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The Evolution of Physical Education for Boys in Nordic Secondary Schools 1880-1940

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Henrik Meinander

Summary

This thesis is a study of the evolution of the educational ideas and practices that shaped physical education for secondary school boys in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden between 1880 and 1940.

The study analyses the developments in these four Nordic countries from a comparative perspective and this has required a distinct limitation of the empirical material. Special attention therefore is given to the evolution of physical education in the four Nordic capitals, Christiania/Oslo, Copenhagen, Helsingfors and Stockholm, which, apart from being mid-points of the four societies, were administrative centres for educational systematisation and the only places where authorised teacher training could be undertaken. Educational practice in the four countries are illustrated indirectly through an analysis of the conditions in sample schools in the capitals.

The inquiry has two main aims. Firstly, it seeks to reconstruct the evolution of physical education in the four capitals in particular and by extension in the four countries in general. Secondly, it attempts to analyse in what ways and to what extent contemporary ideas about this section of secondary education were reflections of the dominant "Nordic" bourgeois outlook on schooling and the associated ideal of manliness.

It is argued in the earlier part of this study that the Nordic ideals of a common heritage and corporate solidarity had considerable vitality during the period in question in fields like cul-

tural collaboration and educational reform. The educated classes in the four countries saw their Nordic neighbours as their natural reference group and were much influenced by each other in the period of the modernisation of their national secondary education systems. This Nordic interaction also had a significant impact on the assimilation and adaptation of the modern "sport culture", which began to spread from Britain into the Nordic region during the 1880s and which revolutionised leisure habits and practices and influenced middle class education.

In the later part of the study attention is focused on the different dimensions of the systematisation and modernisation of physical education as a compulsory subject for Nordic secondary school boys. It is claimed that its legal endorsement in the 1860s and 1870s was the outcome of its perceived role as preparation for national service, which was introduced simultaneously in each of the four countries. Legal action was later closely linked to larger societal transformations such as educational systematisation and an increasing emphasis on health care.

The comparison of developments in the four countries reveals a number of reasons why Sweden and Denmark were in advance of Finland and Norway in many aspects of physical education until the Second World War. It was not only that the Swedish and Danish teacher training institutes were established during the Napoleonic Age, whereas the Norwegian and Finnish counterparts were created during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, but also that at the end of the last century the Swedes had the advantage of having a uniform didactic system, the so-called Ling gymnastics, and a more

centralised school system, through which the method could be effectively spread. For their part the Danes gained markedly from an early and thorough modernisation of teacher training, which was carried out at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, national differences were reduced substantially during the 1920s and 1930s. The thesis seeks to show that this development was caused largely by the increasingly sport-oriented curriculum, which weakened national traditions and established new and more international practices in all the Nordic countries.

The arguments used in the propagation of physical education for Nordic secondary school boys were strongly influenced by the changing values of bourgeois education and an evolving notion of the ideal of manliness. The early emphasis on the disciplinary function of collective gymnastics did not have merely a military basis; throughout the nineteenth century drill was believed to mould bourgeois youth into an obedient and hardworking class of servants of the state. Furthermore, it is clear that the later campaign in favour of school sports as a more efficient way of building character was influenced by the more individualistic and action-oriented manliness ideal of the late nineteenth century. The move during the twentieth century towards a more health and hygiene conscious advocacy of physical education should also be seen in the context of the growing attention payed to scientific understanding in the bourgeois world-view.

The thesis concludes with an attempt to highlight the milestones in the evolutionary process and place them in a broader, societal context. It is suggested that the era between 1880 and 1940 was a decisive time for the establishment of Nordic secondary school

physical education, although its modern development had begun much earlier, during the Napoleonic Age, and, of course, continued at various levels after the Second World War.

CONTENTS

ILLUSTRATIONS

Prologue

Few things fade from our memory as slowly as our schooldays. Schooling plays a crucial part in socialization. The school is a major agent of cultural conditioning in all western societies. Its influence is both conscious and unconscious. As a corollary, educational systems self-evidently reflect both the social structure and cultural values of society. The modern division of primary and secondary education, therefore, can be understood as a social as much as an educational issue. And the European secondary school, throughout its evolution, can be seen as a largely efficient factory, to use Foucault's expression, for the production of "docile bodies" responsive to the demands of of the dominant culture.

Hence it is possible to investigate secondary education as a reproductive agent of bourgeois culture and its world view. That will be the purpose of this thesis. Physical education for boys in Nordic secondary schools between the years 1880 and 1940 will be analyzed both as an overt and covert process of the cultivation of a special youth, a youth that was educated to restore its cultural capital. Physical education was as much a social psychological as a physiological form of educational activity. The strategies employed by Nordic educators to ensure the creation of appropriate models of masculinity are therefore of interest not only as historical, but also as moral phenomena.

Another reason for this study is the neglect on the part of Nordic historians of physical education as an agent of control as well as conditioning and their failure to see it as a significant dimension of cultural reproduction in Nordic secondary schools. In short, the subject was influential on several social levels, and this extended influence merits close scrutiny.

PART ONE: FRAMEWORK

We shall start with three short chapters. The first chapter comprises an introduction to the topic and an outline of existing research. It also includes the concepts and issues which have had a central position in the recent theoretical discussion about the cultural significance of physical education and sport in modern society. The second chapter describes briefly the working hypotheses and method of the investigation. The third chapter involves a discussion of the chosen sample schools.

Approach

Without reaching too far into the following chapters of this study it might be useful to discuss some of the basic approaches which underpin the arguments of this investigation. Let us begin with a few words about the time limit. Since the assumption here is that the evolution of physical education in secondary schools can be understood as a function of, or at least as a reflection of educational tradition and change, it is of course of relevance to choose a historically dynamic period. From a general European point of view the epoch between 1880 and 1940 can be characterized as a period of educational systematization and transformation.[1] And this was also the case with physical education. During the last two decades of 19th century the subject was established in most secondary schools in Europe. Nevertheless, this achievement was often more apparent than real and in fact, in many respects, it took half a century before physical education in a fully developed form achieved a secure position in the curriculum.

Here this evolution will be approached from two angles: first the cultural background will receive attention in a discussion of societal and educational conditions in Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland during the period 1880-1940, and this discussion will include an outline of the diffusion of modern sport culture into the Nordic area, a process which establishes the basis for the analysis of the relationship between the Nordic sport mass movements and the physical education of the school world. Secondly, attention will

focus on a comparative analysis, that links the themes in the background chapters to a problem centred study of process. In this way the local changes in secondary schools of Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo and Helsinki, it is suggested, can be explained in a broader Nordic context.

How similar were the educational conditions in the four capitals of the Nordic capitals mentioned above and is it justifiable to speak of this rather heterogeneous group of nations as one cultural area? Apart from the fact that from a historical point of view it is often best to avoid claims that phenomena are "typical", it must be stated that the primary aim here is to investigate physical education in social environments that were open to new ideas, and influential in national contexts. The Nordic capitals were such places. They were not only administrative centres for the growing systematisation of education but also the only places were professional training was available for a career as a secondary school teacher. Consequently, educational associations with their initiatives, debates and journals were concentrated in these areas.

The question as to whether there exists a distinct Nordic culture is crucial to this work. The whole investigation will be a test of that notion, and it is important to say something now about the matter. First a statement of a linguistic nature: the concept *Nordic* will consistently be used instead of *Scandinavian* to express things that were held in common or shared by the four nations - Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland. This approach is chosen deliberately with an eye to the difficulty of including Finland, which in strictly geographical terms, is outside Scandinavia. However, this choice has an explanation that is directly connected

to the earlier question about the significance of a Nordic approach. The Scandinavian translation *Norden* is a word with many ideological connotations. It implies not only that the area is distinct from continental Europe but also that there is a shared history and language. Together with the idea of a Nordic race, which retained some of its fascination until Second World War, the term sustains the notion of a Nordic culture. It encapsulated, and still encapsulates, a myth of substance, an ideology with an impact on reality.

It is worth noting that this investigation is focused on the male gender. One reason for this is available sources: boys dominated the secondary school culture at the end of the last century and the public and professional debate about physical education was mainly a discussion linked to the question of manly character and national identity. Another, more strategic reason is the attempt to understand the educational situation in question as a conscious effort to build up a distinct gender identity. Physical education in Nordic secondary schools for boys reflected the purpose behind the social reproduction of a desired manliness. Of course, by uncovering the Nordic ideal of masculinity something is already said about its opposite, ideal femininity.

Few of the above approaches can be fully justified without relating them to earlier research. It may be true that there is no comparative study of the educational traditions in the Nordic secondary schools to draw on,[2] but all the same it is easy to provide examples of many national inquiries that are of relevance to this work. Gunnar Richardson's study of the Swedish cultural debate in the 1880s, Vagn Skovgaard-Petersen's analysis of the Danish secondary school reform of 1903, Reidar Myhre's interpretation of the

ideological development in Norwegian educational thought and Kyösti Kiuasmaa's history of Finnish secondary education during the last one hundred years, to mention merely a few Nordic examples, are outstanding works, with thorough empirical bases and sound theoretical frameworks.[3] Although they have different approaches and national emphases it is possible to find at least one question that is common to them all: how did societal conditions and opinion interact with traditions and trends in secondary education during the period 1880-1900, which was a crucial time for the systematisation of 20th century education in Europe? This thesis is meant to be a contribution to that issue.

A survey of comparative educational studies with a historical orientation shows clearly that it is an expanding field of research, examples of which are *The Rise of the Modern Educational System: Structural Change and Social reproduction 1870-1920* by D.K.Müller et al., which is one of the first explicitly problem centred collections of historical studies in this genre, and Hartmut Kaelble's *Social Mobility in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, which again includes a profound analysis of the relationship between education and social change in Europe and America.[4] There are also an increasing number of international conferences and journals with a direct emphasis on a comparative understanding of physical education and sport.[5] Indeed, it could be claimed that this investigation is a response to the promising results of such enterprises.

Nevertheless it is important to keep in mind the fact that Nordic comparative research in physical education is still at an early stage. Except for a few works about physical education, such

only as a social phenomenon, but as a process that is both expressed and influenced by body choreographs, architectual patterns and the natural environment.[7] For example Eichberg has described how strongly innovations in military drill and technology influenced the changes that happened in the civil sector.[8]

The body is actually at the centre of Eichberg's interpretation of the social process. He does not understand it only as a unit in "the order of things" as Foucault, to whom he perhaps owes most in his thinking, but claims that the body, as the essence in *configurations*, should be understood as a dynamic force in social change. It is through the body that man is in interaction with his environment. Thus Eichberg often suggests that patterns, disruptions and new directions in *body culture* - a translation of the German concept *Körperkultur* - can even hint at societal changes to come, exactly like certain ideas and visions can occur "before their time".[9]

Eichberg's use of the concept of *body culture* must, in other words, be considered in connection with his critique of Elias' figurational analysis. Following his definition *body culture* is the physical dimension of the historical specific *configuration*.[10] Eichberg's arguments have been developed in works by Danish historians like Ove Korsgaard and Hans Bonde, who each expound their own, slightly different notion of the body. Korsgaard's studies of Danish gymnastics and sport emphazise strongly the political dimension of the body, whereas Bonde is more interested in discovering signs of cultural attitudes to gender-identity in the *configurations*.[11]

In sum, then, on the one side there is a well established school with a positivistic orientation in Sweden, Norway and Finland and on the other a more theoretically aware group of Danes, that contribute to continental debate. Will this thesis be a project that combines these two approaches? The answer is both yes and no. It is obvious that it must build on earlier research and that the publications mentioned above are thus of central importance. Nevertheless, the aim is to develop a critical dialogue, in other words, to question existing arguments and interpretations.

The body as a cultural entity may be described, using analogies from physiology. Just as a disease caught from the environment can affect mental health, an individual psychosomatic reaction can have extensive social effects. In short, the body is, so to say, a messenger between the individual and the collective. Eichberg's point is that this messenger has an active part in the interaction, a part that often clarifies the message. However his interpretations seldom include an adequately profound explanation of the content of those messages. The issue of the culturally defined body, of course, should not overshadow other powerful components in social change such as individual ideas and collective mentalities. Indeed, these two dimensions of consciousness are crucial when it comes to a historical understanding of social interaction. In other words, the body is only one among other cultural entities that reveals the social history of ideas.

It is in this connection that Foucault's notion of a political technology of the body has to be examined. His statement "...the soul is the prison of the body..." is based on the conviction that the body, as mentioned before, should be understood as a significant

factor in the reproduction of a social order or power relationship, which implies its own knowledge. This technology of the body has as its effect and instrument a soul, refined through discipline and punishment.[12] Foucault here reminds us of Eichberg. They both reject the traditional dichotomous notion of body and soul, but neither of them are able to offer an alternative that would fully satisfy the theoretical needs of an historian or social scientist.

It has been said that rejection as a general attitude is one of the secrets of Foucault's considerable explanatory power. Hayden White has for example pointed out that all Foucault's reader is left with, all he can ever hope to know, is that something is very wrong; "For even more consistently than Nietzsche, Foucault resists the impulse to seek an origin or transcendental subject that would confer any specific meaning of existence."[13] Foucault, describes, therefore the educational process merely as a history of constraint. He mentions briefly the double system of gratification-punishment,[14] but never gets involved in a more profound analysis of this necessary dualism in education.

The problem with this anti-pedagogical approach is not only its tendency to understand the educational process as a reproduction of a power structure, but also its negation of the dynamic, positive and innovative impact of the people involved. This limitation can be understood through a comparison between Georges Vigarello's Foucault-inspired study of the evolution of physical education and J.A. Mangan's more phenomenological explanation of the emergence of a games ethos in 19th century British public schools. In contrast to Vigarello, who tries to uncover the technology behind the apparatuses of discipline, Mangan is more concerned with how voluntary

physical activities such as cricket and rugby became so important that they were finally utilised as a form of social control and obtained a justifying ideology; athleticism.[15] The point is that Mangan describes an elite boarding school culture, with social patterns that changed not only through an active contribution from the headmasters but also through the efforts of committed teachers and pupils.

Put slightly differently, education is a total process which can not be understood from a partial or limited perspective. Therefore an investigation like this has to consider an educational culture in its specific historical circumstances through an analysis of particular schools and in all their manifestations.

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4. Müller & Ringer & Simon 1987; Hartmut Kaelble, *Social Mobility in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Europe and America in Comparative Perspective*, Berg Publishers Ltd 1985.

5. March L. Krotee & Eloise M. Jaeger, *Comparative Physical Educa-*

tion and Sport, Volume 3, Champaign, Illinois, 1982

6. Trangbæk, Else, *Mellem leg og diciplin. Gymnastiken i Danmark i 1800-tallet*, Aabybro, Bogforlaget DUO ApS ,1987; Irja Koivusalo, *Voimistelu maamme oppikoulujen oppiaineina vuosina 1843-1917*, Lappeenranta, Liikuntatieteellisen seuran julkaisu no 83, 1982.

7. Henning Eichberg, *Leistung, Spannung, Geschwindigkeit. Sport und Tanz im gesellschaftlichen Wandel des 18./19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart:Klett-Cotta, 1978 pp. 294-297.

8. See for example Henning Eichberg,"Geometrie als barocke Verhaltensnorm. Fortifikation und Exerzitien", *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 4 (1977) s. 17-50.

9. Henning Eichberg,"Fra eksercitier til sport", *Centring*, 1980:1 p.188; Idem, 'Civilisation og breddesport. Sportens frandring er samfundsmaessig', *Centring*, 1981:1 pp. 4-5.

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11. Ove Korsgaard, *Kampen om kroppen. Dansk idræts historie gennem 200 år*, København, Gyldendahl, 1982; Idem, *Krop og Kultur. Andelsbøndernes gymnastik mellem almuens leg og borger-skapets sport*, Odense Universitetsforlag 1986; Hans Bonde, "Den hurtige mand. Mandsidealer i den tidlige danske sportbevægelse," *Historisk Tidskrift* [Danmark] 1988:1.

12. Foucault 1987 pp. 26-30.

13. Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*, Baltimore and London 1987 p.105.

14. Foucault 1987 p. 180.

15. Georges Vigarello, *Le corps redresse. Historie d'un pouvoir pedagogique*, Paris, Editions Jean Pierre Delarge,1978 pp. 9-11; J.A.Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School. The emergence of an educational ideology*, Cambridge University Press, 1981 p. 28.

Method

A comparative method in historical research is a perspective rather than a theory. Yet, it is necessary to say something about it in the context of this study.

The Nordic perspective is one of the main elements in this study. It gives the other elements a context and brings them together in a comprehensive analysis and a reasonable synthesis. The question whether the units of comparison can be understood *outside* their own societal settings is wrongly put, since the units are actually investigated *inside* a Nordic framework. The same reasoning is also adequate when it comes to the indicators chosen to compare similarities and differences. The indicators are functionally equivalent if it can be shown that Nordic culture is an empirical-historical phenomenon with its own distinctive features. Yet, more important is the fact that the indicators can uncover, test and maybe even contradict the notion of a Nordic culture.

One of the main indicators is obviously the national school system and its educational traditions. Through a comparison of the four school systems and the local secondary education in the capitals something has already been said about the existence of a Nordic culture. The strategy is in principle the same for the other main indicators, the national sports culture and the public debate about physical education. The indicators are thus operative tools in a

comparison, which could be characterized as a process of "...relating relationships or even whole patterns of relationships to each other."[1]

It is nevertheless important to stress that this work can not be counted among those studies, which are strictly directed by a systematic social scientific method. The problems will be formulated in advance, conceptualized according to the framework and investigated explicitly from a comparative angle, but they are still historical issues that require hermeneutic understanding rather than functional explanations. Thus it is more appropriate to characterizes the research strategy as a qualitative interpretation of a group of interrelated themes.[2]

A major aspect of this thesis is the reconstruction of the actual conditions of physical education in the four countries. This approach leads the investigation into studies of various topics like school architecture, teacher training and curriculum practices. Only through consideration of such matters can we find out how, when and why educational circumstances changed and which factors were most influential. In other words it is important to point out the relationships between ideals and practice in order to provide a thorough picture of the process.

This reconstruction will be based on a detailed investigation of twelve schools in the four capitals, since the aim is to give special attention to the educational conditions in those areas. The schools are chosen with two factors in mind. They have to be representative of the school cultures in question and should have a sufficient number of available sources. These requirements imply the importance of the following variables; geographical site, social

status, curricular patterns and relations with authorities. The sample has therefore been selected in an attempt to pick schools that highlight specific educational circumstances. A more detailed description of the actual selection of schools will be presented in chapter three.

Another important aspect of this study is the question of the educational ideas and ideologies that had an impact on Nordic secondary school culture. To what extent did the Continental new humanistic *Bildungsideal* dominate Nordic schooling at the end of nineteenth century? How much did that tradition influence the theory and practice of physical education? Did this tradition also established resistance to Anglo-Saxon ideals of games and other physical exercises in the curriculum? In the broadest sense, we are concerned with the diffusion of, and confrontations between, different educational ideas and traditions and the extent to which this process was seen in the secondary schools' physical education. Put somewhat differently, this study is an attempt to integrate the results of the inquiry into an explanation of the physical dimension of bourgeois education in Nordic secondary schools. A central question to be asked is whether evidence of continuity and change in educational ideals can be discovered in the principles and practices of the discipline of the body?

Among hypotheses inspiring this analysis is, first, the notion that the 19th century school's most important task was to build character. This was not only the case in the Anglo-American world, where the concept of character became crucial in maintaining and even in understanding the societal structure.[3] Both on the Continent and in Nordic countries the word stood for the development and

mastery of a self-control, that was to be practiced in public and in support of a moral order. We shall therefore consider to what extent Nordic middle and upper class secondary education was shaped by this ideal and how it was justified and put into practice in physical education.

Second, it will be argued that the emergence of health as a social concept in educational discourse should be explained as a physiological fulfillment of this character building. Health was considered the visible proof of character and was consequently assumed to strengthen the will, which again was the dynamo of character.[4] The promotion of hygiene in schools through a sounder environment and a stronger emphasis on physical education in other words should not be seen merely as a sign of a scientific progress. It was equally a way of carrying out the moral requirement to fortify the bodily dimension of the self and thereby prepare it for honourable citizenship.

