their very 'youthfulness', their 'refusal to completely grow up'.¹⁸⁸ The debate, referred to in Chapter 7, surrounding Mortlock's contention that technically-skilled and safe teaching ensured that it was 'apparent' and not 'real' danger that underlay adventure education, continued into the 1980s and was refuelled by the publication of his book *The Adventure Alternative*.¹⁸⁹ The cost of providing adventure education, according to Mortlock's rationale, was difficult to sustain in the 1980s and it is evident from DES publications of the 1970s and early-1980s, that more consideration was given to safety than to curriculum guidelines.¹⁹⁰

The most appropriate methods for delivering outdoor education continued to be discussed and this chapter has noted that some LEA centres drew on the learner-centred techniques developed through MSC initiatives. However, the change from instructor-led methods was slow and Derek Spragg, from the National Youth Bureau, noted that if outdoor education was to be used as a process to enable young people to have more understanding of themselves,¹⁹¹ then teaching would need to become learner-centred with the adult's role becoming that of a facilitator.¹⁹² In 1985 Pat Keighley, tutor/organiser for outdoor education in Cumbria LEA, expressed the opinion that such an approach would require a change of attitude from what he described as the 'conventional and all too familiar teaching style of imparting instruction and directing'.¹⁹³ Roberts *et al.* suggested that in reassessing

the aims of character training it would be as well to 'eliminate the authoritarian instructors'.¹⁹⁴

Outdoor education from 1974 and the rationale established by the West Riding Education Committee and Sir Alec Clegg

In 1985, Richards claimed that it was no longer necessary for LEAs to provide opportunities for young people to get into the outdoors, to camp, canoe, sail or rock-climb, since parents, clubs and holidays were now satisfying that need.¹⁹⁵ This chapter has noted that although safety and a growth of interest in personal and social education prompted changes in the courses offered to schoolchildren in the late-1970s and early-1980s, economic factors also exerted a powerful influence. In the absence of strong leadership from a single LEA, both Beverley Park and Buckden House Centres, initially at least, lacked direction and adopted schemes to financially subsidise courses for schoolchildren. It would seem that methods associated with outdoor education as a process in the development of personal and social skills were employed more effectively, in this period, in courses at Buckden House than through the 'Catch 'em Young' Project at Beverley Park.

Ten years after the demise of the West Riding LEA, outdoor education was far from being an entitlement of all but was available mainly to those that could afford to attend courses or those classed as vulnerable to unemployment or prone to juvenile delinquency. It seems that some LEAs paid little more than lip-service to priority groups as Rick Halsall, at Buckden House from 1974, explained. Bradford apparently asked that priority be given to socially deprived children from the inner city, but had no policy for selecting or subsidising such groups.¹⁹⁶ Schools thus made their own selection of those who should attend and this was normally 'those who wanted to go and could afford to pay'.¹⁹⁷ Consequently the ethnic mix of Bradford was not reflected in the children who attended courses.¹⁹⁸ Only rarely did a school, where the majority of pupils were Asian, take a whole year group to the

centre. Muslim girls would only attend if there was an all-female course or, as in the case of the Leeds school, Rhodesway, if a teacher were particularly enthusiastic and there was financial support from the school.¹⁹⁹

Clegg is credited with pioneering CSE examinations²⁰⁰ and he particularly favoured Mode III because of the scope it gave teachers to target the specific needs of their pupils. He would undoubtedly have been saddened by the diminution of teacher control over the curriculum. Roberts *et al.* found, in 1974, that Outward Bound and similar character training courses were staffed mainly by men from middle-class, often public school, backgrounds.²⁰¹ Although the staff in LEA outdoor centres were drawn from a much wider range of social and educational backgrounds, there were undoubtedly some who adopted an 'authoritarian' approach. A number of research studies conducted in the 1970s and 1980s drew attention to the importance of the relationship between pupil and teacher. A study made by Pat Lawrence, seconded from her teaching-post at Bewerley Park Centre, investigated the anxiety response of adolescents to potentially stressful outdoor activities. She noted that girls and boys expressed their fears in different ways and that to describe a child as 'spineless' was not an appropriate response for a teacher.²⁰² From her in-depth ethnographic case study of a large outdoor education centre in the south of England, Barbara Humberstone concluded that it was not the sex of the teacher but the form of teaching and learning that was important in the experiences of young people. Her observations challenged traditional feminist research that suggested mixed educational experiences reinforced stereotypes of masculinity and femininity and she argued that, with sensitive management, when boys and girls were exposed to risk together, gender boundaries were weakened and an unusually co-operative atmosphere developed between pupils of different sexes.²⁰³