And third, it will claimed that this final aim of schooling, the task of forming characters and direct them towards the ultimate stage, manhood, was often the hidden ideological dimension of secondary education for boys. It was changeable and forced to reflect societal disruption, but still preserved conservative beliefs and values much longer than most other cultural ideologies. These images of manliness were utilised not only in moral education but also in health education, in gymnasiums and in playgrounds. The question is whether the move in physical education towards more games and athletics was a reflection of a transformation of bourgeois manliness, or, whether this *sportification* should be seen as an attempt to strengthen traditional images of manhood.

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4. Roberta J. Park, `Biological thought, athletics and the formation of a "man of character": 1830-1900', in Mangan & Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality. Middle-class masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940*, Manchester University Press, 1987 pp. 9-10.

Sample Schools

Three boys schools are chosen from each capital. In the case of Copenhagen it became apparent at an early stage of the research that the town's growth had a certain pattern which it was important to note. Until the 1850s spatial expansion was restricted to within the defence works, but when these restrictions were lifted the town expanded rapidly beyond them.[1] This had consequences also for the town's secondary education; when the wealthy middle classes moved out to their own districts they had economic and social power to require a service structure that improved the quality of life, which in the field of education led to the establishment of private schools. Yet it is indisputable that the fast growing number of private schools in late ninteenth century Copenhagen was a consequence of the reluctance to found state financed schools in the capital.[2]

Despite rapid urbanisation Copenhagen had only one state funded secondary school at the beginning of this century, the *Metropolitanskolen*. Not surprisingly it was also the oldest and most appreciated school in the town. According to tradition it was established in 1209 to educate personnel for the new Catholic chapter in Copenhagen. This symbiosis was maintained until the Napoleonic era when Danish secondary and higher education was released from clerical control. In these new conditions *Metropolitanskolen* retained its high status and remained, at least until 1938, when it moved

away from its central position next to the Medieval Virgin Mary church, a school suitable for the children of the administrative elite.[3]

Nevertheless, this explains only partly why *Metropolitanskolen* together with the two private schools *Östre Borgerdydskole* and *Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole* are the three Copenhagen schools that will be examined thoroughly in this work. Apart from the fact that its exclusivity was both social and geographical, it had the power and motivation to preserve many of the educational ideals of the old Latin school. It differed in this sense distinctly from the two other schools; *Östre Borgerdydskole* was founded in 1787 by the enlightened bourgeois of Copenhagen as a reaction against the formal curriculum and nurtured, despite the conservative attitudes of the first half of nineteenth century, many of its original ideals until it was taken over by the state in 1919.[4]

In contrast to *Metropolitanskolen* in the heart of the town and *Östre Borgerdydskole*, which from 1883 onwards was situated by one of the main streets near the city center, was *Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole* a true product of the urbanisation of Copenhagen's surroundings in the second half of last century. It was founded in 1879 by an optimistic entrepreneur, but was soon taken over by progressive educationalists who, through extensive investment in a new building in this respectable suburb and a competent teacher force, transformed it into one of the biggest private schools in Copenhagen and its suburbs.[5]

The other nine schools of the survey are also chosen to fully reflect local developments. In the case of Christiania it was appropriate that the cathedral school, with a Medieval history

reminiscent to that of *Metropolitanskolen*, should be examined in juxtaposition with two private modern institutions, *Aars's og Voss's Skole* and *Anderssens Latin- og Realskole*, which like their parallels in Copenhagen were eager to introduce and promote a more utilitarian education. This was partly a pragmatic strategy to attract new pupils, but at the same time was also a sincere attempt to modernise secondary education.[6] The cathedral school, *Christiania Katedral-skole* was without question the most prestigious; it was, until the foundation of the university in 1813, the only institution for post-primary education in Christiania and it took three decades more before the town got another secondary school.[7] *Aars's og Voss's Skole* was established in 1863, whereas *Anderssens Latin- og Realskole* opened its doors in 1880. Like the cathedral school they were situated in the inner city.

The oldest of the three Stockholm schools chosen is *Nya Elementarskolan*, founded in 1828 by influential citizens to test educational ideas which were, in many cases, later incorporated into Swedish secondary education. From 1859 to 1950 *Nya Elementarskolan* stood next to Hötorget, Stockholm's most central market square in the same neighbourhood as the Central Institute of Gymnastics with which it had strong connections.[8] The two other Stockholm schools, of this study, were established in connection with the great reform of secondary education in the 1870s. *Stockholms reallläroverk*, more often called *Norra Real* because it from 1890 onwards was situated in the northern part of the city, started in 1876 as the town's first school where Latin had only a minor position in the curriculum. It was consequently during the first decades of its existence a low

status school. But just as interesting is its fame as the capital's most athletic school, which it justly earned through numerous victories in local and national competitions.[9] *Norra Latinläroverket*, the third Stockholm school, was established in 1880 and had the advantage of a new, almost palatial building in the northern city centre. The fact that it was inaugurated in the presence of King Oscar II reflected its social status. Like *Metropolitanskolen* in Copenhagen and *Christiania Katedralskole* it had a geographical site, an architectural framework, and an educational atmosphere that was convenient for the reproduction of the urban elites' cultural capital.[10]

The trio that has been chosen to highlight the educational circumstances in the Finnish capital Helsingfors differ at least in one way from the schools discussed above; none of them were established before the 1880s nor could they from the beginning be sure of their social position. Yet it is apparent that the Finnish normal school, *Suomalainen Normaalilyseo*, which was moved from the provinces to the capital in 1887, was an institution that in a short time gained a central position in the town's educational culture. It played an important role in the struggle to build up a high culture based on the Finnish language, which until then had been spoken mainly by the rural population. Although we will discuss this cultural movement more fully later it can briefly be said that *Suomalainen Normaalilyseo* was an educational bastion for the enforcement of the majority language. In a short time it grew bigger than Helsingfors' Swedish normal school, but had to wait until 1905 before it could move in to a more spacious complex, which had been built next to the old one in the southern inner city.[11] As the lead-

ing teacher training institution (it combined this role with that of a secondary school) it had a truly normative impact on Finnish education and maintained this role until at least the Second World War.

Only four years after the Finnish normal school had been established in Helsingfors the authorities were forced to establish a new secondary school for the town's Finnish speaking population, which was expanding rapidly. This school, *Suomalainen Reaalilyseo*, opened in 1891 and was one of the two state financed schools in Finland that prepared its pupils for university and could offer them a predominantly science oriented curriculum. From the beginning it had, like its parallel in Stockholm, *Norra Reallläroverket*, a low status and had to fight a long bureaucratic struggle with the government before its school building was enlarged in 1914 to meet educational and hygienic requirements. It was situated a couple of blocks westwards from the city centre and soon became famous for its first-class sportsmen.[12]

Almost as close to the heart of the city was the private school *Nya svenska läroverket*, which was founded in 1882 for Swedish speaking boys by a handful of liberal educationalists who wanted to offer a modern alternative to the dominant formal curriculum. Its ideal site near the Kajsaniemi Gardens, which as the oldest public park in town was situated next to the railway station, together with the reasonably high fees were guarantees for it remaining one of Helsingfors' most exclusive private schools throughout the next half century.[13]

In short, the survey sample includes seven schools which were financed by public money and five dependent on private funds. This proportion does not give a correct picture of the economic basis of Nordic secondary education; the vast majority of those schools that had been established between the second half of the nineteenth century and the Second World War were products of private initiative. Yet it is obvious that the four capital's state schools played a special role in the systematisation of secondary education. As public institutions that often functioned as educational laboratories they attracted the attention of the mass media and politicians to a greater extent than the private sector.

It is clear nevertheless that the choices at the same time have been determined by the pragmatic necessity of sufficient primary and secondary sources. Most of the Nordic secondary school archives include a lot of information about administration and decision-making, but less about school culture and the educational process in classroom and gymnasium. Documents like school magazines, diaries or scrapbooks are rare and they seldom reflect the social life connected with the schools' physical activities. These gaps have partly been filled by annual school reports, jubilee histories and documents produced by official authorities or commissions. Therefore the chosen schools are analysed by means of a reasonably large amount of empirical material, which is, however, often of a fragmentary nature.

This problem has been especially apparent in the investigation of the secondary school culture in Christiania/Oslo. Apart from *Katedralskolen*, which has an impressive archive, none of the town's secondary schools that existed during the period 1880-1940 sys-

tematically saved their documents. Another deficiency in the Norwegian material has been the lack of printed annual school reports between 1905 and the 1940s. The reconstruction has thus been made on the basis of very heterogeneous material, which includes both plans of the school buildings and short reports of Norwegian physical education.

Such shortcomings naturally have had their impact on the comparison of physical education in the various Nordic countries. The lack of a certain source category in one of the countries has reduced the chance of a comprehensive analysis and has forced the author to ignore many interesting questions, which would have been challenging to tackle.

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1. This expansion has been analysed thoroughly in a work by Tim Knudsen, *Storbyen støbes. København mellem kaos og byplan 1840-1917*, Akademisk Forlag 1988. See especially pp. 29-48, 79-89.

2. Hans Kyrre, *Blade af den Københavnske Privateskoles Historie, De forenede Skoler 1901-1926*, København 1920 pp. 26-43.

3. C.A.S. Dahlberg & P.M. Plum, *Metropolitanskolen gennem 700 Aar*, København 1916 pp. 2-16, 102-106; Skovgaard-Petersen 1976 pp. 103-106.

4. Einer Andersen (red.),*Östre Borgerdydskole 1787-1937*, København 1937, pp. 14-18, 96-112.

5. Jørgen Kirkegaard (red.), *Frederiksbergs Gymnasium gennem 100 år, 1.maj 1879 - 1.maj 1979*, Frederiksberg 1979 pp. 15-31.

6. See for example *Plan for Aars's og Voss's Latin og Realskole*, Kristiania 1863 pp.8-16; and, *Anderssens latin- og realskole. Inbydelseskrift 1882*, Kristiania 1882 pp.9-15.

7. Einar Höigård, *Oslo Katedralskoles historie*, Oslo 1942 pp. 232, 312-313.

8. Hugo Hernlund, *Nya elementarskolan såsom statens provskola under de sista 30 åren*, Meddelanden från statens provskola nr 50, Stockholm 1914 pp. 3-16.

9. Carl Svedelius, *Norra real 1876-1926*, Stockholm 1927 pp. 7-11, 27-35, 122-132.

10. Wilh. Carlgren, *Norra Latin 1880-1930. Ett modärnt svenskt läroverk*, Stockholm 1930 pp. 23-50.

11. Mika Waltari, Helsingin *Suomalainen Normaalilyseo 1887-1937, Juhlajulkaisu*, Helsingissä, Otava, 1937 pp. 30-47.

12. E.O. Kuujo,"Katsaus koulun vaiheisiin 1891-1951", in *Helsingin lyseo."Ressu" 1891-1951*, Helsinki 1951 pp. 14-24, 63-64.

13. Roger Bergman, "Lärkan från Ramsay till Runeberg", in *Nya svenska läroverket - Gymnasiet Lärkan hundra år 1882-1982*, Festskrift utgiven av Kamratförbundet Lärkorna och Sällskapet Smågossarna, Helsingfors 1982 pp. 7-27.

PART TWO: THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND

The most important aim of the three chapters in Part Two is to provide a general outline of the historical context of the research topic. We begin in chapter four with a discussion of the existence of a distinctive Nordic culture and describe subsequently the evolution of the inter-Nordic cooperation, which had a strengthening impact on Nordic solidarity and identity. Chapter five is an analysis of the systematisation of secondary education in the four countries before Second World War. The analysis starts with a delineation of the overall development in European education policy and of the different phases of the associated systematisation. Thereafter Nordic systematisation is described closely in conjunction with an examination of some of the leading questions in the educational debate. In chapter six we take a look at the cultural and organisational reception of modern sports in the Nordic region before 1940. The main purpose of this chapter is to provide an idea of how and why the sports movement had grown to be one of the most dynamic mass phenomena in the Nordic societies by the end of the 1930s.

Norden: an ideal of substance

I.

Friends from East, from West, from South,
The North embraces you joyfully,
Faithful friends and dear brothers!
- Such is the name of this time and future[1]

The time in question was 1895 and the place Sweden's capital Stockholm, where over 6500 educationalists were gathered for the seventh Nordic school conference. Some would say that such support for Scandinavianistic idealism was rather an echo from the past than a prospect for the future. Still it is obvious that this poem by the Swede A.W. Staaff[2] reflected a common optimism among the contemporary educated classes in the four Nordic countries. The notion of Norden, the North, had maintained most of its positive connotations despite the failure to establish political collaboration or unification and had by the end of last century achieved a more sublime meaning. Perhaps it is true to say that it was a politically passive but culturally dynamic dimension of the north European world-view.

Hope of political reunification had finally foundered in the German-Danish War 1864, when the Swedish government, contrary to some of its promises stayed aloof and let the Prussians take three southern Duchies in Jutland. Yet, historically the tradition of collaboration went back to the end of 14th century when the fear of

Hanseatic expansion resulted in the dynastic Kalmar union of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden, which lasted until 1523 when the last of the union monarchs was overthrown.[3]

It was not only a common enemy that had brought together these kingdoms, with political institutions established during the Viking age. The linguistic stock for all the Nordic tongues from coastal Finland to Iceland, from North Cape to south Jutland was of Germanic origin. During the Viking expansion this Old Norse began to differentiate and had by the end of Middle Ages developed distinct local language branches. But apart from the language patterns on Iceland and Faroes, which preserved the Norse tongue of the first Viking settlers,[4] this differentiation seldom caused problems in inter-Nordic communication. It was, and still is, reasonably easy for a Finn with Swedish as mother tongue to understand his Nordic fellow from Denmark.

Nevertheless it would be too easy to explain the shared cultural tradition as merely a question of language. The Nordic conversion to Christianity, during the three first centuries of this millennium, reinforced the institutions of the three monarchies. The administrative capacity of the clergy was instrumental in establishing a strong link between the state and church, which explains the smooth move to the Lutheran faith in the first half of 16th century. The Nordic Protestant church consequently played a crucial role in the state-building process and functioned at least until the end of last century as the voice of its rulers. It had also an important part in the strengthening of national identity, which through the impact of the German Romanticism, from the early 19th century onwards, was understood as dependent on the language. In

that task the Nordic churches were well-equipped: the Lutheran service was in the native tongue and the preaching was meant to have a clear,educational message.[5]

This clerical indoctrination has to be juxtaposed with the ideological influence of nationalist academics, writers and artists who in the 1840s got carried away by the idea of a politically unified *Norden*. From a nationalist point of view this *Scandinavianism* could, in fact, be seen as a logical step towards the same kind of unification that actually happened in the same period in Germany, and which occured twenty years later in Italy. One early sign of the rise of this movement was *Göticism*, a romantic genre among Nordic poets, which was a reaction to the actual decline of Sweden and Denmark, during the Napoleonic era.[6]

Sweden's loss of Finland, since Medieval times a third of its realm, to Russia in 1809 was only partly compensated for by the gain of Norway from Denmark in 1814; Sweden was no longer a Baltic state but rather a peninsular one. Denmark's position after 1814 was even more reduced. All that was left of the strong 17th century power was its heartlands and the Atlantic provinces of Iceland and Greenland: Norway and Scania were lost to Sweden. This may explain also why the most eager romanticists in the spirit of Göticism were to be found in Denmark and Sweden rather than in Christiania (the name of Oslo until 1925) or Helsingfors (Helsinki is a Finnish translation from nineteenth century). Actually the Norwegians and Finns had gained more through the change of masters. Norway got a liberal constitution that minimized the control exercised from Stockholm, whereas Finland kept its old Swedish laws and received essential financial help from Russia to build up an autonomous bureaucracy.[7]

All in all, *Göticism* was more an ideology of melancholic reaction than a active political strategy. The romanticists "modernized" and refined nevertheless a whole set of myths and icons that was to be used by later promoters of *Norden* as an cultural and political ideal. A central source of inspiration was the Norse mythology that was based on the old sagas about the Nordic gods and Viking heroes. The Vikings and their rather fictional virtues were used in a range of meanings. Most dominant was the notion of the ancient male with Nordic race features, virile and expansion-orientated.[8] It is important to notice that neither these Viking characteristics nor the Norse mythology were explicitly linked in the *Göticistic* genre to a distinct national identity. The Gothic ancestors were thus a common Nordic heritage for those who extolled the glorious past in hope of a greater future.

Scandinavianism which began to shape itself into a distinct movement in the mid- nineteenth century was an ideology which drew on at least three sources of inspiration: firstly the late Medieval tradition of political collaboration, secondly *Göticism* and finally the political situation in Europe in the 1840s. In its different forms it had a dialectical relationship with expanding German culture and society at least until First World War. The German speaking world stood for high culture as well as for military threat. The Lutheran church, the education system, and the scientific orientation in the Nordic countries were strongly influenced by, if not a reflection of, German developments. From the 1840s onwards this domination was overshadowed by the other side of German expansion: the political, and consequently, military consolidation of German forces.

Two wars were fought between Denmark and Prussia in the mid-nineteenth century; 1848-1850 and 1864. The first confrontation ended in a status quo whereas the second, as mentioned earlier, was a disaster both for Denmark and political *Scandinavianism.* Those who had believed in Swedish promises of help to "a brother in need" had to admit the cold fact that the Danes were crushed alone.[9] But paradoxically enough this defeat had a positive effect on the limitations of inter-Nordic collaboration. The vague hopes of a unified Nordic foreign policy were replaced by more concrete efforts to strengthen cultural and institutional integration. It was a movement towards an interaction based on cultural solidarity rather than on political requirements.

Yet, it can be argued that this new culturally orientated consolidation maintained the central notion of the pre-1864 *Scandinavianism*; the idea that the Nordic countries could and should be distinct from the rest of Europe. In fact this tendency to define and understand national identity through a comparison with the German culture was a common intellectual exercise among 19th century academics in East and North Europe. The attitude towards German culture was nevertheless slightly different in Russia and its Polish and Baltic provinces. Here there existed culturally powerful German minorities who had a dominant position in intellectual life. This superiority often created tension, which in its most sophisticated form can be seen in works by, for example, Goncharov, Dostojevsky or Tolstoy. In their novels German characters are almost without exception superficial doers, insensitive to the essential questions in life.

Such negative attitudes are harder to find among Nordic contemporaries. It was impossible to deny shared traditions and, therefore, the definition of both the national and Nordic identity was more often based on the claim that the supposed Nordic race, as well as its original culture, was the purest branch of the Germanic stock.[10] In this way dependence on German culture could be understood more as a fruitful graft than as a centre/periphery relationship, which nevertheless it often was.

II.

Cultural cooperation began to increase steadily in the late 1860s and by the end of the nineteenth century the idea was welcomed by wider groups within each Nordic country. Attempts to a standardise orthography were made 1869 and soon thereafter occured a spate of practical measures like postal and currency unions, common legislation and the foundation of inter-Nordic organisations.[11] Finland was only partly included in this consolidation. Since 1809 it had been linked to the Russian empire as a Grand Duchy and by the end of the century, had matured into a distinct nation, with political autonomy and Western orientated trade. This was certainly not in line with Russian imperial policy. Consquently, a struggle occured between the Russian authorities and Finnish nationalists from early 1890s until 1917, when independence was achieved as a result of the October revolution.

But these circumstances cannot alone explain Finland's weaker participation in the emerging cultural collaboration. The majority of the population had, ever since prehistoric times, spoken Finnish, which is not an Indo-European language but one of the few Finn-Ugrian tongues still extant in Europe. Swedish was spoken by a coastal and urban minority, which was partly a result of an eastward immigration during 12th and 13th centuries from Uppland and Östergötaland, the heartlands of the Swedish kingdom. Swedish was naturally the language of administration as well as trade and maintained this status until the end of last century. Nevertheless, by then the Finnish state-building process had reached a stage where the question of language became more and more important. The proponents of the Finnish language, the Fennomans, had been active since 1830s but now demanded with Hegelian logic that Finnish should become the language of state affairs as well as high culture and had therefore less interest in cultural *Scandinavianism*. Those demands were fulfilled by the 1920s and meant of course that Finland, from a linguistic point of view, lacked an important tie to the other Nordic countries.[12]

Still it has to be emphasized that this transformation did not lead to an alienation from the traditional Nordic culture and life-style. It would thus be more appropriate to claim that Finland through this process towards national maturity actually gained a more equal position in the inter-Nordic collaboration. This explains also why Finns were most active in interaction that was of practical use to their own state-building process. One area was scientific dialogue, another was the Scandinavian Labour Congress, which existed from 1886 to 1920.[13]

In this context it is, however, of particular interest to note that the exchange of educational ideas was included among those areas that attracted the pragmatic Finns. This collaboration obtained an institutional framework in 1870, when the first Nordic school conference was held. As suggested earlier, it was a project that advanced in a quite promising way towards the end of 19th century; the first meeting in Gothenburg gathered 842 Nordic educationalists whereas the Stockholm meeting a quarter of a century later attracted 6554 participants.[14] The poems recited, written especially for those occasions might have been idealistic, but also reflected in their own way the fact that the pragmatic educationalists, in their search for more efficient educational methods and didactic solutions, found it natural that the debate should be Nordic rather than European in emphasis.

One obvious reason for this was the common need for the systematisation of education at a national level. Primary education and secondary education had to be modernised, and there were strong demands to link these two institutions to a more democratic, comprehensive school system. These issues arose, of course, in the first place out of continental debate, but were soon adapted to Nordic circumstances, which, seen from a European perspective, had distinct features.[15] However it was not only shared educational traditions, which will be highlighted more strongly in next chapter, but also similarities in societal structure and change which brought together the Nordic teachers.

One of the main topics during the first three decades of the school conferences was the degree to which the classical curriculum, that had dominated secondary education, should be replaced by one

with a more scientific orientation. Discussion was nourished by reforms in secondary education, which in moderate form were sanctioned at the turn of century, but it was also inspired by public demands for more practical schooling. In that specific context educationalists were now more aware of the need to improve the standard of the school physical education. However, it was not until the inter-Nordic forum in Copenhagen in 1890 that physical education received any substantial attention.[16]

One reason for this might have been the fact that it was a low status subject, but another was surely that there already existed some institutional channels for collaboration in the field of physical education. The Central Institute of Gymnastics (*Gymnastiska Central institutet - GCI*) in Stockholm, since it was established in 1813 by Pehr Henrik Ling, the founder of the Swedish system of gymnastics, had attracted students from the other Nordic countries. This student exchange continued even to some degree after Norway in 1870, and Finland in 1882, got their own authorised institutes for teacher training.[17] It was an interaction that produced a strong Nordic tradition of physical education, which remained distinctive until the Second World War. In fact, it is difficult to overestimate *GCI*'s role in this consolidation. Although Norwegians, Danes and Finns rejected the idea of slavish imitation of Swedish gymnastics, which by the end of last century had developed into a didactic system with dogmas and orthodox proponents, it was from the institute in Stockholm that most Scandinavians obtained their essential inspiration when they created their own national systems.

In the Norwegian case this impact has also to be explained by the close administrative links to Stockholm that existed because of the union of the Swedish-Norwegian monarchy, which was finally dissolved in 1905. Swedish instructors and their Norwegian disciples, who arrived in Stockholm to perfect theirs skills, were mostly officers and, therefore, colleagues in the same defense organisation.[18] Swedish text books were used even after the first, rather similar, Norwegian version was published in 1870s.[19] A decade later, in 1883, physical educators from the two countries founded the first Nordic professional organisation for gymnastic teachers, the Swedish-Norwegian Gymnastics Teacher Association, encouraged by the first Nordic assembly for gymnasts in Stockholm one year earlier, in 1882.[20] Indeed, the inter-Nordic gatherings not only strengthened the notion of a Nordic culture but functioned also as platforms for integrated action.

When the Swedish-Norwegian association in 1890 changed its name and became The Scandinavian Gymnastics Teacher Society this was a sign of increasing interest among Danes in the Swedish system.[21] Nine years later, in 1899, a new gymnastics text book for Danish schools was published, which has been viewed as a symbolic victory for the principles taught by *GCI*'s teachers.[22] Although this is a simplification one thing is certain: the reforms in Danish physical education happened in conjunction with a growing interaction with Swedish curriculum specialists.

Developments in Finnish physical education during the late 19th century have also to be considered in the context of the powerful pedagogical impact of the *GCI*. The leading theoretician, Viktor Heikel, recieved his first professional training at the institute

and his whole life-work should be seen as a critical response to the Swedish system. He refused to accept its stiff formalism but was nevertheless clearly influenced by the rationality behind the rigid instruction. Furthermore Finnish female physical educators found their own didactic solutions, which were essentially built on the Swedish tradition.[23] By the turn of the nineteenth century Nordic physical educators had created a network of contacts and institutional links, which in many cases was far more developed than in other fields of education.

As the twentieth century progressed, however, physical education continued to be only a minor theme among other more dominating topics of discussion at the Nordic school conferences. Nevertheless national and local teacher associations began to show a sincere concern about school health care and took initiatives to solve the urgent need for playgrounds, but it was still up to the specialists to improve the subject's state and status. Even though this responsibility will be analysed in detail later on in this work something should be said here about the professional dialogue that emerged at the Nordic conferences for physical education, which were arranged between the two world wars.

It is worth noting that the leading advocate of the conferences was the Swede, Carl Svedelius, who was a linguist without professional training in physical education. Svedelius was headmaster of *Norra Reallläroverket* - one of the three Stockholm school we shall examine in more detail shortly - and as a keen enthusiast of outdoor activities, made it one of the country's most successful

athletic schools. He was not especially impressed by the gymnastics taught at the *GCI* and saw physical education primarily as a means of character building.[24] It is, therefore, not surprising that he consciously worked for a more games and athletics orientated curriculum and in 1916 became the first chairman of the Swedish School Sports Association.[25] Through that organisation three years later, in autumn of 1919, he made contact with Nordic experts in physical education and suggested an systematic exchange of ideas. A planning meeting was held in Stockholm in March 1920, which clearly showed the need for such a forum, and one and a half year later the first conference was arranged in the same town.[26] Conferences, except for the war years, were held regularly until the 1950s and served, for the most part, the informative functions Svedelius and his Nordic colleagues had hoped for. Nordic physical educators began now to compare their curricula and teacher training programmes more thoroughly and used this knowledge in the modernisation of the national systems.

However it was a professional interaction that in many respects differed from the situation before First World War, when the *GCI* in Stockholm, as the Nordic centre of physical education, had had a decisive and in some cases almost controlling role in that cooperation. The crucial question was not anymore which gymnastic system was to be preferred, but rather in what degree and form, games and other outdoor activities should be utilized in physical education.[27]

Another sign of the new climate of debate was the range of experts from different areas who took part in the conferences. Educationalists, coaches, health authorities, scientists as well as

interested laymen attended and expressed their opinions about the topic, which by then had expanded to a heterogeneous set of subjects related to school physical education. Nevertheless it was clear that most of the issues discussed have to be considered in conjunction with the expanding sports movement, which, as it will be argued in chapter six, by the beginning of 1920s had developed into a mass phenomenon in the Nordic countries. The activities of men like Svedelius should be seen, therefore, as an educational response to this expansion, which threatened the traditional domains of the school authorities. They were convinced that sports could have an essential role in moral education, but thought that such activities should be monitored by the teachers rather than by coaches without formal knowledge of educational matters. The same kind of concern about school sports was also shown by the other professional groups. Physical educators felt unsure how to react to the challenge from the sports movement, which made strenuous efforts to mobilize school youth, whereas doctors were anxious about the physiological consequences of exaggerated sport.

At this point it is once again of importance to stress the fact that these people looked to their Nordic neighbours as their primary reference group. At the same time continental links grew stronger year by year and in addition, an increasing number of Nordic specialists in physical education made contact with colleagues in Great Britain and North America, but it is still clear that most of them saw the application of the fashionable ideas taken from abroad as a question to be discussed among the Nordic partners.

III.

It is perhaps idealistic to claim that this professional collaboration was caused and inspired by the notion of a Nordic culture. Yet it has to be asked whether we can neglect the impact of this ideal. Could the interaction described above have been possible without some shared ideas about a common cultural background, and if so, would such an activity in the end have made any sense?

Cooperation based only on political calculations has seldom been successful, since in most cases of economic or military nature there have existed more powerful partners on the Continent or overseas. The German-Danish War 1864 was by no means the last example of limits of Nordic cooperation. The dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union in 1905 showed clearly that neither party was attracted by lyrical interpretations of solidarity in a conflict of national interests. A war was avoided but it took almost a decade before the Swedes fully accepted Norwegian independence. Another dispute of a diplomatic nature occured between the Swedish and Finnish governments between 1919 and 1920 over sovereignty of the Åland Islands. The quarrel was solved through the League of Nations, which confirmed the Finnish claims but demilitarized the area and gave the Swedish-speaking islanders a strong minority protection. This conflict had no severe effect on cultural exchange and did not overshadow diplomatic relationships for more than a couple of years, but it was still an effective reminder of the political priorities of the Nordic governments. A more recent example of the fact that Nordic interaction is based on cultural solidarity rather than inevitably on strategical interests is Swedish aid to its Nordic

neighbours during the Second World War. The Swedish government skilfully avoided involvement in the war and was therefore, not surprisingly, occasionally accused by its more unlucky Nordic fellows of selfishness and cowardice. Nevertheless Sweden did tremendous humanitarian work by taking care of refugees and sending necessities to her sister nations.[28]

All in all, it can be argued that that the notion of a shared cultural background was, and still is, an ideal of substance. It was credible enough both to establish a tradition of cooperation, which further strengthened it and produced new dimensions of the Nordic culture. Furthermore it maintained its attraction through several political controversies and resulted in 1953 in the foundation of the Nordic Council, a joint parliamentary body with ambitious cultural enterprises.[29] However the maintenance of this ideal has not been limited to the institutional bodies of Nordic cooperation. It is a feature of the mass media as well as education. Pupils are taught in primary schools to sing the Nordic anthems and in secondary schools the basics of a shared history, whereas those who reach university make contact with their Nordic colleagues when the opportunity occurs for excursions and seminars.

Yet it is easy to simplify and overestimate the impact of this notion on the daily life in the Nordic countries during the last one and a half centuries. It was by no means an ideal that was spread through forceful indoctrination and seldom advocated as an ideology, but rather a positive attitude that fitted the dominant world-view in the four countries. The question to be discussed in the following chapters is, therefore, in what form it was reproduced and, consequently, experienced in secondary school physical education.

1.
The English version is an translation done by the author. The original poem has following shape; Vänner från öster, från väster, från söder,/ Norden er sluter med fröjd i sin famn,/ Trofasta vänner och älskade bröder!/ - Sådant är stundens och framtidens namn. *Sjunde nordiska skolmötet i Stockholm den 6.,7. och 8. augusti 1895*, Stockholm 1896, reverse to the title page.

2. Albert Wilhelm Staaff (1821-1895), headmaster for *Nya Elementarskolan* 1865-70 and thereafter vicar for Adolf Fredrik's congregation in Stockholm, was an influential educationalist and appreciated humanist. His poem collection *Dikter vid olika tillfällen* was published posthumously in 1895.

3. T.K. Derry, *A History of Scandinavia. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland*, London, George Allen & Unwin 1979 pp. 69 85.

4. Vincent H. Malmström, *Norden. A crossroad of Destiny*, Princeton, New Jersey, Van Nostrand Company. Inc, 1965 pp. 21-23.

5. Derry 1979 pp. 37-55, 90-101.

6. Ibid. pp. 232-239.

7. H. Arnold Barton, *Scandinavia in the Revolutionary Era 1760-1815*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press 1986 pp. 361-366.

8. Henrik Sandblad, *Olympia och Valhalla. Idéhistoriska aspekter av den moderna idrottsrörelsens framväxt*, Stockholm, Almqvist&Wiksell 1985 pp. 38-43, 286-289, 318.

9. Derry 1979 pp. 239-248.

10. Sandblad 1985 pp. 165-168, 346.

11. Frantz Wendt,"Nordic Cooperation", in Erik Allardt et. al (eds.), *Nordic Democracy. Ideas, Issues and Institutions in Politics, Economy, Education, Social and Cultural Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden*, Copenhagen, Det Danske Selskab, 1981 pp. 655-656.

12. Derry 1979 pp. 232-234, 275-279.

13. Byron J. Nordstrom, *Dictionary of Scandinavian History*, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, Westport 1986 p. 418.

14. *Beretning om det 9. nordiske skolemøde i København den 8.,9.,10. og 11. August 1905.* København 1906 p. 20.

15. Richardson 1963 pp. 102-103.

16. *Berättelse om det fjerde allmänna nordiska skolmötet i Stockholm den 10, 11 och 12 augusti 1880, Stockholm 1883; Forhandlingarne ved det sjette nordiske skolmøde i Kjøbenhavn 5-8. August 1890*, Kjøbenhavn 1891.

17. Fridtjov Stene,"Utdanningen av kroppsøvningslære i Norge. Et historisk oversyn", in Harald Wergeland (ed.), *Norges idrettshøgskole 100 år*, Oslo 1970 p. 6; Kalervo Ilmanen & Touko Vuotilainen, *Jumpasta tiedekunnaksi. Suomalainen voimisteluopettajakoulutus 1882-1982*, Liikuntatieteellisen Seuran julkaisu nro 84, Helsinki 1982 pp. 55-59.

18. Stene 1970 p. 7.

19. Ivar Björnstad, *Haandbog i gymnastik for seminarier og skoler*, Kristiania 1877; About the usage of Swedish textbooks, see for example, *Anderssens latin- og realskole. Indbydelseskrift 1887*, Kristiania 1887 p. 45.

20. *Tidskrift i Gymnastik* 1883 pp. 47-48, 122-125.

21. *Tidskrift i Gymnastik* 1890 p. 527.

22. Korsgaard 1982 pp. 88-90; Trangbæk 1987 p. 135.

23. Klaus U. Suomela, *Viktor Heikel suomalaisen liikuntakasvatuksen luojana*, Porvoo 1953 pp. 313-327; Koivusalo 1982 pp. 52-63.

24. Carl Svedelius,"Fysisk fostran, Föredrag hållet i Hankö den 13 aug. 1915", *Verdandi, Tidskrift för ungdomens målsmän och vänner* 1917 pp. 39-40, 45-49.

25. Erik Bergwall,"Hur Skolidrottsförbundet bildades" in Sixten Blomqvist (red.) *Sveriges skolungdoms gymnastik- och idrottsförbund 1916-1941*, Stockholm 1941 pp. 11-16.

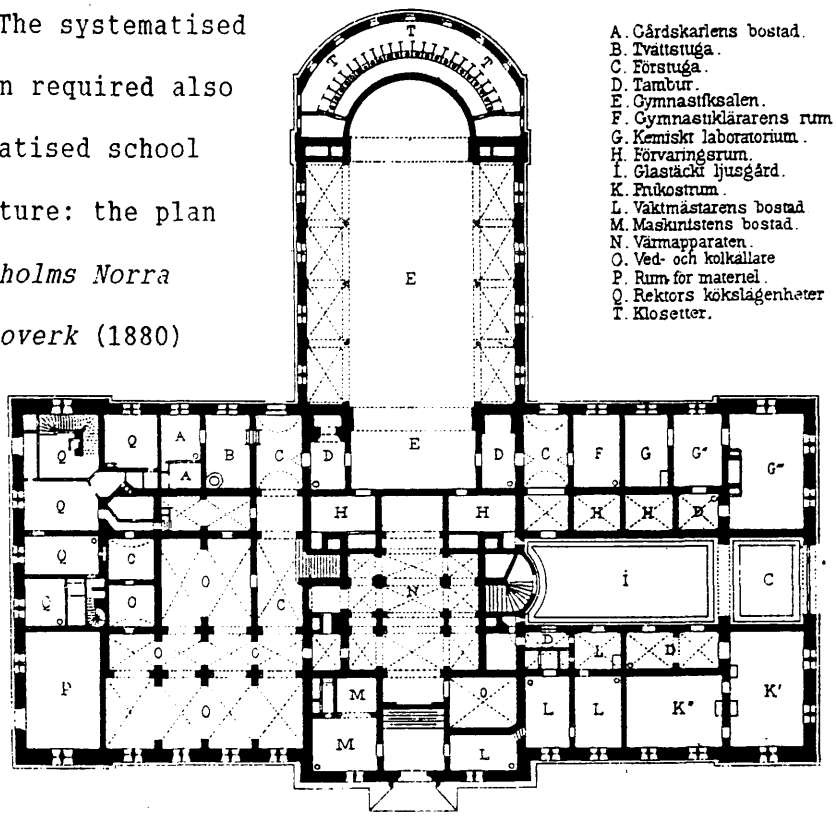
26. Ivar Wilskman,"Pohjoismainen koulukongressi nuorison ruumiillista kasvatusta varten Tukholmassa syyskuulla 1921", *Koulu ja Kasvatus* 1921 pp. 211-212.

27. See for example *Förhandlingar och föredrag vid den nordiska kongressen för skolungdomens fysiska fostran i Stockholm. Den 5-7 september 1921 anordnad av Sveriges Gymnastik- o. Idrottsförbund*, Stockholm 1922; *Nordisk kongres for legemlig opdragelse, børne- og skolehygiejne på Hindsgavl 1-6 Juli 1935*, København 1935.

28. Derry 1979 pp. 268-274; Wendt 1981 p. 657.

29. Erik Solem, *The Nordic Council and Scandinavian Integration*, New York-London, Praeger Publishers 1977 pp. 36-46.

Fig. 1: The systematised education required also a systematised school architecture: the plan of *Stockholms Norra Latinläroverk* (1880)



Systematisation of secondary education

I.

In 1885 Dr J.Paludan published a substantial investigation into secondary education in his native country Denmark and in the northern neighbouring countries of Norway and Sweden, which provides an interesting picture not only of the past but also of this institution as it was visualised at the end of last century. Although mainly a historical outline Paludan's work was an important contribution to the European debate on the need for educational modern-

isation. His considerable empirical evidence in combination with a detailed documentation of the educational policies in the countries in question did not prevent him from giving the work an distinguishable polemic touch.

Paludan's educational standpoint was clearly neo-humanistic. He defended the dominant classical curriculum in secondary and higher education and viewed with suspicion those who wanted to introduce more science and practical knowledge.[1] His opponents were, by and large, men who, with a utilitarian outlook like Herbert Spencer's,[2] were eager to form education into a practice with concrete, measurable aims. Paludan and his kindred spirits approved of educational systematisation and were convinced that pupils' health should be improved through hygienic solutions and physical activities, but in social matters they were more reactionary. They condemned the individualistic ideals of Rousseau, Basedow and their philanthropic followers as sentimental fantasies[3] and showed no significant interest in the democratisation of educational opportunities. Indeed, Paludan's work reflected both an established tradition and an influental outlook, which in spite of all reforms had a strong impact on the Nordic secondary education until the Second World War.

II.

To give credit to the above claim it is necessary to place the Nordic development between 1880 and 1940 in a broader European context before we return to a more specific analysis of the four countries'educational history of this epoch.

As Detlef K. Müller has pointed out it would be anachronistic to talk about a specific German, French or English school *system* before the different educational networks were connected and directed by the state apparatuses. This transformation began after the French Revolution and continued on a larger scale during the second half of nineteenth century. Between 1870 and 1920 most of the European nations underwent an educational systematisation that transformed the multifarious school categories into unified, although not comprehensive school systems. Müller distinguishes three stages in this process; the first is *the emergence of a system*, the second is its *constitution* and the third its *"complementation"*.[4]

In the case of the German secondary school, which was both the most studied and discussed educational system in Europe during the second half of last century Müller finds the Prussian national standarisation of the university preparation exam - *das Abitur* - in 1810 as one of the first signs of the emergence of a system. But, although this framework was strengthened two years late by uniform teacher qualifications and national service was shortened for students, it took most of the century before the different types of schools were constituted into an integrated system. One obvious reason for this delay was, of course, that Germany was politically divided until 1871. Another strong obstacle was the dispute between new-humanists and realists, already touched upon above. Naturally, it had its social dimension; the proponents of an utilitarian curriculum and a more democratic school structure often belonged to, or revealed solidarity with, the lower strata of the society whereas the defenders of a classical schooling and the existing institutions tended to have higher social origins or associations.