This chapter has shown that financial constraints determined the form and content of some of the courses that took place at both Bewerley Park and Buckden

House Centres in the 1980s. The courses run at Buckden House for students following YTS programmes are an indication of the extent to which the school curriculum had become vocationally oriented. This chapter has suggested that it was courses such as these that reinforced the trend towards accountability in outdoor education. The 'Catch 'em Young' project, based at Bewerley Park Centre, draws attention to the way in which a group, from the middle class and linked to the King George's Jubilee Trust, believed that methods associated with early twentieth century public school notions of character building, could be used to 'rescue' working-class children from juvenile delinquency. However, some of the initial Trustees of the Project seemed unaware that behaviour changes were more likely to occur if outdoor pursuits were used as a framework through which personal and social development might take place, as Clegg and Hogan had advocated, rather than using them directly to 'frame' character. The 'Catch 'em Young project formed only a small part of the overall work of Bewerley Park in the 1980s and the majority of the Centre's courses continued to focus on addressing the personal and social needs of children in schools of the contributing Authorities in a way of which Clegg and Hogan would have largely approved.

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CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

It has been argued that the examples of practice in outdoor education presented in this thesis have been supported by a rhetoric that has drawn upon four major themes. These are imperialism, the physical well-being of the population, the stemming of moral decline and the narrowing of class and/or gender divisions. The relative emphasis upon these themes has been historically and socially contingent, imperialist sentiments, for example, necessarily declining as the British Empire gave way to the new partnership embodied in the term Commonwealth.

These four themes might be grouped into two broad categories associated with a rationale that is either principally educational or social. In the early years of the century, the educational rationale of outdoor education focussed attention upon character training and education for a class-based leadership. The emphasis was on such qualities as team-spirit, loyalty, leadership, determination, endurance and courage. The associated rationale for the majority of the population was necessarily that of 'followership', associated with a sense of duty and obligation to those in authority. After the passage of the 1944 Education Act, the educational case for outdoor education found expression in boys' physical education lessons, extra-curricular activities - especially expeditions to geographically remote and/or rugged regions - and in the activities provided by LEA outdoor pursuits centres, which were based on challenging tasks in ways which reflected the enduring notion of *mens sana in corpore sano*. The earlier emphasis on manly virtues was thus transformed, rather than abandoned, finding a particularly clear expression in the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme (p.136 and p.153), and later, in the 'Catch 'em Young Project' (p.271). In the second half of the twentieth century, when 'secondary education for all' and 'equal opportunities' became established elements of political and educational rhetoric, a number of tensions arose about 'whose' characters were

to be developed and for what purpose. In addition, in the light of the growing involvement of girls in education and in wider changes in society, notions of manliness needed to be reinterpreted. As gender (not sex) and, therefore, gender roles came to be recognised as socially determined and as these roles changed, so too did outdoor education. Girls, in the 1950s, were assumed to differ from boys in a variety of physical, intellectual and emotional ways, and although similar, if sometimes less vigorous, outdoor activities were offered to them, it was not unusual for courses for girls to include teaching about personal hygiene and child-care. Today, the emphasis is rather on 'anything boys can do', girls can do at least as well, if not better.

The social rationale associated with outdoor education supported activities such as camping and the use of camp schools (to address the issue of poor health) and the outdoor pursuits promoted by the Albemarle Report of 1960, intended to address the 'youth problem', especially the anticipated fears of juvenile delinquency. This rationale also encouraged the incorporation of outdoor programmes within courses of physical education lessons and other areas of the curriculum in comprehensive schools. Further examples include introducing children to aspects of public school life by giving them a residential experience in modestly-grand country houses that sometimes served as LEA outdoor pursuits centres, and the initiatives of the Manpower Services Commission in the 1980s which were designed to address the problems of unemployment and juvenile delinquency with which they were linked.