Nevertheless, by the end of last century primary and secondary education in Imperial Germany had been clearly separated and systematised into two distinctively different institutions. During the 1860s and 1870s a vertical differentation was established between the two levels of primary school and the different types of secondary schools.[5] The differentiation should not be understood only in the context of the process of systematisation. It was also an attempt to reduce social mobility, which had began to cause academic unemployment. The Ministry of Education especially in the 1880s made efforts to "...reduce secondary school attendance by children from the lower and intermediate social strata".[6]

The combined policy of social segregation and institutional systematisation was completed with the regulations of 1882 and 1892, which were the first laws that included all the secondary schools in Prussia. The pluralistic secondary school structure was step by step forced into a more uniform model. With the school reform of 1901 *Gymnasium, Realgymnasium* (Latin and science) and *Oberrealschule* (modern languages and science) became equal in law, although it should be noted that the universities still maintained separate matriculation requirements, as for example Latin in law and medicine. As James Bowen rightly has observed the classics, despite decrees of equality,"...remained the means whereby social mobility could be carefully controlled".[7]

It is not an exaggeration to claim that school policy ever since the early nineteenth century was understood in Germany as an important part of state building. Education was seen as a tool in the control and direction of social forces, when Prussia, and Germany as a whole, began its first phase of industrialisation between

1850 and 1870. An example of this use of education is Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag in 1884, in which he justified the reduction of secondary school attendance by pointing to the worrying development in Russia, where the academic proletariat had created a dangerously nihilistic atmosphere.[8]

According to Müller this "complementation" stage, from the 1880s until the Second World War, was not an introduction of a new educational system but rather an attempt to stop the crises refered to above through the modernisation of certain regulations and official statements. The dual system with the eight-year long *Volkschule* for the lower social strata on one side and the middle classes preparatory schools - which paved the way to the different types of secondary schools - on the other side, remained the dominant school structure in the twenty six states of the Weimar Republic and in the Nazi ruled Third Reich.[9]

It is important to note that this German development was by no means extraordinary in an European perspective. The educational policies of most governments, with a few exceptions such as the British Education Act of 1902 and some of the Nordic reforms, which will be examined later, were concerned in the first place with ensuring that schooling met social needs "...rather than with reducing inequality in educational opportunities".[10]

French secondary education is another, although slightly different example of the process of systematisation. Like the *Gymnasium*, which had a central position in German nineteenth century school culture, the creation of state controlled secondary and higher education during the Napoleonic era, in form of colleges for ages twelve to sixteen and lycées for those up to twenty, had a

dominant impact on French school structure until the 1880s, when primary education was made compulsory and secular. The curriculum was predominately classical in the lycées and colleges as well as in the Catholic private schools, which remained as conservative alternatives to the more liberal state schools.

Nevertheless, rapid industrialisation and urbanisation forced the Second Empire's (1850-1870) Ministry of Education to respond with a modernisation programme. A two-branch system with a science alternative to the classical curriculum was encouraged, but little was gained as long as the church and the conservatives maintained the stance that students' minds had to be formed by classical values before science studies began. This policy of compromise, known as *bifurcation*, was kept alive by the external baccalaureat exam of the secondary course, but did not sufficiently strengthen science education. In 1863 science was forced into an enlarged classical curriculum and during the same decade the state began to establish more technical schools. From the 1870s onwards the Catholic church was under pressure from the Third Republic's anticlerical bureaucrats. The Jesuits finally lost their hold on education when their universities were banned in 1879 and throughout the 1880s and 1890s the French school system underwent impressive reform, which resulted in secularisation and centralisation.[11] Although secondary schools became more regulated in this "complementation" stage of systematisation they maintained, not surprisingly, their function as reproductive institutions of the bourgeois elite culture. This function of the French system, which like the British was much more elitist than the German, has remained, according to Pierre Bourdieau, quite untouched up to the present.[12]

The systematisation of British education is an interesting exception to the common European pattern, outlined above. Education was not a political tool as in Germany or the Nordic countries but rather an independent area where voluntary initiatives at least until First World War played a predominant role despite alarming observations by royal commissions. As early as 1864 the Clarendon Report criticised the narrow classical curriculum and four years later the Taunton Report recommended a comprehensive systematisation of secondary education on the grounds that the middle-class voluntary system did not have a properly funded basis. A report issued in 1895 pointed out the considerable improvement in financial arrangements and in teachers' organisational consolidation, but underlined that a state controlled systematisation of secondary education was still to be achieved. Twentieth century history has none the less shown that the British bourgeois has preferred the decentralised patchwork of authorities and institutions. Systematisation was therefore done through elementary education reform. Only with the Education Act of 1944 were English secondary schools organized into a national school system.[13]

British education is seen to be even more decentralised when contrasted with the developments in tsarist Russia. The framework of Russian educational system was established in the eighteenth century by the enlighted tsars Peter the Great and Catharine the Great and by the last quarter of last century secondary education was integrated after the German fashion. The whole empire was divided into fifteen school districts "...with uniform administrative procedures but of varying ethnic complexity, social patterns, and sizes".[14] The

system of course was radically changed after 1917, but nevertheless one thing has remained; the strongly centralised education policy and the uniform school pattern.

The Russian development is an illustration of the fact that educational systematisation is by no means dependent on a societal modernisation of production and political rights. On the contrary it is possible to argue that a national school system rather reflects the political will and cultural outlook of the government. In Germany and the Nordic countries the educational policy was, as mentioned before, the hammer in the building of the state, in France secondary schools had a central function in the legitimizing process, while the early centralisation of Russian schools should be understood in the context of an imperial policy, which was heavily dictated by a militaristic thinking. Great Britain, although the world's most industrialised and richiest power at the end of nineteenth century, did not have governments with enough political will to put thorough educational systematisation into practice until the end of the last war.

Most historians nowadays reject the economic functionalist approach to the rise of modern educational systems. Consider for example the following passage by Hartmut Kaelble, who has pointed out that economic development in Europe before First World War was seldom connected with post-primary education: "Industrial innovation was not usually triggered by scientific research, nor was the qualified labour force in the economy trained in institutions of secondary and higher education."[15] It can in fact be claimed that the improvements in elementary and practical oriented education had a stronger economic impact on the macro-level. Systematisation of

European secondary education had thus in the first place bureaucratic and organisational effects rather than economic consequences.

It is worth keeping in mind the fact that secondary and higher education played only a minor role in the life of ordinary Europeans until the second half of twentieth century. Educational systematisation and growing access to secondary schools and universities during the last three decades of nineteenth century were proportionally most favourable for children from the higher-middle classes, although the number of children from worker and lower-middle class homes expanded. This trend continued into the 1950s; educational expansion, in other words, only slightly increased socio-occupational mobility. Fritz Ringer has instead noted an "educationalisation" of the occupational system, in which the hierarchy of schools offered a rank order of qualification that "...came to define a corresponding hierarchy of occupations".[16] The worker's son became a *skilled* worker through his vocational training, whereas the clerk's son, thanks to his years in secondary school and at university, became an *educated* bureacrat.

Ringer's statement has not only to do with the question about why social mobility remained low during industrialisation, but is also a statement about educational opportunities. The growth rate of relative attendance in European higher education sank between 1918 and 1939 to half of the yearly figure of 2.8 per cent before 1914, despite contemporary demands for a comprehensive school and more flexible transfer possibilities from elementary to secondary education. Another fact, which partly confirms the historical notion of a

common educational culture in Europe, is the minor variations in educational opportunities between the politically quite different Continental societies before 1940.[17]

To sum up, it can be argued that secondary education in Western and Northern Europe throughout the period 1880-1940 remained one of the most important institutions of social as well as cultural reproduction of bourgeois life-style. In most European countries it had been transformed into a distinctive closed institution by the 1880s and during the "complementation" stage of educational systematisation - which depending on definitions continued roughly into the 1930s - kept its exclusive position in the hierarchy of schools. Put differently, its societal function was only partly the establishment of a profitable knowledge base. Behind the statements in the commission reports and in declarations about schools reforms, which were predominantly goal-oriented and science-minded by the turn of the century, another culturally more sublime dimension of schooling can be found. The qualities secondary education stood for until the last world war were normally idealisations of a past, like the English gentleman or the Humboldtian new-humanist, which had an impact on the symbolic meaning for the curriculum and education in general.[18]

III.

Let us now return to Dr J.Paludan and consider the historical perspective in his investigation from 1885 as an introduction to the more specific analysis of the systematisation of Nordic secondary schools before 1940.

Paludan's work covered the emergence and constitution of the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian educational systems. He left out the development in Finland after 1809, but many of his characterisations of Swedish secondary education are nevertheless relevant to the understanding of contemporary Finnish school culture. Indeed, it was at least half a century before Finland, as a Grand Duchy under Russian rule, began to shape itself into a distinct nation. The cultural transformation of the southern coast of Finland, once the eastern heartland of the Swedish kingdom, was even slower; the Finnish upper and middle classes being Swedish speaking were continually in close interaction with Sweden.

Paludan's interpretation of Nordic systematisation, as suggested earlier, was coloured by his conviction that the educational debate by and large was a confrontation between a humanistic and a utilitarian outlook on schooling. According to him this dialogue had continued throughout the New Age, only to develop at the end of eighteen century into two marked ideological camps. This notion is helpful for two reasons. Firstly it gives a clear, although simplistic picture of the opinions after French Revolution that directed the emerging systematisation of Nordic secondary education. Secondly it shows how strongly the educational debate of the 1880s was influenced by the contemporary views of the past.

The strength in Paludan's work lay in his capacity to place Nordic nineteenth century secondary education in a cultural context. Through the critique of Basedow's educational contribution at the upper-class boarding school of Sorø Akademi near Copenhagen we are reminded that bourgeois education in Denmark, as well as in some of its Norwegian provinces, had a cosmopolitan dimension, which is har-

der to find in Sweden or Finland. His comparison of the ecclesiastic impact on the educational policy in the three countries gives again an impression of how much stronger the clerical power was in nineteenth century Sweden, and consequently even in Finland, than among its Nordic neighbours in the west.[19] But more than anything else Paludan's work suggests that the differences in education lay mainly between Sweden on one side and Denmark with Norway on the other.

Was this interpretation correct? It is not difficult to recognise that the Danish-Norwegian Education Act of 1809 even in an European perspective was an early step towards a systematisation of secondary education. The reform was introduced at a time when the philanthropic ideals ebbed away - like many other ideals of the French Revolution - and were replaced by a more reactionary school policy. Still it is obvious that the act also included progressive views. The Latin school was released from ecclesiastic control and a new authority responsible for secondary and higher education was created.[20] Two school categories were specified; The middle school and its extension, the Latin school, which prepared the pupils for studies at university. These changes were in the first place administrative. On the educational level the act in most respects was shaped by a new-humanistic outlook. Subjects like anthropology or physical exercises, which had been introduced during the period of philanthropic zeal, were now classified as voluntary and now became an irregular item in the curriculum.[21]

The act of 1809 was the legal base for nineteenth century Danish and Norwegian secondary education. In Denmark it was modified twice before it was replaced in 1903 by a law that created an organic connection between primary and secondary education.[22] In 1850 natural science and modern languages received more space in the curriculum, at the same time as the *examen Artium*, the Danish equivalent to German *Abitur* or French *baccalaureat*, was moved from the University of Copenhagen to the schools. This course was retained in the act of 1871, which shortened the school time from eight to six years and introduced an alternative science curriculum for the two highest classes .[23]

In Norway the Act of 1809 remained in force until 1869, when it was replaced by liberal regulations that gave equal status to classical and science subjects. This reorganistaion of the curriculum effectively consolidated the different types of junior secondary education.[24] Even more progressive was the Act of 1896, which was among the first in Europe to put into practice the comprehensive school idea and - almost as a symbolic gesture in favour of the educational democratisation - made Latin a voluntary subject.[25]

If the first two stages of Norwegian systematisation are more easily explained in comparison with developments in Denmark, than in the context of Swedish-Norwegian union, then so it is possible to see the outline of Finnish nineteenth century education from an Swedish point of view. Until the 1840s both Swedish and Finnish schools were by and large directed by the principles of the Education Act of 1724, which was meant originally to be only provisional. Secondary education was provided by four alternative institutions.

This school structure was untouched in the act of 1807, but the act contained changes that differentiated the curriculum and clearly reflected new thinking.[26]

However, it is important to separate the thoughts and ideals behind an act from the concrete impact the reform had on education. When Finland was linked to the Russian empire in 1809 only some of these new ideas could be put into practice. Secondary schools remained under control of the dioceses until 1869, when a civil department of education was established, and before the 1840s there was little modernisation of Finnish education. The act of 1843 can therefore be compared with the Danish-Norwegian act of 1809 or the Prussian act of 1810; it was not only an attempt to rationalise the different school categories but also a breakthrough for the utilitarian demands of progressive educationalists. A bi-level grammar school was attached to the *Gymnasium*, which became the only gateway to higher education.[27] Reform continued, albeit slowly, with the act of 1856 which gave more space for modern languages and science in the *Gymnasium*. In 1872 the grammar school and *Gymnasium* were transformed into a four and eight year *lyceum*, which prepared pupils for university and administrative occupations. Practical education for its part was separated into two or four year real-schools without connection to the *lyceum*. This division was replaced as late as in the 1970s when Finland was the last Nordic country to establish the comprehensive school.[28]

The constitutional evolution of the Swedish school system differed only slightly from the developments in Finland during the first two decades after the act of 1807. However, Sweden, with its continuing central administration, possessed a better springboard

for consolidating secondary education reform. Furthermore, in Sweden public debate was more open, more active and more extensive and in addition in 1828 gained inspiration from a report that recommended a division of the curriculum of the *Gymnasium* into classical and modern subjects.[29] In principle the recommendation of the report were implemented by law in 1849. In practice however, insufficient space in the curriculum was made available for modern subjects. In 1849 no specific instructions about reform were offered and in 1856 a further law was introduced, which ensured a clearer division between classical and modern subjects. Further changes occured in the Swedish secondary education in 1860s and the 1870s. For example, classical studies now began in the fourth class (previously they had begun in the second class), teacher qualifications were improved and the division between primary and secondary education was more clearly defined.[30] The statute of 1905 played an important role in the systematisation of the Swedish post-primary education; it put in practice a partition of the lower secondary education into a five-year *realskola*, with its own terminal examination. Those who aimed for universities continued and finished the longer secondary school course, which maintained Latin as a high status voluntary subject. Systematisation of Swedish secondary education was further developed when in 1904, when a School Board for secondary education replaced the Cathedral Chapters as the authority on curriculum matters.[31]

The "complementation" of this system, which carried on until the comprehensive school came into existence in the 1950s, was slower and not a process that remarkably changed the status or function of Swedish secondary education. Demands for a democratisation of the system were intensified but all the same a strong defence was

to be found among those who saw the distinguished secondary education as the most reliable institution for reproduction of the bourgeois culture. The act of 1927 was a compromise that only partly dissipated the conflict, but it enlarged at least in principle the educational opportunities by opening more channels to post-primary education.[32]

IV.

The systematisation of Nordic secondary education should be understood in association with the same development in Central Europe. The four countries built their school systems on a common European tradition, which in short meant that it was based on Christian moral codes and bourgeois values. During the nineteenth century schooling became an important tool in the Nordic state building process and received consequently more and more attention from the governments. This led not only to a differentation of the separate educational cultures but also to specific national solutions in school policy. It would anyhow be simplistic to explain this systematisation only from a bureaucratic or judicial point of view. Most of the European school systems were results of comparisons with, and interpretations of advanced or applicable structures, such as the German or French systems.

In the case of Nordic countries it can be claimed that most of the reforms in secondary education throughout nineteenth century until Second World War were inspired by ideas and solutions from Central Europe, and yet at the same time applications of the educa-

tional practices among the Nordic neighbours. Paludan made his remarks about differences between Sweden and its Nordic neighbours in the west in connection with a historical outline of the first half of nineteenth century. But he was careful not to give the same picture of the century's second half. The educational systematisation reached in the 1880s its "complementation" stage in the four countries at the same time as the interaction between Nordic educationalists was established and began to integrate the four national school systems into a distinctive group within a European perspective.

One reason why Denmark and Norway systematised their secondary schools earlier than Sweden or Finland was maybe their traditionally more direct educational links with the German speaking world. Consequently the Danish-Norwegian Education Act of 1809 can be explained in a Continental rather than in a Nordic context. Norwegian educationalists continued, even after the country was joined to Sweden in 1814, to discuss professional matters in the first place with their Danish colleagues. When the Norwegian government in 1836 sent the schoolmaster F.M.Bugge abroad to undertake a comparative inquiry he ended up in Germany and not in Sweden. His research was published three years later and had a strong impact on Norwegian and Nordic educationalists; Bugge discussed the possibilities of introducing comprehensive schooling, and with his contribution started in fact the Nordic debate about educational democratisation.[33] The Norwegian Education Act of 1869, which equalised classical and science subjects, was also clearly an interpretation of progressive ideas from Denmark and Germany.[34]

However when we follow up the educational and legal preparation for the Norwegian education act of 1896, which put into practice many of Bugge's ideas, it becomes apparent that Swedish school system interested the Norwegian reformers more than ever before. The promising results of the educational systematisation in Sweden by the end of last century drew much attention away from the rest of the Continent. The Danish secondary education act of 1903 must also be placed in a Nordic rather than a wider Continental context. The Norwegian reform from 1896 stood explicitly as the model for this act and even more influential was the professional dialogue with Swedish curriculum specialists.[35] Even the Swedish statute of 1905 was in the first place a product of this inter-Nordic dialogue; throughout the groundwork of this reform the involved commissions and bureaucrats collected information about the conditions in the Nordic neighbour countries before they began to discuss solutions of a more Central European type.[36]

Finnish secondary education was in a slightly different situation at the end of the nineteenth century. The professional debate and reform policy obtained as previously their main theoretical inspiration from Sweden and Germany but nevertheless were to a greater extent influenced by two domestic conflicts. The language feud between the Swedish and Finnish speakers had an obstructive impact on the reform project; curiously enough the Fennomans, who in favour of the Finnish speaking majority fought for educational democratisation, demanded the maintenance of a classical curriculum, whereas the liberals, often as representatives of the Swedish speaking elite, were proponents of modernisation. These standpoints have their logical explanation. The Fennomans feared, not without reason

if we look at the trends on the Continent, that classical education might be reserved for the elite while a science and practical knowledge curriculum was introduced for the upward lower and middle classes.[37]

Another, even more disturbing factor in Finnish secondary education was Russian imperial cultural policy, which was strengthened in the Grand Duchy in the 1890s and resulted consequently in a curriculum with extended Russian studies. In 1903 this development reached its peak when the Russian language occupied almost a sixth part of the curriculum. Not surprisingly Russian was made a voluntary subject after Finland had won its independence in 1917.[38] As Kyösti Kiuasmaa has rightly observed, it is therefore difficult to explain Finnish school policy from the 1890s to 1917 from an ideological point of view. In other words it is hard to say how many of the reforms of the age were inspired by educational ideas rather than chain reactions to the russification programme.[39]

V.