In broad terms, therefore, it has been argued that,

- after 1944, the form and content of outdoor education remained contingent on a number of ideological and political factors evident in the early part of the twentieth century,

- since 1944, although outdoor education has sustained multiple meanings and diverse rationales, these have at all times been sensitive to social, political, military or other concerns,
- outdoor education in schools has generally reflected wider social assumptions about gender and social class rather than challenged them,
- under the influence of Alec Clegg, outdoor education in the West Riding was seen principally by the LEA as a means of redressing social and economic inequalities and of giving substance to the belief that children should be treated equally on their individual merits,
- in the two decades or so after 1944, outdoor education was a means of offering children in the West Riding a set of standards of behaviour and morality which Clegg and those who shared his views thought they should acquire for purposes of social cohesion if not social control.

As far as the West Riding is concerned, this study has sought to address three particular research questions. First, what was the political, financial and other response of the West Riding LEA to the notion of outdoor education and what rationales were offered for the commitment of the LEA to this work after 1944? Secondly, what was the part played by Bewerley Park Camp School/Centre in fulfilling the aims of the West Riding with regard to outdoor education and how did some schools incorporate outdoor education within their programmes? Thirdly, how did outdoor education, as viewed by the West Riding LEA, compare with that available in some other parts of the country?

The Development Plan of the West Riding, prepared following the passage of the 1944 Education Act, indicates the extent to which education in the outdoors was seen as a means of redressing social and economic inequalities. One of Clegg's major concerns was that children disadvantaged by home circumstances should be helped to become useful, rather than disruptive, members of society. Bewerley Park, first as a Camp School and then as an Outdoor Pursuits Centre, was used as a

means of offering children in the West Riding a set of standards of behaviour and morality which Clegg thought they should acquire. These standards were never explicitly defined but were those which Clegg himself regarded as important. For example, in a paper to the Newsom Committee, of which he was a member, Clegg proposed that children should be taught, 'sound attitudes and behaviour - to include not only self respect and consideration for others but the development of diligence'.¹ A broader spectrum of young people could be reached, Clegg argued, if outdoor education were encouraged in schools in the coal-mining areas in the south of the County. At one such school, Minsthorpe, built in September 1968, the department of Personal and Outdoor Pursuits held equal status with those of Humanities (including English), Mathematics and Science, Creative Studies, and Career and Community. Activities that took place in the evenings and weekends were to be complementary to the formal day curriculum and equally important. The aims of this community school centered on the social and educational needs of adolescents and each activity was to contribute to an educational programme which aimed to demonstrate that living and working harmoniously together was possible for individuals with different aspirations and backgrounds.

Under the influence of Clegg and Hogan, outdoor education in the West Riding was also used to give substance to the belief that children should be treated equally on their individual merits. Together, Clegg and Hogan promoted outdoor education as a social 'leveller' and recognised the contribution it could make to increasing the self-esteem of children when they were introduced to activities new to them all. Hogan was not interested in developing an educational or social élite and, through his partnership with Clegg, he adapted, for wider social purposes, many of the character-building techniques used in Outward Bound courses. Clegg refused to promote and support outdoor education intended to cultivate leaders, believing those pupils commonly regarded as failures had the potential to be socially disruptive. For the West Riding, there was never any doubt that outdoor education should be used

within a programme of personal and social development or that the 'personal' development was for 'social' ends. However, few policy makers or practitioners had as well-developed a rationale for outdoor education as that of the West Riding LEA, and it was not until the mid-1970s that the social aims of outdoor education came to be more widely promoted within other LEAs. From that time, the notion of outdoor education for personal and social development was encouraged by, among others, the Department of Education and Science (DES). In the 1970s, although many comprehensive schools focussed attention on the individual rather than on the team-player, outdoor education was sometimes used to help address the social function of schooling. From at least the mid-1970s, outdoor education was widely promoted as a means of providing a framework in which personal and social development could take place, rather than as being the means of 'framing' character. The emphasis here was on personal development, co-operation and collaboration, and the exploitation of the potential of outdoor education in promoting social harmony.