Let us continue this discussion about the reception of educational ideas at the turn of the century and ask how far the professional arguments of the Nordic educationalists were influenced by ideas such as Spencer's evolutionary positivism. One way to tackle this question is to go back to the new-humanistic arguments Spencer's Nordic proponents criticised. The philosophical basis for the new-humanistic pedagogy in Germany as well as in its educational periphery in the North was Hegelian, although during the second half

of nineteenth century it was translated into the didactic vocabulary of Herbart, who again, in most respects, had built his theory within the framework of Kant's and Hegel's moral ideas. But the popularised version of Herbart's ideas, which occured in Germany in the 1860s and spread over Europe and USA during the last decades of nineteenth century, was a mechanistic interpretation that lacked the metaphysical dimension of his original theory. It was rather a pedagogy with detailed instructions about each lesson. It would also be misleading to see Herbartianism as positivist in the same sense as Spencer's educational theory; it was not - like in Spencerian thinking - based on the idea that knowledge was an expanding entity but more a technology through which knowledge was reproduced in the spirit of conventional morality.[40]

By and large Spencer's Nordic proponents belonged to the category of liberals, who saw the conservation of cultural heritage as a minor question in comparison with future challenges that had to be solved through scientific innovation. Influential thinkers, like the Dane Kristian Kroman, or politicians, such as the Swede Fridtjuv Berg, took their ideas explicitly from Spencer when in the 1880s they attacked the established education system and its cultural foundation. In literature this reaction can be found in its most intensive form in texts by the writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, who was a leading figure in the emerging critical school in Norway. Spencer, not surprisingly, was also on the lips of liberal intellectuals in Finland; like their kindred spirits in the west they took their inspiration from France or the Anglo-Saxon world rather than from Germany.[41]

The choice of these liberals was not only linguistic. The fact that German was the first foreign language for most of the Nordic academics and cultured citizens, at least until First World War, indicates, of course, which view they tended to have of European civilisation. This was also the case with Nordic educationalists. The systematisation of the Nordic school structures was, as it has been emphasised earlier, a phenomenon that until the last two decades of nineteenth century must be examined in juxtaposition with the German development. Nevertheless, during the 1880s things began to change. English was still mainly understood as the language of merchants and sailors but now became an important subject in the emerging popular movements, which essentially got their inspiration from Great Britain and USA.[42] Another concrete example of the growing interest in the Anglo-American life-style, which we will discuss more extensively in the next chapter, is the reception of the British sport culture.

The British impact became more visible also in the educational field. Except for Spencer's ideas, which were extensively quoted but in practice only seldom followed, it is reasonably easy to show that the contemporary Nordic school commissions were more open-minded than their predecessors to the physiological recommendations of the British model. Of special interest, in the context of this work, is the increasing priority that the commissions and their medical inquiries gave to the improvement of physical education, which often was seen the most efficient guarantee of healthy development. When Axel Hertel's work *Overpressure in High Schools in Denmark* was published in 1881 it received immediately widespread publicity. As a detailed empirical investigation it was welcomed as an evidence

among these educationalists who since the 1850s had claimed that European secondary education had an unhealthy curriculum. Hertel's contribution reflected, in a Continental context, a growing concern with school hygiene; he recommended not only a reduction of mental work but demanded both a quantitative and qualitative improvement of physical education.[43] In fact he was an eager promoter of British athleticism, which, as J.A. Mangan has shown, was one of the cornerstones of the British public school. Many Nordic medical colleagues came to the same conclusion as Hertel, for example Dr Axel Key in his large inquiry into the hygienic conditions in Swedish secondary schools from 1885. In their opinion physical education should be improved on the British model rather than in the established gymnastics oriented Ling-tradition.[44]

These statements demonstrate two things. Firstly they show that Nordic school physicians, just like the educationalists, began to derive just as much inspiration from each other as from the Central Europe. Key's investigation was in many ways a Swedish reply to Hertel's work and that was also the case for many other Nordic school hygiene reports before First World War. Secondly they indicate that the 1880s was also a turning point for the debate about the educational function of bodily exercises. Spencer's influence on those of the Nordic educators, who from that decade onwards required more games and open air for pupils, might in many cases have been only indirect, but it is still clear that the overwhelming majority of them would have supported his evolutionary arguments for the "...superiority of play to gymnastics".[45]

It is of course important to keep in mind that Spencer, as famous thinkers in general, was a skilful interpretator of a enlarging opinion. The strength in his ideas lay first of all in the evolutionary presumptions, which gave his thoughts remarkable explanatory power and were useful tools in an intellectual debate. It can be claimed therefore that Spencer, like Herbart or others of the educational theorists from the world outside the Nordic region, was from the 1880s onwards quoted and referred to mainly in situations when an educational solution or arrangement needed clarification or strong argument.[46] In short, the reception of ideas and theories happened more selectively than during the constitution stage of the Nordic educational systematisation, which by and large was over by the early 1880s.

VI.

The trend towards a more selective reception and realisation of fashionable educational ideas can be followed up by taking a look at the slowdown in the Nordic secondary school reforms, which in practice occured after the Swedish educational system was integrated under the act of 1905. Progressive educationalists had not lost the will to improve and modernise their individual institutions and the whole school structure, but were forced to face the fact that the political, and consequently also social demands for a "complementation" were weaker than during the constitution stage. This does not mean that the number of school commissions, investigative reports or educational bills declined in the Nordic region

during the first half of twentieth century. On the contrary debate continued and in many cases expanded. Yet, all this discussion had only a marginal impact on educational practice in Nordic secondary schools before Second World War; the Swedish statute of 1927 was, as mentioned earlier, a compromise that watered down most progressive demands for educational democratisation, whereas the Norwegian Education Act of 1935, which in fact made the school structure even more complicated, was carried out only after the war.[47] The same development is visible also in Denmark and Finland, where no education laws were implemented before 1940 that might have changed the established hierarchy and status order.

The Nordic secondary school was therefore a rather sheltered institution during the period 1880-1940. It was, of course, forced to exist and change within a societal context, but it is nevertheless clear that change was often slow and in some cases only indirect. We have in this chapter examined how educational systematisation reflected this change. In the third and final part of this work we will investigate the way in which this dialectical process occured in physical education.

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1. Paludan 1885 pp. 48-49. See also the epilogue on pp. 808-809 that gives an even clearer impression of his outlook.

2. Following the common pattern of Nordic cultural reception Spencer's famous work *Essays on Education* was step by step translated into the Nordic languages; the Danish edition was published in 1876, the Swedish edition in 1883 and the Finnish edition in 1887.

3. Paludan 1885 p.42; for a more detailed analysis of the Danish debate see Skovgaard-Petersen 1976 pp.129-150.

4. Detlef K. Müller, "The process of systematisation: the case of German secondary education", in Müller & Ringer & Simon 1987, pp. 16-17. Although the term *complementation* is not an English expression it is used of practical reasons in this context. It is an translation from German and stands for the process of completing something with something else.

5. Ibid. pp.18-22; James C. Albisetti, *Secondary Education Reform in Imperial Germany*, Princeton University Press, Princeto, New Jersey 1982, pp. 19-37, 68.

6. Müller 1987, p. 38.

7. Müller 1987 pp. 35-38; William Rowlinson,"German education in a European context", in T.G.Cook (ed.), *The History of Education in Europe*, London, Methuen & Co Ltd 1974, p.28; James Bowen, *A History of Western Education. Volume Three. The Modern West Europe and the New World*, London, Methuen & Co Ltd 1981, p.327.

8. Ibid. p.322; Albisetti 1982 p.102; Bismarck's opinion was of course coloured by the murder of tsar Alexander II in 1881.

9. Müller 1987 p. 39; Bowen 1981 pp. 459, 478-483.

10. Kaelble 1985 p.62.

11. Ibid. pp. 31-320.

12. Pierre Bourdieu, *Kultursociologiska texter. I urval av Donald Broady och Mikael Palme*, Stockholm: Salamander 1986, pp. 264-279.

13. Bowen 1981 pp. 304-307, 447-450.

14. Patrick L. Alston, *Education and State in Tsarist Russia*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press 1969, p. 137.

15. Kaelble 1985 p. 35; This characterisation does not differ much from the conclusion in the following article by Rolf Torstendahl; "The Social Relevance of Education. Swedish secondary schools during the period of industrialisation", *The Scandinavian Journal of History* 1981:77-89.

16. Kaelble 1985 p. 31; Ringer 1987 p. 7.

17. Kaelble 1985 pp. 68-70.

18. Once again is Fritz Ringer's (1987 p.9) remark worth quoted: "The signs of educational distinction are historical compromises in an almost Freudian sense, and the whole status system need never be fully congruent with the hierarchy of wealth and economic power."

19. Paludan 1885 pp. 43-44, 347-348.

20. Einar Høigård & Herman Ruge, *Den norske skoles historie. En oversikt*. Ny utgave ved Knut Ingar Hansen, Oslo 1971, pp.610-62.

21. *Forordning angaaende de lærde Skoler i Danmark og Norge 7 Nov. 1809*, Register over Forordninger, Kjøbenhavn.

22. *Lov om højere almenskoler m.m. af 24. April 1903 (Nr 62)* ;Skovgaard-Petersen 1976 pp. 286, 349-351.

23. *Lov om Undervisningen i de lærde Skoler i Danmark 1 April 1871*; Aksel H. Nellemann, *Den danske skoles historie*, Gjellerups forlag, København 1966 pp. 115-116; Skovgaard-Petersen 1976 p. 12.

24. *Lov om offentlige skoler for den højere almendannelse 17. Juni 1869*; For a more detailed analysis of the preparation for the reform see Høigård & Ruge 1971 pp. 104-109.

25. Otto Anderssen, *Norges høiere skolevæsen 1814-1914. En oversikt.* Kirke og undervisningsdepartementets jubilaeumskrifter 1914, Kristiania 1914, pp. 44-48;Høigård & Ruge 1971 pp. 153-155.

26. Wilhelm Sjöstrand, *Pedagogikens historia, III:1, Sveriges och de nordiska grannländerna under frihetstiden och den gustavianska tiden*, Gleerups förlag, Malmö 1961, pp. 134-136, 162-166.

27. *Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Gymnasii- och Skol-Ordning för Storfurstendömet Finland 6 November 1843*; Kiuasmaa 1982 pp. 19-20.

28. *Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Skolordning för Storfurstendömet Finland. Gifwen i Helsingfors den 8 augusti 1872*; Kiuasmaa 1872 p. 21.

29. Wilhelm Sjöstrand, *Pedagogikens historia, II:2, Utvecklingen i Sverige under tiden 1809-1920*, Gleerups förlag, Lund 1965, specifically about the commission report pp.84-98 and more generally pp. 66-124.

30. *Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga stadga för rikets allmänna läroverk den 1 november 1878 (SFS 1878 No 53)*; Sjöstrand 1965 pp.329-330.

31. *Kungl. Maj:ts nådiga stadga för rikets allmänna läroverk gifven i* Kristiania *slott den 18 februari 1905*; Sjöstrand 1965 pp. 333-335.

32. An informative English review of this development can be found in Leon Boucher, *Tradition and Change in Swedish Education*, Pergamon Press 1982, pp. 12-17.

33. Bugge 1839, Høigård & Ruge 1971 pp.74-85.

34. Ibid. pp. 93-106.

35. Skovgaard-Petersen 1976 pp. 168-169, 194, 233-236.

36. See for example *Läroverkskomitèns betänkande I*, Stockholm 1884; or E. Carlson, *Det högre skolväsendet i Norge och Danmark*, Stockholm 1899.

37. Kiuasmaa 1982 pp. 22, 69.

38. Ibid. 58-61, 212.

39. Ibid. p.76.

40. Bowen 1981 pp. 233-234, 348-351.

41. See the popular work by Kristian Kroman, *Om Maaler og Midler for den høiere Skoleundervisning og om Muligheden af dens organiske Sammenknytning med de lavere.* Kjøbenhavn 1886, pp. 3-4, 108; Comments on Kroman's approach see Skovgaard-Petersen 1976 pp. 138-140, 149-150; About Berg see Sjöstrand 1965 p. 227; About Bjørnson see Høigård & Ruge 1971 pp. 145-146; About Finnish reception see for example the famous sociologist Edvard Westermarck's memoirs *Minnen ur mitt liv*, Helsingfors 1927, pp. 27-33.

42. Richardson 1963 pp.439-441.

43. The investigation was first published in Danish in 1881, under the title *Om Sundhedsforholdene i de højere Drenge- og Pigeskoler i Kjøbenhavn* (Kjøbenhavn 1881) and was four years later published in its English form by MacMillan & Co. Dr J. Chrichton-Browne's introduction implies that the publication was meant to be a scientific proof in favour of British games ethic. Examples of Hertel's positive opinion about games and sports; see pp. 134-140.

44. Axel Key, *Läroverkskomitèns betänkande III. Bilaga till Läroverkskomitèns utlåtande och förslag. Redogörelse för den hygieniska undersökningen afgifven af komitèns ledamot prof. Axel Key*, Stockholm 1885, pp. 24-25, 612-613; See also C.W. Herlitz, *Skolhygienens historia. En översikt främst av utvecklingen främst i Sverige*, Stockholm 1961, pp. 90-95.

45. Herbert Spencer, *Essays on Education*, Ect., J.M. Dent & Sons Limited, London 1939, p. 138.

46. This point is primarily inspired by a critical analysis of Herbartianism in Norway; Hans-Jørgen Dokka,"Den herbatske pedagogikks innflytelse i Norge", *Pedagogisk Forskning* 1967:4 pp. 135-146.

47. Høigård & Ruge 1971 p. 313.

Modern sport: diffusion, assimilation, adaptation

I.

In the context of this work it would be an impossible and irrelevant task to give a detailed picture of the Nordic reception of modern sports. Therefore the aim is to outline only the framework of diffusion and to ask how sports grew to be one of the most popular leisure activities in the Nordic countries during the period between 1880 and 1940, before we move to Part Three and begin to investigate how this innovation influenced boys' physical education in secondary schools. We will start with a discussion about why the modern sport culture began its diffusion from Britain. Then we will consider the Nordic sports movements' organisational and cultural forerunners, as well as at the life's work of Viktor Balck , the leading Nordic advocate of British sports at the turn of century. Finally, we will describe the different stages of the diffusion and consolidation of the sports movements in question up to 1940.

II.

The traditional way to start to write about the history of physical education is to begin with a review of its classical heritage and thereafter, with the exception of a few comments about development throughout the Middle Ages and the two first centuries of the New

Age, provide an analysis of the educational thinking of Rousseau and his followers in eighteen century Germany. Behind such an approach is the belief that the enlightment thinkers built their educational theories mainly on classical ideals, and that it is possible to explain progressive trends in late eighteen and early nineteenth centuries physical education as a revival of the concept of *mens sana in corpore sano*.

This is a simplification, but nevertheless it provides a good idea of how the growing interest in the cultivation of the body was ideologically justified by educationalists like J.C.F. GutsMuths, who was arguably the most influential theorist on physical education in Central and Northern Europe during the Napoleonic age.[1] GutsMuths' instructions in *Gymnastik für Jugend*, first published in 1793 and seven years later translated into English, were meant to be used not only in aristocratic but also in bourgeois education. In fact the the work reflected the new outlook of the emancipated middle-classes. Not surprisingly it became an important theoretical tool for those who began to develop physical education in secondary schools during the two first decades of nineteenth century.[2] Instead of stiff choreography, which had characterised exercises for the body in the courts and castles, GutsMuths put an emphasis on exercises that developed physical capacity and well-being. *Gymnastik für Jugend* in most respects followed the educational philosophy in Rousseau's *Emilè* - which itself was a work heavily influenced by Rabelais and Locke.[3] It utilised some of the traditional aristocratic exercises, such as dancing and fencing, but it was nevertheless a work more suited to the self-confident middle-classes of the Napoleonic era. While GutsMuths recommended energy consuming, basic

exercises like running, climbing and swimming as complementary to gymnastics he was at the same time an advocate of a *body culture* that was more achievement oriented. In short, strength and speed became step by step more important dimensions of performance and slowly began to get the same attention as grace and carriage, which had dominated upper- and middle class physical education.

According to Henning Eichberg this tendency towards achievement oriented exercises can be seen as an early sign of modern sport.[4] Yet it took in more than half a century before the idea of scientific measurement and comparison began to play a significant role in European physical education and other areas of physical performance. One reason for this was that exercise in most of the European schools until the last two decades of nineteenth century in practice had a drill function. The aim was not to emancipate and develop individual bodies but to produce a collective response. This was the case with both German and Nordic gymnastics systems, which we will examine more fully in the third part of this work. Another, more ideological reason is that the notions of universal social progress and economic expansion played only minor roles in education during the first half of last century. It was therefore dynamic minorities, such as, for example, the urban middle-classes, who established the cultural basis for the new leisure form, modern sport, which in conjunction with technological innovation during the second half of nineteenth century won a wider "market".[5]

The fact that modern sport first occured in Great Britain during the eighteen century is not especially astonishing. Here existed a strong middle-class which was able to reproduce and expand its own culture through the colonial trade and the domestic

industrialisation. Courtly recreations were rationalised and adapted to fit the leisure habits of the wealthy bourgeois. In short this meant that idea of universal progress was reflected in the leisure culture and established the philosophical basis for modern sport.[6]

Why did the move towards measuring, achievement-oriented forms of performances develop more slowly in Central Europe and in the Nordic region? One of the most important reasons was obviously that the Continental middle classes were both economically and culturally weaker than their counterparts on the British Isles. One example of this was the widespread application of GutsMuths' system. It was not the quantifying or emancipating aspects that in the first place inspired his followers in Germany and the Nordic region but more the systematic instructions, which on many levels were connected with the militaristic drill of eighteen century. F.L. Jahn, the father of German *Turnen*-gymnastics, although strongly influenced by GutsMuths, saw exercise first of all as a movement through which the German nation should be consolidated. The strength of the nation, *das Lebenskraft*, was to be enforced through a system that disciplined *das Volk* and refreshed its body and mind. The same romantic idea of the national importance of systematised gymnastics can also be found in the works by P.H. Ling, who as the founder of the Swedish gymnastics tradition was the Nordic parallel to Jahn.[7]

These romantic interpretations differed quite markedly from the enlighted statements of GutsMuths, but in the long run this ideological disparity had little significance. Jahn's nationalistic message lost its importance for many decades when the Napoleonic era ended and resulted in a strong political reaction. It was instead

the orientation towards an exercise system that suited the conservative regimes and their educational institutions that gained the upper hand.[8] This development was apparent also in the Nordic countries; Ling's professional work as director for the Central Institute of Gymnastics in Stockholm, during the period 1813-1839, was not primarily built on the romantic visions he had in his poetic moments, but rather on the need for officers and teachers who could ensure collective discipline and improve citizens' health.[9]

III.

Military drill was utilised not only in physical education. It became also an important component in the collective performances of the voluntary organisations and mass movements that involved an ever increasing percentage of the European population. In Germany both the nationalists and socialists built their networks of gymnastics associations, the so called *Turnvereinen*, inspired by Jahn's ideology, which was based not only on the demands of political unification but also on an egalitarian outlook.[10] In Denmark the rural culture movement showed its independence in the 1880s by rejecting the urban *Turn*-oriented gymnastics and sports as foreign phenomena in favour of Swedish gymnastics, which in the Popular Academies in the Danish countryside were given a function they lacked in Sweden. The gymnastics were practised on regular basis by the peasant collectives at the Academies and were often also performed at local political gatherings. This provided naturally the exercises with an ideological meaning they never had in Swedish schools and army.[11]

In other words Swedish gymnastics had at home quite different ideological connotations. It was not ideologically coloured or directly linked to the mass movements, as in Germany or Denmark, but was understood first and foremost as a system through which the citizens' obedience and health was improved. This was in some respects also the case with Norway, where Swedish gymnastics dominated all state controlled educational institutions. But in juxtaposition with this officially sanctioned form of bodily discipline existed a voluntary organised network of gymnastics associations that often were closely linked to the nationalistic movement, which again had as its ultimate goal the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union. Consequently the nationalists preferred exercises that differed from Swedish gymnastics and developed their own system that in practice had many similarities with the German *Turnen*.[12]

The nationalistic movement in Finland also showed interest in the ideological profits which came from the mobilisation of the masses through a popular gymnastics system. The Fennomans had difficulties, however, in building up a tradition that could be distinguished from the *body culture* of the urban bourgeois.[13] As nationalists, who tried to reduce the hegemony of a Swedish speaking elite, they could hardly adopt the Swedish system like the peasant movement in Denmark, not could they base their system on *Turnen* gymnastics, like the nationalists in Norway. The sanctioned physical education, controlled by the Swedish speaking, was clearly influenced by German gymnastics.

The absence of a strong and popular alternative in this early stage of the Finnish sports movement, which as in the Nordic neighbour countries can be dated from the 1880s and 1890s, partly ex-

plains also why the debate in Finland between the proponents and opponents of competitive sports was seldom a political or organisational confrontation like in Germany or Denmark.[14] One important exception was the organisational consolidation of Finnish women gymnasts in 1896. It was a sign of social emancipation as well as a reaction against the early sports movement, which by the turn of the century had become more and more achievement oriented. Women preferred Swedish gymnastics; in their eyes it was a system that developed the body in a harmonious and natural way.[15]

The same arguments also had supporters of the Swedish choreography in Denmark and Norway. But it is important to emphasise that the underlying motives for the ideological justification of the system differed quite markedly in each country. In Denmark it was above all a symbolic manifestation of the culturally emancipated peasants,[16] whereas in both Finland and Norway it was supported by certain urban groups; loyal educationalists and officers in Norway and emancipated upper and middle class women with close links to Sweden in Finland. Each group of supporters therefore had its own reason for advocating the Swedish system.

IV.

In its homeland the system was above all defended by teachers at the Central Institute of Gymnastics who were influenced by the theoretical explanations that the director Hjalmar Ling had added to those inherited from his father P.H.Ling. The confrontation between Hjalmar Ling's dogmatic followers and the promoters of modern sport was

therefore not only an echo of the debate about the moral and social consequences of the new *body culture*. It was also a reflection of a power struggle inside the Central Institute, which was personified in the rivalry between L.M.Törngren, Hj.Ling's successor as director, and the leading man in the emerging Nordic sports movements, Viktor Balck, who also taught at the institute.[17]

Balck can never be overlooked when it comes to an analysis of the emergence of modern sport in the Nordic region. He began his studies at the institute as a young officer in 1866 and after his degree took up a position in its military department. His career developed successfully despite the quarrel with the orthodox Ling-disciples; in 1887 he was promoted to head of his department and between 1907 and 1909 he directed the whole institute. Balck's lifework was nevertheless done mainly outside the institute. As Jan Lindroth has pointed out Balck had already, even before 1880 when he visited England for the first time with a troop of Swedish gymnasts, began to utilise freer and more individualistic exercises as the leader of Stockholm's gymnastic club. Apart from "German" gymnastic equipment, such as parallel bars, he introduced javelin throwing and archery as new forms of competition.

Balck's campaign in favour of British sports began after his second visit to England in the summer of 1881, during which time he became familiar with British athletics.[18] The same autumn he founded the sport journal *Tidning för Idrott* which in a short time made him the leading promoter of all competitive sports and exercises in Sweden. He arranged gymnastics gatherings and sport events, became the founding member of a number of sport clubs and associated

societies[19] and received, through the publication of a sport instruction trilogy between 1886 and 1888, fame throughout the whole Nordic region.

This trilogy, *Illustrerad Idrottsbok*, is indeed excellent proof of Balck's skills as a writer. Apart from editing the other contributions he wrote the chapters about gymnastics, fencing, games and athletics, which, considering the popularity of those sports, were perhaps the most important parts of this impressive work. But the trilogy was more than a product of an energetic sport visionary; it was the cultural manifesto of an expanding sports movement that, on many levels, went hand in hand with the other progressive phenomena of the 1880s. It is not a coincindence that the foreword was written by professor Frithiof Holmgren, who since the 1870s through his popular writings and speeches in favour of exercise had propagated an evolutionary ideology, which was predominantly Spencerian. As a physiologist he had no hesitation in explaining both bodily and societal dynamics in organic terms. Nevertheless it is of importance to note that Holmgren in his public performances and written contributions acted above all as a nationalist and a proud descendant of the Vikings.[20] This combination of Scandinavianistic myths and nationalistic feelings was, as we already have pointed out in chapter four, by no means contradictory.

Holmgren's combination of visions and systems comprised a very suitable ideology for men like Victor Balck, who in their self-appointed missions needed enthusiastic words and strong images. Consequently Balck used Holmgren's arguments throughout his whole career, often skilfully mixed with the athleticism he took home from his pilgrimages to the British Isles. Balck's nationalistic inter-

pretation of athleticism, as Henrik Sandblad has done in his distinguished work about the roots of the modern sport culture in Scandinavia, can be examined in its purest form in conjunction with Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic ideals, which were strongly influenced by the games ethic in the British public schools. The French cosmopolitan and the Swedish patriot had a lot in common as founding members of the Olympic Committee, but had rather polarized views, however, on the value of international sports events. Coubertin believed sincerely in the Olympics'integrating effect whereas Balck, above all, saw the competition as a means of enhancing Sweden's reputation and improving national character and health.[21]

Without question Balck was the leading man in the Nordic sports movements before the First World War. His efforts to develop Nordic interaction began already in 1882, when as organiser of a gymnastics gathering he invited Finnish and Norwegian colleagues to Stockholm, and continued in different forms until the early 1920s.[22] Balck's large correspondence is the best source material for anyone who has doubts about his role in the Nordic sport culture,[23] but another good example of his influence is also the imitations of *Illustrerad Idrottsbok*, his instruction trilogy from 1886-1888, which were published in the neighbour countries during the next two decades.[24]

The Danish version came out only two years after the last part of the trilogy was published in Sweden. To a considerable extent the editor Victor Hansen followed the Swedish prototype when he reprinted Holmgren's foreword and employed one of Balck's illustrators, Bruno Liljefors. The last detail is highly relevant in an evaluation

of a sports publication. One picture says more than thousand words is an expression that is especially true when it comes an understanding of the body and its capacities.

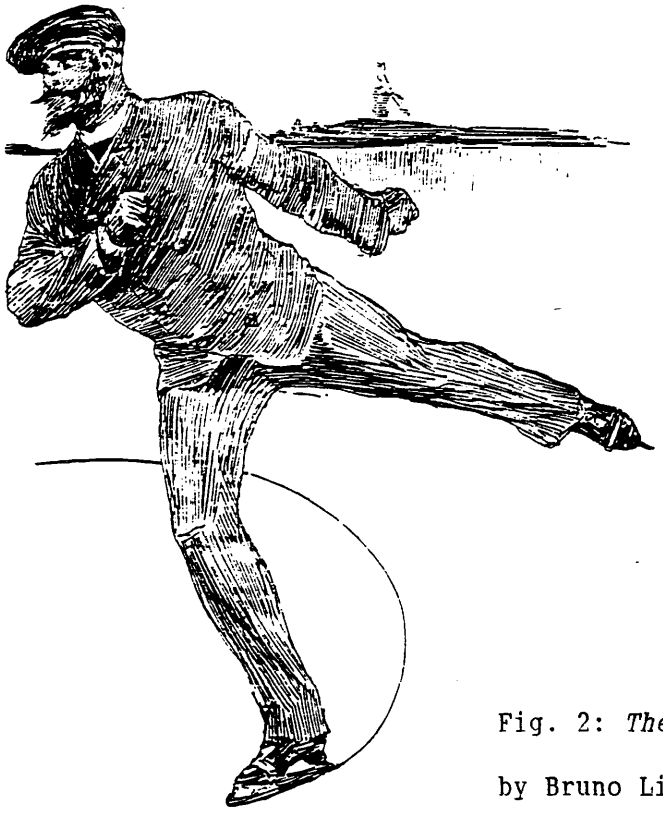

Fig. 2: *The skater*
by Bruno Liljefors

B. L.

Bruno Liljefors belonged to a group of younger painters in Sweden who in the 1880s, just like their literary colleague August Strindberg, rejected the idealistic aesthetics of the older generation. Their demands for a more realistic art were, as Gunnar Richardson has reminded us, in line both with the science oriented ideas of the Spencerian educationalists and the socialists' political requirements. In short, it was a question of a reaction against the established hierarchy and the culture it reproduced.[25] Liljefors' illustrations in the publications mentioned above

reflected both; they caught, with a few lines the sportsman's energy and movement at the same time as they emphasised the competitive nature of the new leisure forms.

It was as if Liljefors, through his drawings, wanted to point out that the new sports movement was a concrete expression of the individualistic and progressive ideals of the 1880s. This interpretation forces us to ask to what degree men like Balck or Hansen were conscious of, or interested in, the social consequences of the movement they promoted. It would be misleading, for example to characterise Balck's public statements as politically radical. On the contrary it is more accurate to claim that they reflected a wish to maintain the social order and consensus by encouraging the moral and physical work done by the sports movement.[26] Yet it is obvious that Balck and the majority of his Nordic colleagues had a new and inevitably far reaching prescription for ensuring stability; the conservation of the established society should occur paradoxically through the modernisation of the basic values and norms of its leisure culture. This ideological contradiction perhaps indicates best how these sport leaders understood their task. Few of them considered that their justifications of the new *body culture* were radical in a longer perspective. They were revolutionaries against their own will.

V.

Balck's efforts in Stockholm in the 1870s and early 1880s took place in conjunction with similar innovations in the three other Nordic capitals. Modern sports had been practiced and propagated in Copen-

hagen since 1866, when a local clerks' association founded a rowing section, but of greater importance than rowing, was the diffusion of British games, which began after *Kjøbenhavns Boldklub* in 1879, for the first time had tried to play rugby. Not surprisingly the idea was taken from one of the wealthy boarding schools near the capital, *Sorø Akademi*,[27] which in many senses was comparable with Eton or Harrow; it had traditions that went back to the Middle Ages and was to a high degree run on British public school lines. Without going too far into this rather fascinating aspect of Danish sports history it might be added that the Danish boarding schools, although few in number and negligible from an educational point of view, were in the vanguard of the Nordic sports movements.[28]

The interesting thing in this connection, however, is that modern sport from the late 1870s onwards began to an increasing extent to attract the middle-classes in the Nordic capitals. The diffusion happened quite simultaneously in the four towns, although new fashions and innovations, of course, often reached Copenhagen earlier than the other capitals, which were a longer distance from Central Europe. The first attempts to start competitive outdoor activities in the Norwegian capital occured in 1855, when a local colony of Germans founded their own gymnastics club, *Christiania Turnforening*. The initiator was the Austrian Joseph Stockinger who, initially without success, suggested that the club should begin skating. Nine years later, in 1864, his wish was fulfilled when a skating club was founded in association with the Turn club.[29] By then Norway had also got its first central organisation for "bodily exercises and military training". *Centralforeningen for udbredelse af legemsøvelser og vaabenbrug* was founded in 1861 as a direct reac-

tion to political friction with Sweden, the dominant partner in the monarch-union, but it is obvious that the idea was taken from Great Britain, where a state controlled volunteer force was established in 1859.[30]

However, *Centralforeningen* was not the dynamo of the emerging sports movements in Norway. From the beginning one of its main purposes was the improvement of physical education and therefore it was almost predetermined to follow the Swedish system, which by then was practiced systematically in the Swedish-Norwegian union. In short this meant that it was the urban *Turn* clubs which initially began to introduce and promote modern sports, originally as complementary to the *Turnen* exercises, and then from the 1880s onwards, by encouraging the establishment of independent sport clubs. Through this process many of the former *Turn* clubs also began to practice something that was called the Norwegian system, which by and large could be characterised as a pragmatic combination of the German and Swedish gymnastics systems on one side and the British sport on the other side. Consequently the Norwegian sports movement expanded in juxtaposition to, and often in collaboration, with the established network of gymnastics clubs.[31]

This development becomes more understandable if we remember that the Swedish system was in the first place planned to function in an educational situation. It did not win popularity among Swedish voluntary associations before the 1920s, and then only in a modernised version and mainly as a by-product of the rural expansion of the sports movement.[32] Its strict choreography, was for obvious

reasons, not a tempting alternative for the middle- and upper-classes in the Nordic capitals; it was intellectually boring and too collective for the bourgeois.

Actually it is easy to overlook an important social dimension of modern sports. As mentioned earlier most of the new activities, which in principle reflected an egalitarian ideal of social interaction, were in practice the first stage of a segregation process and imported to fit the leisure habits of the bourgeois. An interesting and quite typical example of this is the reception of modern sport in Helsingfors, Finland's capital. During the 1860s and 1870s the elites began to found sailing and sport clubs, which were controlled by semi-official associations, and from the 1880s onwards the developments were less and less liberal. This led to the second stage; a clearer social differentation of the clubs and also to stricter rules and customs, which again strengthened social barriers.[33] The pattern is by no means unfamiliar in a European perspective; the lower strata were efficiently excluded when the money prizes were forbidden by the amateur rules and the gentleman clubs began to organise their own competitions.

The third stage in this diffusion, which by and large occured in the 1890s, is again comparable with the Norwegian development. It was not the elitist clubs that took the initiative when the modern sport culture began to mobilise the urban masses, above all it was societies such as gymnastic clubs and voluntary fire brigades.[34] The acceptance of competitive sports happened, therefore, most typically in interaction with established traditions in these organizations. The gymnastic clubs in Helsingfors, for example, began to complement their exercises, which until then had been predominantly

Turnen oriented, with such exercises that most easily fitted the old ones. It was thus natural that the most popular exercises in the 1890s Finnish sports movement were athletics and wrestling, which in opposition to ball games or 'large equipment sports' could be practiced in the old environments.[35]

The step from *Turnen* gymnastics to athletics and other exercises, which were competitive and measured physiological capacities, was often short. As we have pointed out earlier this was not only the case in Christiania or Helsingfors but also in Victor Balck's hometown Stockholm. The Danish development did not differ markedly on this point; it was representatives of the Copenhagen's *Turnen* oriented gymnasts who most eagerly defended the competitive and individualistic components in physical education when the propaganda in favour of the Swedish system began in the 1880s.[36] On the whole it can be rightly claimed that the different types of urban gymnastic clubs were organisational starting points for the Nordic sports movement. The initial reception of modern sports occured in the exclusive clubs and schools of the wealthy bourgeois, whereas the expansion was possible only through socially more open organizational networks.

The first attempts to mobilise the masses in this direction happened in the 1860s when semi-official organisations, such as the civil corps, were founded. The next step in this consolidation was the emergence of voluntary associations, which showed interest in bodily exercises and therefore were the most important canals for the diffusion of modern sport in the 1870s and 1880s. From the 1890s onwards this mobilisation led to the establishment of national sports organisations. First in the form of bodies for specialist

sports and step by step, through the consolidation of these networks, they began to form nation wide central organisations for a range of different sports.

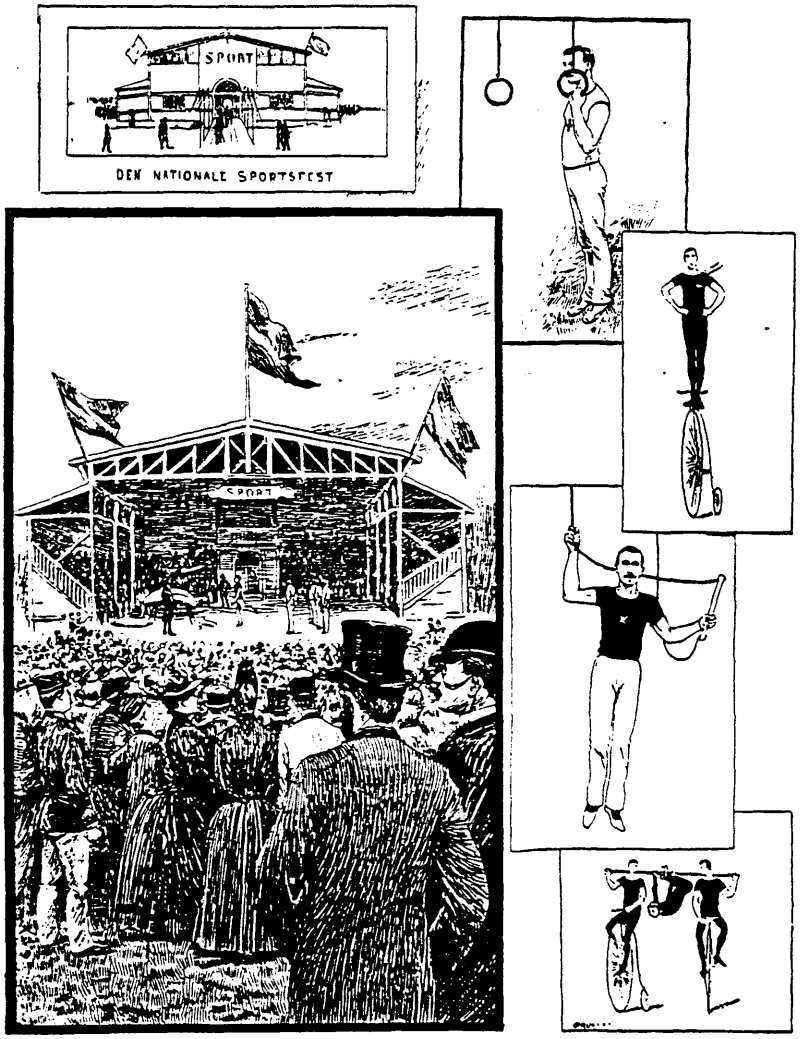

Fig. 3:
An illustration of a "national sport gathering" in Copenhagen in 1888

VI.

The Danish development also by and large follows this pattern. The first specialist organisation, the Danish Rowing Society, was founded in 1887 and nine years later, in 1896, the central body *Dansk Idræts-Forbund* started its campaign for uniform regulations and amateur rules. It is significant that this happened in the same year as de Coubertin's Olympic idea was put in practice. In other

words there was a urgent need for an authority that could reform the rules in order to make the performances internationally accepted and comparable. Not surprisingly the amateur requirement caused most friction during the following three decades; strictly interpretated the rule best fitted the urban bourgeois, who by virtue of their wealth were able to develop a more elaborate leisure culture than, for example, workers or officers.[37] Nevertheless, by the end of the 1930s the Danish sports associations had grown to be one of the country's most dynamic mass movements with an astonishingly wide social recruitment.

The consolidation of the Swedish sports movement was similar to the Danish, although it is obvious that the existence of two separate central organisations until the early 1920s had a disruptive impact. First among the special organizations was the Swedish Gymnastics Association, which was founded in 1891 by Balck and his followers, who wanted to introduce achievement oriented exercises into the voluntary clubs and societies. Six years later Balck became also founding member in the first central organisation, *Sveriges centralförening för idrottens befrämjande*, which, with the crown prince as chairman, was more exclusive than its in 1903 established parallel, *Sveriges riksidrottsförbund*.[38]

The latter achieved a dominant position in the Swedish sports movement. It was lead more efficiently and could respond better to the needs of the urban masses, from which the majority of its members were recruited until the 1920s, when the mobilisation of those in the countryside began on larger front.[39] During this decade attempts were made to build up a workers' sport movement as an alternative to the established central organisation, but most of these

efforts collapsed due to internal conflicts and the social democrats' negative attitude to an explicit politicisation of the sport movement.[40] Similar attempts were made also in Denmark during the interwar period.[41]

The workers' sports association in Finland, founded in 1919, only one year after the Finnish civil war had ended, was more successful. To a considerable extent the war had been a reflection of the Russian Revolution, which started in Petrograd (until 1914 S:t Petersburg), only 300 km from Helsingfors; it was a class war as well as a reaction to the lack of food and order, which occured in the Russian empire in the end of First World War. Hatred was by no means forgotten after the civil war had ended with a total victory for the White army, flanked by the German forces in the Baltic territories, which re-established the bourgeois order and constitution Finland had had when it became independent only a half year earlier, in the autumn of 1917. Socialists, who had avoided execution or prison, were often fired and forced to leave their civil positions. This took place even in the central organisation of Finnish sports movement, *Finlands Gymnastik- och Idrottsförbund.* The organisation had been founded in 1906 and was, as in the Nordic neighbour countries, an attempt to consolidate and direct the growing number of sport clubs and special bodies. The aims were only partly achieved; the women had, as mentioned earlier, already in 1896 founded their own gymnastics federation and had no reason to join the new organisation, which above all vindicated competitive sports. But it was not only emancipated women who were critical of the new consolidation. Only one year after its establishment representatives

of the Swedish speaking associations left it due to a political quarrel, and began to built up their own networks, which again were bound together in 1912 in a separate gymnastics and sports union.[42]

The 1910s was also the decade when workers'sport clubs were established in an increasing rate. From 1912 onwards there existed plans to establish a workers' sport federation after the model in Germany, where the socialists since the end of nineteenth century had formed their own mass movement for physical exercise. Yet it is obvious that when consolidation was finally achieved in 1919 it was more a direct consequence of the civil war; every workers'club that in one or another way had been in collaboration with the revolutionaries was cut off from the 1906 established central organisation. It is not difficult therefore to understand why the Finnish workers'sports federation, unlike those of in Sweden and Denmark, in a very short time became an independent mass movement and a real alternative to the bourgeois associations. For the Finnish worker class struggle was not a notion that brought to mind only Marxist theories or the demands for a more democratic society but also bitter personal memories from the recent civil war. This explains also in part why the movement, in contrast to the similar Norwegian workers'sports organisation, still exists.[43]

The organisational consolidation of the Norwegian sports movement for its part is more easily understood if considered in conjunction with the Swedish experience. As in Sweden between 1910 and 1919 there existed two bourgeois central organisations. The older of these two, as already noted above, was *Centralforeningen*, which ever since its establishment in 1861 had given special attention to educational and health aspects. The younger, *Norges Riksforbund for*

Idræt founded in 1910, was also an organisation that was formed to ensure administrative control over the growing number of national associations for special sports. Not surprisingly *Riksforbundet* was the stronger part when the two organisations were united in 1919 and *Norges Landsforbund for Idrett* was created. It had a more commercial approach and was from the beginning built up as a bureaucratic corporation.[44] However this association split up five years later, in 1924, as a result of a political conflict between the leadership and a number of workers'clubs.