It is appropriate to conclude by commenting upon some broader issues raised by this study of outdoor education in the former West Riding of Yorkshire. In many ways, the most striking feature is the role that a small number of charismatic and influential figures, notably Clegg and Hogan, was able to play in exploiting legislation to serve social purposes which, arguably, went beyond the structural notion of equality of opportunity embodied in the 1944 Education Act. Jack Longland, Chief Education Officer for the Derbyshire LEA, was, like Clegg, concerned with less privileged young people and he, too, focused his attention on children from industrial, poor and disadvantaged backgrounds. However, unlike Clegg, he aimed to give young people attending courses at White Hall, the Centre for Open Country Pursuits he established in 1950, a taste of public school life. Longland encouraged the use of outdoor activities for character-building purposes and, in 1962, he recommended the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme as an

appropriate way of educating young people for leadership. Although Bewerley Park as well-respected as an outdoor centre because of the 'sound and safe' outdoor experience it provided for children, it was White Hall that was the model most commonly followed in the 1960s and 1970s by LEAs establishing their own centres for outdoor pursuits. Another charismatic and influential figure on the development of outdoor education was Sir John Hunt who, famous for his 1953 Everest expedition, did much to spread his version of character building to young people from a wide range of backgrounds. Educated in the public school tradition and with a distinguished army record, in the 1950s he became the first director of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme.

The prime aim of the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme was initially the development of the character of boys. However, Hogan's use of the Scheme at Bewerley Park for the social development of young people illustrates both the flexibility of the Scheme and the way outdoor activities could be used to serve Hogan's own purposes. At the Dartington Conference in 1975, outdoor education was described as an umbrella term which encompassed a range of physical activities, from observing the environment to adventure activities using the rugged outdoors, and including residential experiences and activities intended to develop attitudes and relationships. Because outdoor education has sustained a diverse range of educational provision using the outdoors within a flexible legislative framework, it has been able to adapt to survive into the early years of the new millennium, notwithstanding the introduction of a demanding National Curriculum.

The role that key individuals were able to play in developing outdoor education prompts interesting questions about the nature of education policy and, in particular, its realisation. The 1944 Education Act was not principally about outdoor education. However, Clegg was able to seize on a number of sections and clauses to promote an activity about which he felt strongly. As noted in chapter 3, legislation within Section 7 required LEAs to contribute towards children's spiritual,

moral, mental and physical development. Legislation within Section 53 gave LEAs the duty to ensure that facilities for recreational, social and physical training were included in the provision for primary, secondary and further education and allowed the necessary equipment and clothing to be provided. Likewise, Section 8 gave LEAs the power to charge for board and lodging, although not for tuition. While Clegg exploited the legislation to address problems with adolescents which, in 1944, were expected to be intensified by the drastic social changes resulting from the war, Longland drew on aims associated with education for leadership and/or intended to prepare boys for war or life at sea and which can be traced to the influence on the content of the 1943 Norwood Report. Longland and Clegg were thus individuals whose interpretation of outdoor education within the 1944 Act reflected their own different social background and social philosophy.

The West Riding Authority's Development Plan acknowledges the value of camp schools and records show that Bewerley Park Camp School was used from 1945 to give 200 children each month the opportunity to improve their personal habits and gain physical and moral benefit by the change to a rural environment. The West Riding LEA continued to subsidise the attendance of children at Bewerley Park even when the general need to improve their physical health had largely passed, and, in the 1960s, Clegg spoke and wrote extensively about the contribution outdoor activities could make to the social and moral development of young people. From this perspective, it seems that Clegg did not so much implement a central policy for outdoor education as realise, even create, it at the local level within the former West Riding of Yorkshire.

Clegg and Hogan were also required to work within the framework of a local education authority whose support they required and whose financial commitment was essential to the future of Bewerley Park. Clegg initially gained the respect of the Education Committee in the late 1940s because of the strong and productive relationship he formed with Walter Hyman, the Committee's powerful and

ometimes controversial chairman, when preparing the Development Plan for the Ministry of Education. In addition, members of the Committee, whatever their political persuasion, shared a similar vision for education to that of Clegg. Like him, they believed that poverty should not be a bar to education and they awarded high priority to equality of status, believing that children should be treated equally and on their individual merits. The Committee's ambitions to have distinctive 'jewels in the LEAs crown' enabled Clegg to gain their enthusiastic support for the 'jewel' of outdoor education and allowed him to convince them that outdoor activities could be used to motivate and bolster children, to enhance pupil-teacher relationships, facilitate learning through the environment and ultimately enable children to become responsible members of society.

Outdoor education in the West Riding thus depended then crucially on the vision and rationale shared by professional officers and elected members and upon an effective partnership forged between them. When that partnership was necessarily renegotiated after 1974, a new vision and rationale were required. Perhaps inevitably, however, the nine LEAs involved in the consortium formed to manage Bewerley Park brought a number of different interpretations of outdoor education with them. While some LEAs had placed an emphasis on environmental aspects, others had sought to use outdoor activities for personal and social development or for character building purposes. Concerns about safety, which had increased in the aftermath of the Cairngorm tragedy of November 1971, changed the nature of some activities, while the attention paid by central government to education as preparation for work led to the development of methods to assess the effects of outdoor education on participants. In addition, tensions arose from growing economic constraints on local government which resulted in each LEA gradually withdrawing from the joint-user agreement governing Bewerley Park or reducing its financial contribution. In the absence of firm direction from a single

authority, it was financial rather than educational considerations that came to determine much of the policy for outdoor education at Bewerley Park.

The thesis makes clear that outdoor education has sustained a range of socially and historically contingent meanings throughout the period studied. Today, such education is often accommodated within programmes of personal and social education (PSE). A recent internal report into Outdoor and Adventurous Activities by the Office of Standards in Education (OfSTED)² draws attention to the contribution made to the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of young people by the educative processes and experiences of outdoor and adventurous activities whether they be delivered within geography, National Curriculum (NC) physical education or as part of a PSE programme which might include residential experiences. It is significant that the inspectors referred to the ways in which the pupils demonstrated decision making, problem-solving and inter-personal skills as they responded to the challenges presented to them. Such comments are reminiscent of those included in the reports of school journeys and camping expeditions undertaken by children from elementary schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Attention is drawn in reports, written as much as 100 years apart, to the role of outdoor experiences in helping pupils, especially emotionally or behaviourally disturbed pupils, to control their behaviour and to develop responsible attitudes to their personal safety and to that of others.³ The belief that moral behaviour can be influenced and characters and energies channelled into new and potentially more positive directions has continued to underpin education using the outdoors, thus illustrating the historical elements of continuity and change that mark the history of outdoor education in the period covered by this thesis. This capacity for reinvention is, of course, not confined to outdoor education. It can be found, for example in the historical trajectory followed by nature study during the twentieth century. It is, however, a reminder that education in the outdoors, in whatever form,

is an enduring feature of English secondary education, and one which, despite the formidable constraints of a National Curriculum, continues to flourish.

Unlike some other components of the school curriculum, e.g. mathematics and English, the form in which outdoor education was manifest in the former West Riding of Yorkshire, as this thesis has shown, was the highly contingent outcome of a complex of the interaction of national and local administrative and legislative frameworks with the attitudes and beliefs of a small number of key individuals. Lacking a codified body of knowledge, an organised professional association and a recognised status, outdoor education has had to find curriculum accommodation wherever it could. As a corollary, however, outdoor education has necessarily been flexible, even fluid, in both policy and practice. In its early days, education using the outdoors owed much to enthusiasts and, as the 1999 OfSTED report noted, the inclusion of outdoor and adventurous activities in schools still relies heavily on the leadership and vision of a headteacher sympathetic to outdoor education and to the commitment and personal enthusiasm of individual teachers.⁴ The following quotation, taken from the 1999 OfSTED report,

Teachers' relationships with pupils were invariably warm and there was much supportive and encouraging comment from teachers to pupils, and in many cases, between the pupils themselves. The warmth of the rapport was a significant feature of the good teaching.⁵

bears comparison with one included in a Board of Education Report of over ninety years earlier.

The account (of a riverbank ramble) would be incomplete without a passing reference to the sympathy which every school journey develops between teacher and taught. The moral result is of the highest value, it softens the relationship between master and pupil throughout the entire range of school work.⁶

In drawing together the wider issues arising from the research that relate to the contemporary position of outdoor education in schools, a number of elements associated with the notion of change and continuity can be identified. As the

number and type of activities employed by those delivering outdoor education have increased and, as girls have gained more generous opportunities to take part in outdoor activities, so have the form and rationale of outdoor education changed.