The workers subsequently established their own sports federation, which, according to Finn Ostad, was run in many ways on the same lines as the former, more philantropic *Centralforeningen*. Apart from a concern about public health it condemned in principle "pot hunting". As a socialist movement it paid a different kind of attention to the mobilisation of the masses than *Centralforeningen*, which originally was formed as a nationalistic civil guard. As in Finland the workers' sports federation had an important function in the Labour movement; it mobilised the worker youth in an effective way and its mass performances were impressive demonstrations of the movement's concrete strength. Despite the strong rivalry between *Landsforbundet* and the workers federation, which was especially sharp during the depression of the early 1930s, by the end of the thirties the two central organisations were able to find a compromise that led to the consolidation of the Norwegian sports movement.[45]

VII.

If we look at the organisational consolidation of the Nordic sports movements from a comparative perspective one thing at least seems clear. The older and more established nations Sweden and Denmark went through a more harmonious expansion than Norway and Finland, which achieved and maintained their independence in the beginning at this century only through a forceful nationalism that inevitably produced political reactions. In such situations it was naturally difficult to justify the sports movement without using ideological arguments that were politically coloured. Nevertheless it can be claimed that development in the four countries by the end of 1930s had taken a similar direction. Norway followed the Danish and Swedish pattern through the compromise in the 1930s whereas the two central organisations in Finland by then had been able to resolve most of their disputes.

It is important to remember that organisational development is only one dimension of the sports movement. In other words it is not enough to present a reconstruction of the networks' growth or political connections if the aim is to explain the reception of the modern sport in a full social and cultural context. One way to solve this problem is to interpretate modern sport within the framework of Norbert Elias's ideas of the civilizing process, or by following Henning Eichberg's example and develop a dialectical critique of the Elias's evolutionary approach through a use of the concept of *body culture.* For the historian, another, more familiar strategy is to investigate the reception comprehensively as a phenomenon specific in space and time. This will be done in the following chapters, when

among other things we analyse how the adaptation of sports for educational and supplementary purposes happened in the Nordic secondary school.

But let us keep one thing in mind; it would be misleading to think that the expanding sports movement was the most important external factor in the evolution of physical education in Nordic secondary schools between 1880 and 1940. Physical education already had an established position in the secondary education curriculum in the 1880s, when the diffusion of the sports movement began on a large scale. By then it had its own gymnastics oriented didactics and a group of professionals, who often were rather suspicious of the educational value of the new games and competitions. Medical and educational demands for reform often had a more direct influence on the legal and practical evolution of the subject than the sports movement. Yet it can not be denied that the sports culture, its organisations and the leisure activities their leaders advocated, in the long run, had a strong impact on educational practice. Public arguments for an increasing emphasis on outdoor exercises might have been physiological or moral but the underlying and, in fact, often more stronger motive for them was the simple wish to let the pupils do what they wanted; sport. The point is that it would have been inappropriate for the Nordic educationalists to advocate such a popular activity for its own sake. Public opinion and politicians required more respectable motives for sport, which, despite its increasing popularity, maintained at least some of its reputation as a childish activity until the postwar period.

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1. For a more detailed analysis of GutsMuths pedagogical theory see for example C.W. Hackensmith, *History of Physical Education*, New York, Harper & Row 1966, pp. 116-118; or Eichberg 1978 pp. 54-56.

2. About the usage of GutsMuths' ideas in Germany and the Nordic region see Jan Lindroth, *Idrottens väg till folkrörelse. Studier i svensk idrottsrörelse fram till 1915*, Studia historica Upsialensia 60, Uppsala 1974 pp. 23-25; and Trangbæk 1987 pp. 26-27, 34-36.

3. Bowen 1981 pp.186-190

4. Eichberg 1978 pp. 54-59.

5. Apart from Eichberg, who maybe has outlined this transformation most skilfully when it comes to sport history (Eichberg 1978), another work can be mentioned that offers a refreshing analysis of the history of the bourgeois individualism; Johan Asplund, *Tid, rum, individ och kollektiv*, LiberFörlag 1983.

6. In this connection it is naturally necessary to refer to Norbert Elias classical study "The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological Problem", which has been reprinted in Elias's and Eric Dunning's essay collection *Quest for Excitement, Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, Basic Blackwell 1986.

7. Lindroth 1974 pp. 24-30; Eichberg 1978 pp.131-147.

8. Ibid. pp.157-164.

9. See for example Oswald Holmberg, *Den svenska gymnastikens historia. Pehr Henrik Ling och hans verk*, Stockholm 1939.

10. Reinhard K. Spengler, *Die Jahnrezeption in Deutschland 1871-1933. Nationale Identität und Moderniserung*, Schorndorf: Hoffmann, 1985 pp.190-209, 226-227.

11. Ove Korsgaard,"Mellem natur og kultur" *Idrætshistorisk Årbog 1987*, 3. årg., pp. 16-18.

12. Finn Olstad, *Norsk idretts historie. Band I. Forsvar, sport, klassekamp 1861-1939*, Aschehoug 1987 pp. 36-44.

13. Leena Laine,"Idrott för alla - men på olika villkor? Idrott, sahälle och social kontroll i Finland 1856-1917", *Svenska idrottshistoriska föreningens årsskrift 1988* pp. 55-57.

14. Seppo Hentilä, "Urheilu, kansakunta ja luokat", in Risto Alapuro et al. (eds.), *Kansa liikkeessä*, Kirjayhtymä: Helsinki 1987, pp. 216-217.

15. Ibid. pp. 62-63.

16. Korsgaard 1982 pp. 103-106.

17. For a profound analysis of this struggle see Lindroth 1974 pp. 198-230, 254-259.

18. Jan Lindroth,"Viktor Balck och sporten. Den Svenska idrottsrörelsens engelska förbindelser 1880-1900", *Personhistorisk Tidskrift* 1980 pp. 131-133.

19. For example, Balck was a founding member of the philanthropic society *Sällskapet för befrämjandet av skolungdomens fria lekar*, established in 1883, which donated sport equipment to secondary schools in Stockholm and financed the uphold of a couple of toboggan-runs and ice-grounds in the capital. Typically enough, the society was dissolved in 1926, one year before Balck died . See the records in Sällskapet för befrämjandet av skolungdomens fria lekar, Sveriges Centralförening för Idrottens befrämjande arkiv, JIb:1; Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

20. Sandblad, 1985 pp. 159-172.

21. Ibid. pp. 216-225, 241-243.

22. The dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union had however a cooling impact on the collaboration; for a more detailed description of Balck's reactions to the dissolution see Jan Lindroth,"Unionsupplösningen 1905 och idrotten. Den svenska idrottsrörelsen i en utrikespolitisk krissituation", *Sveriges centralförening för idrottens befrämjande, Årsbok 1977.*

23. V.G. Balcks arkiv (Sveriges Centralförening för Idrottens befrämjande), Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

24. Victor Hansen, *Illustreret Idrætsbog. Udarbejdet paa Grundlag af Victor Balcks illustrerad Idrottsbok*, Kjøbenhavn, I del 1890, II del 1893; Laurentius Urdahl (red.), *Norsk Idræt. Skildringer fra norsk sportsliv. Illustrerat af A. Bloch*, Christiania 1891;Ivar Wilskman, *Idrotten i Finland, I-IV*, Helsingfors 1904-1906.

25. Richardson 1963 pp. 433-437.

26. See for example Sandblad 1985 pp. 334-343, 386-391.

27. Korsgaard 1982 pp.135-137.

28. The history of *Sorø Akademi* is delineated by Paludan (1885, pp. 20-21, 43, 104, 120-121), whereas the development of one of the other famous Danish boarding schools, *Herlufsholm Skole*, is described in A.K.Hasselager, *Herlufsholm 1865-1915. Fortsættelse af H.B.Melchiors og Albert Leths Historiske Efterretninger om Herlufsholms Stiftelse*, Næstved 1915, pp. 41, 20-99. A typical example of how the British public school culture inspired the teachers at these schools is an article by O.F.Bache,"Fra et Besøg i engelske Public Schools", *Herlufsholms lærde skoles Program 1900-1901*, pp. 5-31.

29. Gunnar Nordahl & Odd Tyrihjell, *Norsk idrett gjennom hundre år 1861-1961*, Oslo 1961 pp. 16-30.

30. Olstad 1987 pp. 14-19.

31. Ibid. pp. 34-39.

32. Jan Lindroth, *Idrott mellan krigen. Organisationer, ledare och idéer i den svenska idrottsrörelsen 1919-1939*, HLS Förlag Stockholm 1987 pp. 129-133.

33. Laine 1988 pp. 52-61.

34. Henrik Stenius, Föreningsväsendets utveckling i Finland fram till 1900-talets början med speciell hänsyn till massorganisationsprincipens genombrott, Skrifter utgivna av SLS nr 545, Helsingfors 1987, pp. 231-234.

35. Leena Laine, *Vapaaehtoisten järjestöjen kehitys ruumiinkulttuurin alueella Suomessa v.1856-1917*, Liikuntatieteellisen Seuran julkaisu no 93, Lappeenranta 1984 pp. 115-128, 158-166.

36. Søren Copsø, *Den danske skolegymnastiks udvikling 1884-1913*, Speciale på Historisk Institut, Aarhus Universitet, 1983 pp. 22, 53-54; Trangbæk 1987 pp.159.

37. Korsgaard 1982 pp. 297-303.

38. Lindroth 1974 pp. 91-99, 121-123.

39. Lindroth 1987 pp. 64-67, 111-112.

40. See Rolf Pålbrant's dissertation on Swedish workers'sport movement, *Arbetarrörelsen och idrotten 1919-1939*, Studia historica Upsaliensia 91, Uppsala 1977.

41. The Danish parallel is described by for example in Korsgaard 1982 pp. 304-316.

42. Laine 1984 pp. 345-359, 419-440.

43. Seppo Hentilä, *Suomen työläisurheilun historia I. Työväen Urheiluliitto 1919-1944*, Hämeenlinna 1982.

44. Olstad 1987 pp. 123-126, 201-202.

45. Ibid. pp. 205-224, 245-246.

PART THREE: A BOURGEOIS CULTIVATION OF THE BODY

In the first two parts of this work we have outlined the theoretical starting points and historical background for the analyse of different dimensions of the cultivation of the body, which will be undertaken in the following five chapters. However, before we move on and try to explain the way promotion of health and character building in physical education for boys was a form of preparation for a bourgeois manhood, it is important to have a detailed picture of the subject's actual circumstances and conditions during the period in question. We will start, therefore, with an outline of the legal systematisation of physical education in chapter seven and then, in chapters eight, nine and ten examine how the predominant educational ideologies in teacher training, were put in practice in the secondary schools. In the eleventh and final chapter we take a closer look at the ideological motives and arguments associated with the public debate about the function of physical education in Nordic secondary schools.

Laws and regulations

I.

Physical education was by no means a new phenomenon in Nordic countries in the end of last century. As on the Continent, it had been an important part of aristocratic upbringing throughout the New Age. Sons of Nordic noblemen, like their peers in Central Europe, were taught to fence, ride and dance in order to master their future obligations in court and society.[1] During the second half of eighteen century progressive educationalists began to use some of these aristocratic exersises in their own schools, which mainly attracted children from the enlighted middle-classes. Inspired by Rousseau, Basedow and, from the beginning of nineteenth century onwards, by GutsMuths, these educationalists combined upper-class practices with activities which above all strengthened the body and developed its flexibility.

Such experiments were made initially in Copenhagen's first private school, *Efterslægtskabets skole*, which was established in 1787. The pupils, apart from being taught "useful" skills like modern languages and natural sciences, were encouraged to practice physical exercises like running, jumping and climbing, which, not surprisingly, were seen as more natural than some of the traditional activities of the noblemen. Around 1800 these ideas had spread not only to a number of schools in Copenhagen[2], but also to Christiania, which as the administrative centre of Norway had close links to

Copenhagen. However the originally enlighted motives for physical education by then had become more militaristic. Napoleon's victories on the Continent were by and large understood as results of the mobilisation of the civil masses through national service. This view was shared by the headmaster of *Katedralskolen* in Christiania, Niels Treschow, who in an article in the school's yearbook 1800, emphasised how important it was that small nations like Denmark-Norway were prepared to defend their territories; "How little is achieved when a suddenly flaming courage lacks both experience and exercise?". Treschow did not explicitly advocate national service, but was nevertheless an eager supporter of physical exercises that hardened and disciplined youth as a preparation for war.[3]

His attitude to physical education underlines the fact that the Napoleonic wars had awakened the Nordic authorities to the realisation that the mobilisation of a civil army could begin in the school. In 1804 the Danish Crown established a military gymnastics institute in Copenhagen and employed as its director V.V.F. Nachtegall (1777-1847), who five years earlier, in 1799, had started a gymnastics institute for children at the same time as he became gymnastics teacher in two of Copenhagen's practical oriented schools. Being a teacher Nachtegall was also suitable to be director of the civil gymnastic institute, which was founded by the Crown in 1808 in order to educate school teachers.

The civil gymnastics institute had however to close its doors in 1816, when the Danish administration was forced to reduce its expenditure after the damage to the merchant fleet in the British bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 and further catastrophes in the form of state bankruptcy in 1813 and the loss of Norway to Sweden in

1814. This meant that the military gymnastics institute between 1816 and 1898 was the country's only higher institution for teacher training in physical education.[4] By and large this was the situation in Sweden, where P.H.Ling, as mentioned earlier, in 1813 became director of the state funded Central Institute of Gymnastics (*GCI*) in Stockholm, which until the last decade of nineteenth century was an institution mainly for officers.

II.

The militaristic motive remained predominant as physical education was gradually made a compulsory subject in Nordic secondary schools for boys during the first three quarters of nineteenth century. Health promotion and character building were by no means unknown motives in this reform, but had nevertheless a minor role until the last quarter of the century.

The nature of reform can be examined most thoroughly by looking at the legal regulations that eventually transformed physical education in the Nordic region into a distinct subject with its own methods and didactic procedures. The first attempts to introduce the subject in the Nordic secondary school curriculum had already occured during the first decade of nineteenth century. The Swedish Education Act of 1807, which was valid in both Sweden and Finland until the 1840s, recommended that every school should build on its yard gymnastic apparatuses, where exercises such as climbing and jumping could be practiced between the lessons.[5] In 1820 this recommendation was extended to the remaining part of the Swedish kingdom.

Every healthy youth had to take part in gymnastics, if such exercises could be arranged by the schools. However in reality the regulations of the act had little immediate impact; a report from 1824 stated that gymnastics was practiced properly in only one school, *Linköpings läroverk*, and eight years later, in 1832, came the report that only five schools had put the legal requirements into practice. All the same the innovation was constructive and in 1843 the education authorities noticed that 17 competent gymnastics teachers had been appointed and that many more schools were eager to find teachers educated at the *GCI*.[6]

The professional requirements for gymnastics teachers were based on a *GCI*-regulation of 1814, which declared that no one should be employed as a public teacher without having a certificate from the institute. In 1864 these requirements were changed in conjunction with the re-organisation of the *GCI*. According to the institute's new statutes full professional competence was achieved only by completing a two-year course in the *GCI*'s military or education department.[7] In 1878 these requirements were confirmed in the extensive secondary school reform, which was one of the most important legal actions in the systematisation of Swedish secondary education.[8]

By the 1870s physical education had already obtained a regular place in the curriculum. In the Education Act of 1856 the subject was classified for the first time as compulsory for every male pupil. Headmasters were nevertheless given the discretion to decide how physical education should be organized, which tended to weaken the impact of the law.[9] In 1863 a royal circular proclaimed

that gymnastics and military exercises had to be practiced in the state ruled secondary schools 3 hours per week in the four lowest classes and 4 hours per week in the next four classes.

The decision was an explicit result of a request from the Swedish parliament, the Estates, to the king in 1860, in which it was suggested that military training in physical education, already practiced in many of Sweden's secondary schools, should be investigated in order to find out if it could be made compulsory. It is not surprising therefore that the circular of 1863 devoted much attention to the military aspects of education; apart from so called pedagogical gymnastics, which involved a lot of drilling exercises, it was demanded that the older pupils should be trained in infantry movements, rifle exercises and bayonet fencing. Pupils in the two highest classes got also shooting in their programme.[10]

Three years later, in 1866, the authorities sent out a detailed plan of how these directives should be carried out. The military exercises should be practiced both at the beginning of autumn term and the end of spring term. The schools were also recommended to arrange joint manoeuvres and marches, presumably in order to raise the exercises' status and the schools' *esprit de corps*. The plan reinforced also the *GCI*'s position, as Sweden's leading professional authority on physical education, by sanctioning the institute's pedagogical gymnastics as the officially recommended method.[11]

The plan of 1866, together with *GCI*'s statutes of 1864, established the legal basis for the systematisation of physical education in Sweden. The subject had now been made compulsory in secondary schools and was practiced according to a clearly stated method. In

addition to that the *GCI* had, in conjunction with its reorganisation in 1864, obtained the right to inspect and correct school physical education at a national level. The fact that these improvements could be made rather swiftly proves that, especially in the 1860s, there existed a strong political will to enforce the subject's position in the curriculum.

The claim that the motives behind these reforms were predominately militaristic is strengthened by an official circular of 1870, which provided further directives regarding the implementation of military training. In addition to the fact that the two highest classes got more exercises it was stated that physical education, eight to ten weeks per school year, should be reserved for this purpose. Another, maybe even more decisive directive was that practical supervision on school yards and rifle ranges had to be directed by an officer. Finally other teachers were encouraged to use military examples and references in their tuition.[12]

It is easy to see why political opinion in Sweden was favourable to such reforms. The Estates' request in 1860 was an early sign of the increasing interest in defence, which during the next two decades in Sweden, as in many other European countries, lead to the establishment of a large network of paramilitary organisations at the same time as national service was modernised. During the 1860s the motives for the mobilisation of the civil masses were strengthened also by reports from the wars in Central Europe, which clearly showed the efficiency of German national service. In 1864 Denmark was thoroughly beaten by the German-Austrian troops and two years later, in 1866, the Austrians themselves were forced to their knees by the Prussian *Wehrmacht*. It was probably not

an accident therefore that the Swedish school directives of 1870 were sent out on the 29th of July, ten days after the French government, with disastrous consequences, had declared war on Prussia.