Examples of current practice show how elements that have evolved from the four major themes - imperialism, the physical well-being of the population, the stemming of moral decline and the narrowing of class and/or gender divisions – continue to be detectable in current practice in outdoor education. Although ‘imperialism’ has, of course, declined, the notion that qualities associated with overcoming physical and mental challenges, decision-taking and collaborative problem-solving can be nurtured through adventure courses continues. These enduring virtues are, however, now increasingly cultivated for business people working in a competitive global economy rather than fostered to maintain or expand the Empire. While the rationale that sustains outdoor education continues to be sensitive to social and political concerns, military needs have changed and the notion of loyalty, once uniquely to king/queen and country or to one’s peers is, in the world of business, now also manifest as corporate loyalty. Although the term ‘character building’ is not found in current Duke of Edinburgh’s Award Scheme literature, elements of this educational rationale remain discernible. The current aims of the Scheme are to provide young people with opportunities to experience challenge and adventure - to ‘foster self-discipline, enterprise and perseverance’. Although neither National Curriculum documents nor Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) guidance refers to character building, outdoor and adventurous activities, are an element within National Curriculum physical education at Key Stages 2 and 3, are concerned with physical challenges, problem solving and working together. Residential experiences are recommended by QCA in its guidance for delivering personal, social and health education, for the many opportunities they provide for pupils to work together and to develop and maintain relationships under different circumstances as well as discovering new qualities and

characteristics about themselves.⁷ Personal, social and health education is seen by QCA as, among other things, helping pupils to deal with risk and meet the challenges of life.

The continuing importance of health as a government priority is reflected by the publication of the 1998 Green Paper *Our Healthier Nation* which signalled the start of the National Healthy School Standard. However, concern about the physical well-being of the population is no longer centred on the under-weight child from a smoke-filled industrial conurbation for whom fresh air and good food were once deemed a solution, but rather for the over-weight child suffering from the 'couch-potato' syndrome. Schools, so QCA suggest, provide an appropriate setting in which to improve the health of children and thereby raise educational achievement. Consequently society, QCA maintains, will benefit from 'healthier and more active young people'.⁸

Outdoor education is generally acknowledged to contribute to the way in which a school fulfils its statutory requirement to meet the spiritual, moral and cultural needs of its pupils. Although these are often grouped together, the separate inspection by OfSTED of spiritual development has acted, Prince suggests, as a catalyst in acknowledging the power of an outdoor experience to develop in young people 'a sense of awe and wonder, a purpose beyond the visible and tangible'.⁹ Again the underlying sentiment here is, arguably, not new. In the 1960s and 1970s, Arnold touched on it when he spoke of outdoor pursuits as a cathartic remedy for ill-health, and Drasdo believed in the cathartic value of 'exciting' leisure pursuits and thought them important to the mental health of people in a rapidly changing society.¹⁰ Although Mortlock's early writings acknowledge the value to pupils of appreciating aesthetic aspects of the environment,¹¹ it is in his later writings that he explores more thoroughly the 'deep psychological sense' in which the lone explorer can be in harmony with the environment.¹² Elements of a spiritual dimension can be found in Price's 1966 lecture in which he explained that his own aims for outdoor

education were to do with the 'enlargement of mind and spirit' so that the young 'might have life and have it more abundantly'.¹³ In the period covered by this thesis, little acknowledgement was given to the role of outdoor education for the purposes of spiritual development. Because it was considered difficult to measure, references to spiritual development were omitted from applications for validation from the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), as Hubberd noted in 1974.¹⁴

The notion that offering young people adventure activities as a preventative remedy to anti-social behaviour continues, although the term 'youth crime' has largely replaced that of 'juvenile delinquency'. Reducing truancy and school exclusion are often included in the aims for adventure courses which target those perceived as potential or actual trouble-makers. Among Clegg's major concerns was that children disadvantaged by home circumstances should be helped to become useful, rather than disruptive, members of society. It is a sentiment echoed by QCA which argues that society gains not only from healthier and more active young people but from those who are sufficiently confident to participate in community affairs. Clegg drew attention to the value of outdoor activities in raising the self-esteem of children and most current programmes of outdoor education refer to securing this aim, particularly for those children at risk of being excluded from school. The DfEE pilot scheme, 'Partners for Study Support' and the National Lottery (New Opportunities Fund) support for 'Out of Hours Learning' are examples of initiatives which currently welcome schemes that use outdoor activities to raise pupils' self-esteem, to keep teenagers in school and out of trouble and, thereby, to raise achievement. The Association for Outdoor Learning welcomed the Millennium Speech made by David Blunkett, Minister of State for Education, to the North of England Education Conference in January 2000, because of the expressed intention to promote summer camps offering programmes of 'structured challenging activity' to sixteen year olds. The aim of the course is to develop confidence and

self-assured leadership skills to school-leavers to facilitate their transfer from school to education or training.¹⁵

In the early and mid-twentieth century, the focus of attention was on boys. However, the crime rate among girls is now rising more rapidly than among boys, and there is less gender discrimination within society at large. Considerable resources in the form of time and money are currently centred on an initiative at Bewerley Park, which bears some comparison with the 'Catch 'em Young Project' of the 1980s. Places on the 'Power House' adventure programme are free to the selected group of participants all of whom are considered to be at risk, perhaps because they are not in school or are likely to be excluded. The majority are, or have been, engaged in some form of criminal activity and/or have had some involvement with substance misuse/abuse. Another initiative currently taking place at Bewerley Park is a series of outdoor adventure courses for the Learning Gateway. This DfEE initiative is reminiscent of the Manpower Services Commission's 'Youth Employment Scheme' because it, too, offers young people a customised programme of training and development aimed to increase the basic skills and employability of sixteen and seventeen year olds. In addition, the Government's focus on social inclusion has reinforced the trend for courses of outdoor education to be more easily accessible to people with disabilities as well as to the disadvantaged and/or at risk. Young people, other than those who are 'white, male and middle-class' are now, arguably, more likely find success through outdoor activities than was the case in the period covered by this thesis. The greater availability of activities which do not necessarily demand great physical strength and the development of affordable, lightweight materials for clothing and camping equipment has also made it easier for those who are physically less-strong, both boys and girls, to find success.

This thesis has described the way in which Clegg, as Chief Education Officer for the West Riding, was able to develop his rationale for outdoor education with teachers and pupils within his local authority. As the control of LEAs over the

schools in their area diminishes, outdoor education will need to adapt to meet the needs of the schools and the criteria imposed by funding opportunities. The ability of outdoor education to be flexible has sustained it and it seems likely that future provision may become more varied and more accessible to previously neglected groups of young people. A consequence of the diminishing influence on teachers of individual LEA officers is that the 'leadership and vision' of headteachers and teachers who are committed to outdoor education will become increasingly important. Given this, perhaps the most important element of continuity with the past is the contribution that eager and enthusiastic individuals can bring to their teaching. Much of the freshness and vitality comes from the belief each one has that he or she is doing something new and different. The message for outdoor education in the future thus seems to be flexibility to allow for enthusiasm and innovation on the part of individuals and to allow outdoor education, in whatever form it is presented, to respond to changing social, educational and political needs and priorities.

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APPENDIX 1

OUTDOOR EDUCATION

Construal interview agenda with record/guide structure. (s=spontaneous, p=prompted)

Interview with _____ Date _____

1. The Nature of Outdoor Education

- a) What sort of things do you think it involves?
its key features
activities happening
associated activities/events e.g. residential
- b) Do others have a different view of Outdoor Education?
if so, in what ways do they differ?
- c) In what ways (if any) is Outdoor Education different from more
traditional forms of education?

P

P S

P S

P S

P S

P S

2. The Effects of Outdoor Education

- a) What positive changes do you think it can make to attitudes, qualities
and skills of those participating?

P

P S

3. Your involvement

- a) Details of the provision with which you were involved?
Approximate dates, place, authority, activities, participants - age,
social background, geographical background, ethnicity, gender.
- b) Financial aspects proportion from organising authority
 proportion paid by participants

P

P S

P S

4. Influences on Outdoor Education

- a) What motivated you to become involved?
- b) What qualities do you think you have that help your involvement?
- c) What factors help the delivery of Outdoor Education?
- d) What factors inhibit the delivery of Outdoor Education?
- e) What do you think makes authorities/centres/schools provide Outdoor
Education?
- f) What do you think makes Government/Society support Outdoor
Education?

P

P S

P S

P S

P S

P S

P S

5. Your appointment

- a) Background information - reasons for appointment - why you?
- b) Political situation at the time - nationally, locally.

P

P S

P S

DETAILS OF RESPONDEE

Own background age group
 social background/class
 school background
 ethnicity
 geographical background
 youth groups involved in

Transcripts of interviews are bound separately.