After the Franco-German War of 1870-71 the European power struggle was stabilised and canalised to the colonies. These changes also had an impact on educational policy in the Nordic region; it was a quarter of a century before the Swedish authorities were forced to send out a more detailed directive about physical education in secondary schools. The circular of 1895 included both a syllabus and the minimum requirements of the number of hours for the different exercises. Every class was to have at least half an hour a day or, alternatively, three hours per week of physical education. Military training became more shooting oriented at the same time as it was limited to the two highest classes. Outdoor games were mentioned, for the first time, as an alternative to pedagogical gymnastics[13], which, as we will see in next chapter, had achieved by then a very strong position as a didactic system in Swedish schools.

Ten years later by means of the Education Act of 1905 headmasters were for the first time recommended to encourage male pupils to practice games and sports by reserving enough space for these exercises near the school. The physiological motive became now more and more dominant; physical education was, according to the law, understood chiefly as a means of promoting health and reducing academic pressure. Schools were to be built in sound and spacious locations and had to have a gymnasium in their immediate neighbourhood. Showers were also recommended for gymnasiums.[14] Nevertheless these directives had only a slight impact. In 1915 a committee, set up by the Crown Prince to investigate the state of physical educa-

tion, was forced to point out a number of inadequacies. It was apparent that schools seldom had the means or the educational will to carry out the reforms without strong financial support from the public authorities.[15]

The 1920s were a turning point for Swedish physical education; military training had been totally abolished in February 1918[16] and it is obvious that the schools, to an increasing degree, had to react to the pressures from the expanding sports movement. In 1928 the Swedish Ministry of Education completed the education act of 1927 with a detailed curriculum, which contained many new directives about physical education. Games and sports were for *the first time* openly classified as equal to pedagogical gymnastics. In addition every class was required to have a range of physical exercises for four hours per week and the schools were required to reserve at least fifteen outdoor days annually for supervised activities.[17] The latter arrangement, however, was not generally welcomed by the teaching staffs, who were supposed to function as instructors, and had to be modified in 1933. From then on the schools had more freedom to organise the outdoor days, which had been reduced to ten days per year.[18]

The legal reformation of Swedish secondary school physical education before 1940 must be viewed in the context of the contemporary systematisation of the national school structures in Europe. The laws and regulations were in both cases carried out most strongly in situations when public opinion focused on education as a means to secure or transform the existing society. The first active stage was the Napoleonic era, which gave new and more convincing motives to nationally centralised school systems and a well organised

physical education. The next active period began by and large in the 1860s, when many of the earlier reform plans received stronger public support and were realised. The third phase began at the turn of the century after national school systems were constituted and "new" subjects like physical education were recognised, although it was not yet especially high in the curriculum hierachy. This phase was, to a large extent, a process of completing the existing education patterns and was therefore more slower. In fact it continued in most European countries until the Second World War. It was reasonably easy to reform certain curricula and rewrite dated textbooks, but much harder to reconstruct established education patterns.

IV.

How does this Swedish model fit the legal creation of physical education in the other Nordic countries' secondary schools? Let us compare the reform process in the three countries with the Swedish developments outlined above.

If we look at the situation in Denmark at the beginning of nineteenth century it becomes apparent that the country by then had established a tradition in physical education, which was actually stronger than in Sweden. In other words it was no accident that the founder of the Swedish gymnastics system, P.H. Ling, studied at Nachtegall's institute in Copenhagen before he established in 1813 the *GCI* in Stockholm. The legal basis for physical education in Danish secondary schools was in principle the education act of 1809,

which, as mentioned in chapter six, although it contained enlighted ideas, was an early symbol of the conservative school policy that took shape in Denmark at the end of the Napoleonic era. The act declared that gymnastics should be practiced in the Latin schools, as in some contemporary bourgeois schools in Copenhagen, as often as possible between lessons.[19] These requirements had no concrete impact on educational practice. On the contrary physical exercises became more uncommon during the 1810s and 1820s, when most of the progessive schools were closed down. This trend was not ended either by two regulations in 1814, which stated that gymnastics should be practiced three hours per week in every urban primary school in Denmark which had a competent teacher.[20]

In 1828 gymnastics was made a compulsory subject in primary and municipal schools and two years later, in 1830, a royal resolution extended the law to include also the state financed Latin school, which was the main institution for secondary education.[21] According to one estimate by the end of the 1830s physical education was practiced in some form in every secondary school in Denmark. The same source adds, nevertheless, that the subject was until the 1860s normally practiced only during the warmer seasons, when the temperature was not too low in the unheated gymnasiums.[22]

Until 1898 teacher training, as stated above, was available only at the military gymnastics institute in Copenhagen. This arrangement had naturally far reaching consequences; until the 1920s the teachers were predominately officers, for whom a school job was an extra source of income. However, it would be wrong to claim that the subject's militaristic approach was caused merely by its teacher staff. In 1862 a regulation required the state financed secondary

schools to organise rifle shooting for the two highest classes during the summer season. Every pupil should fire at least 75 shots annually and the results had to be published in the school reports.[23] These exercises were carried out, although fairly irregularly, until the 1910s when they were finally discontinued.[24]

In connection with the secondary education act of 1871, which among other things shortened the school week by four hours, the Ministry of Education sent out a circular, in which it reminded the schools to try to use the newly available time to develop physical education.[25] This directive failed to have the required effect and in 1873 the secondary schools received a further circular in which it was stated that every class from then on should have at least four hours a week physical exercise and that the largest group should be 30 pupils.[26]

The circular of 1873 was a decisive step towards a centrally controlled physical education, and in importance it can be compared with the Swedish syllabus plan of 1866, which, as already mentioned, confirmed and specified the subject's position in the curriculum. Headmasters, in both state financed and private secondary schools, were now, to an increasing extent, forced to keep in mind the clearly declared minimum requirements and had, together with the gymnastics teacher, to be prepared for regular inspections, which were intensified in the 1870s. Nevertheless, the Danish reforms had not the same strength as the Swedish statutes. Both countries introduced military training for the older secondary school pupils in the early 1860s, but it was only in Sweden that this was methodically put into practice.

This Danish development can not be explained as a reflection of public opinion; after the humiliating defeat in the war against the German forces in 1864 the Danes were more than eager to enlarge the network of civil corps and rifle associations, which, as in many other European countries, had been established after the Crimean War between 1854 and 1856. It seems as if military enthusiasm was more decentralised in Denmark and therefore to a higher degree canalised through voluntary organisations[27] than through state controlled institutions such as the secondary school. Another, maybe even more plausible explanation of the greater efficiency of the Swedish reforms can be found in the fact that the systematisation of secondary education was faster, and also more centralised than in Denmark, during the second half of nineteenth century. In short, the Swedish state had the organisation to put in practice reforms, which in Denmark often had to be left uncompleted.

However, it is no doubt that the Danish school authorities from the 1880s onwards, increasingly, tried to improve conditions in physical education. In 1882 in a circular secondary schools were reminded of the minimum requirements of 1873, and at the same time it was recommended that headmasters should try to organise daily exercises for all classes.[28] Eight years later, in 1890, a ministerial directive stated that inspection should be expanded to include the private schools.[29] The decision was presumably a direct consequence of the re-organisation in 1889, which made the Ministry of Education responsible for inspection.[30] The new arrangement was important for two reasons; it weakened the position of the military gymnastics institute, which until then had been in charge of inspections, while it strengthened ministerial control. These reforms were

followed by a circular in 1891, which declared that every teacher in physical education from then on should make detailed notes about their instruction in a diary, especially printed for this purpose.[31]

In many ways the 1890s was a crucial period for the reform of Danish physical education. It was not only the decade in which the authorities, for the first time, recommended the use of games and sports, but also a decisive time for the didactic systematisation of educational practice. In 1889 the Ministry of Education appointed a commission to prepare a textbook on physical education, which could be used in both in primary and secondary schools. As we will see in the next chapter, where the textbook's history is examined more thoroughly, the production of this document was a slow process. The commission had high ambitions; the aim was nothing less than an establishment of a "rational" syllabus, but only few of the commission members could directly agree on which exercises and systems should be chosen. When the textbook, with the Danish title *Haandbog i Gymnastik*, was finally published in 1899 it was sent direct to schools for immediate use.[32]

Although the teachers soon discovered that the instructions were too detailed and in practice hard to follow, it is clear that the *Haandbog i Gymnastik* played an important role in the attempts to build up a nationally uniform system, which was organised and directed from Copenhagen. The Ministry now began to organise school inspection with a firm hand[33] and in 1901 sent out a circular, in which the secondary schools were told to equip themselves with a specially designed diary for physical education.[34] Another important improvement was the decision in 1898 to start a gymnastics course at the Teacher College in Copenhagen. This was a first step towards a

demilitarisation of the physical education staff, which until the 1920s was dominated by non-commissioned officers. It might be added that a civil gymnastics institute for teacher training was established in the capital in 1911, simultaneously as students at Copenhagen university's faculty of philosophy got the right to study at the institute and thereby adding physical education as a minor subject to their main studies for a secondary school teacher qualification.[35]

In short, the legal systematisation of Danish physical education, by the turn of the century, had reached a "complementation" stage. The school authorities could, after the establishment of an integrated control system, concentrate their forces more on improvements in teacher education and the schools' gymnasiums and sport facilities. The changes were followed up through the ministerial circulars and directives, which became more regular and detailed. Apart from a large number of reforms in the 1910s and 1920s, which enlarged and specified the university students rights to complete their degrees with a physical education qualification at the gymnastics intitute, the secondary schools received, for example, the following directives; in 1907 headmasters were instructed as to how the higher classes' shooting training should be synchronised with the new education act of 1903, in 1916 the Ministry stated that the schools should limit ball games to the summer season (15.4-10.10) in order to get enough time for the less popular gymnastics, and finally, in 1935 a new secondary education curriculum plan was sent out accompanied by a substantial physical education syllabus, which could be described as representing the formal acceptance of a programme dominated by games and sports.[36]

In other words it seems as if Danish secondary schools' physical education was reformed more progressively than physical education in Sweden during the first half of twentieth century. How should the changed roles be explained? One reason is obviously the 1911 founded civil gymnastics institute (*Statens Gymnastikinstitut*) and its collaboration with Copenhagen university. This had an positive impact both on teacher training and on the modest research and development done at the institute. In the long run it was also a guarantee that new ideas were tested and carried out more swiftly in Denmark than in Sweden, where the *GCI* in Stockholm, especially in the 1920s and 1930s, was isolated both from the academic world and the expanding sports movement. Put slightly differently, it could be claimed that the Swedes had difficulties finding a way out of the ideological strait jacket of the "Ling tradition", which by the end of nineteenth century had become a rigidly interpretated didactic system. Another possible explanation of the differences between the legal improvements in Denmark and Sweden during the period 1880-1940, is that the Danish school sector was more pluralistic than the Swedish and therefore required tighter laws and regulations to become a centrally directed education system.

V.

Let us carry on with a comparative approach and analyse to what degree the legal developments in Norway followed the Swedish and Danish pattern. The Norwegian evolution, until 1940, was by and large a consequence of the judicial tradition of Danish rule and the

reforms completed during the Swedish-Norwegian union. The dissolution of the union in 1905 forced the Norwegian school authorities to undertake certain administrative changes, but in reality this had only a minor impact on educational policy practiced before Second World War.

The first Norwegian statute that mentioned physical education was, of course, the secondary education act of 1809, which had validity in all parts of the Danish kingdom. The recommendations that exercises should be practiced as often as possible between the lessons seems not to have been followed in any other town than in Christiania, which as the administrative centre for the Norwegian part of the monarchy was strongly influenced by Copenhagen. According to Paludan gymnastics was mentioned as a school subject in Christiania as early as in 1810.[37] This is by no means impossible if we keep in mind that Niels Treschow, headmaster of the town's only Latin school, *Christiania Katedralskole*, as early as 1800 promoted physical exercise as an efficious way to prepare the youth for military activities. It is arguable therefore that the *Katedralskole* was the first school in Norway to carry out the mentioned recommendations of 1809.

Nevertheless, it took more than half a century before physical education was made compulsory in Norwegian secondary schools. One reason for this was obviously the lack of a domestic gymnastics teacher training institution. Apart from a handful of officers who went through Nachtegall's institute between 1804 and 1814 all of the country's gymnastics teachers until the 1860s were trained by visiting specialists from Sweden or at the *GCI* in Stockholm. Furthermore the schools had no suitable indoor space. When the school

authorities in Christiania in 1837 stated that gymnastics should be practiced in the town's secondary schools two hours per week this decision was followed only during the warmer seasons and in open air.

The first gymnasium in Christiania stood ready in 1843, when the *Katedralskole* opened its *Voltigeerhus* in the back yard of the school.[38] Not surprisingly this had a stimulating impact on the physical education; the same year as the gymnasium stood ready, the school's yearbook contained a curriculum, which, apart from certain other progressive changes included the requirement that every class should have gymnastics three hours per week.[39] The 1840s seems to have been an innovatory decade for Norwegian physical education in other respects; in 1847 a group of students suggested that Christiania University should erect a gymnasium (this actually happened between 1854 and 1856)[40] and one year later, in 1848, an education act stipulated that male pupils in urban school should be taught gymnastics as a preparation for national service. In 1860 this statute was extended to include male pupils in the rural schools. However, in practice these regulations could not be followed properly before the country got its own teacher training institution, *Den Gymnastiske Centralskole* in 1870.[41] Nevertheless, by then physical education had acquired a more stable position in the secondary schools. From 1861 onwards the schools were required to organise military training for the higher classes and six years later, in 1867, if once again we trust Paludan's report, the subject was practiced in every secondary school in Norway.[42]

Although the extent of implementation is unclear one thing is obvious; the Norwegian educationalists were prepared to give physical education a permanent position in the curriculum. The secondary education act of 1869 stated that gymnastics and military training should be practiced at least 30 hours per school year.[43] The law was clearly designed to suit the average conditions in the provincial towns and therefore was easily obeyed by the secondary schools in Christiania, which by the 1860s had their own gymnasiums as well as competent teachers. Sources suggests that most school classes in Christiania practiced the subject for about three hours per week throughout the schoolyear.[44]

All the same it would not be correct to compare the directives in the Norwegian education act of 1869 with the contemporary regulations in Sweden and Denmark, which established the legal basis for physical education as a compulsory subject for boys in secondary schools. In contrast to the Swedish circular of 1863 and the Danish education act of 1871 the Norwegian statutes were not followed up by any detailed syllabus plan. The legal systematisation of physical education was in other words a slower process in Norway. For many apparent reasons, such as the fact that the country was more decentralised both from a geographical and administrative point of view, it is obvious that the teacher requirements were sharpened only progressively after 1870 when the newly established gymnastics institution in Christiania had began to train teachers for the schools.[45]

Another reason for the slower developments in Norway was probably the political strategy of the Norwegian paramilitary organisations, which, from their establishment in the early 1860s up

to the year independence was gained (1905), were the most concrete bastions of the country's enlarging nationalistic movement. It seems as if the leaders and spokesmen of nationalistic opinion in the 1860s and 1870s preferred to improve the Norwegian defence through voluntary organisations rather than through an improvement of physical education in the secondary schools, which were directly linked to the loyal administration of the Swedish-Norwegian union.

By the end of the 1880s nevertheless Norwegian physical education had developed to the status of a school subject with its own didactics and organization. Inspections became more frequent and were often followed by directives in which the headmasters and teachers were both criticised and adviced. In 1885 the secondary schools received, for example, a ministerial circular, that gave thorough instructions on how exercises should be carried out. They were reminded that the main function of marches and rifle drilling was to teach the male pupils to handle a weapon. The military motives for physical education were revealed also in the second part of the circular, which included the recommendation that larger gymnastics units should follow as far as possible the pattern established in military training.[46]

In the same directive the teachers were encouraged to complement gymnastics practiced outdoors with games and athletics. This fact is another indication of the way that the systematisation of Norwegian physical education differed from the Swedish and Danish patterns at the end of ninteenth century. The first stage - the establishment of a national tradition - was by and large reached in the 1870s, when the gymnastics institution in Christiania had began to function and most of the secondary schools had the subject on

their curriculum. The second and constitutional stage began later than in the neighbour countries and was perhaps therefore, to a larger degree, a process of combining different exercise categories with each other than an attempt to found a distinctive national didactic "system". In other words it was no accident that the Norwegian school authorities in the circular of 1885, mentioned above, advocated three exercise categories (military training, gymnastics, sports) at the same time.

In August 1889 the gymnastics inspector sent to the schools an evaluation of his visits the previous spring, which clearly showed that the Norwegian specialists on physical education, just like their Nordic and Continental colleagues, had began to give more and more emphasis to physiological motives for the subject's improvement. Apart from some general comments on the standard of education the schools were reminded of the healthy impact of exercises in the open air.[47] Seven years later, in 1896, the new secondary education act stated that every school should fulfil certain hygienic requirements and be provided with a playground. The health aspect was pronounced even in the preface of the act. In contrast to the former law of 1869, which contained minimum stipulations about the number of lessons for gymnastics and military training, it was announced that the main motive for physical education was the improvement of health and a harmonious strengthening of the body. The law stated also that the schools should reserve six hours per week for practical subjects, which by and large meant that from then on physical education was taught to every class two to three hours weekly.[48]

The evolution of Norwegian physical education differed, as mentioned earlier, in some ways from the Swedish and Danish development, but nevertheless, at least until the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union, was strongly influenced by the educational outlook of teachers at the *GCI* in Stockholm. The Norwegian school authorities published during the last three decades of the nineteenth century textbooks in pedagogic gymnastics which were almost copies of contemporary Swedish instructions, while at the same time the gymnastics institution in Christiania trained its teacher candidates according to the Ling system. It is not surprising therefore that a Norwegian authority as late as 1938 claimed that every school child in his country was brought up in the spirit of P.H.Ling.[49] The statement was a simplification, but it shows all the same, how strong the Swedish impact had been during the first two stages of the systematisation of Norwegian physical education, which, roughly speaking, occured before the First World War.

The political changes in connection with the fulfilment of the Norwegian independence, gained through the dissolution of the monarchy union in 1905, in other words had only a peripheral impact on the legal framework of physical education. One exception can be noticed; in February 1908 a ministerial circular was sent out to the secondary schools, which ordered rifle shooting to be continued for male pupils on the higher classes every school year for 12 to 15 hours.[50] The regulation was clearly an attempt to ensure the defence of the young nation, but was, at least according to available sources, not carried out properly.[51] Instead the school authorities showed an increasing interest in the practical arrangement of outdoor activities. In 1906 headmasters received both a detailed cir-

cular about how the physical education should be organised and a recommendation to use a textbook on games and sports which had been published the same year. The circular included not only a traditional Swedish-oriented gymnastics programme and the minimum requirement of lessons for three to four hour per week, but also a list of outdoor exercises that should be practiced. Apart from the most popular sports, such as games and athletics, which by then were already practiced in most secondary schools, the teachers were encouraged to arrange skating and skiing during the winters and swimming during the summers.[52]

The next step was taken in 1911, when a royal resolution declared that secondary schools should use six of their fifteen extra free days for organised outdoor activities. The programme was ambitious; a range of activities were recommended and it was stated that four of the six available days should be held during the warmer seasons. The teacher staff was obliged to give assistance to the physical training master and every school was to publish a description of the arrangements in their annual reports.[53] Practice showed soon that the blueprint was unrealistic. It was not only that the teachers, as well as the pupils, would rather spend their free days privately. The teachers were not trained to lead such operations and had a quite unenthusiastic attitude towards outdoor life. As a consequence of this the six sport days were, three years later - in 1914, reduced to three.[54] In many respects the situation was the same as in Sweden, where the authorities since 1905 had tried to encourage the schools to arrange physical education as much possible outdoors. The reforms could not be carried out properly before the schools had both the will and capacity for such changes.

The Norwegian transformation developed more slowly during the 1920s and 1930s. In contrast to both to the Swedish and Danish developments, which were clearly smoothed by the correct relationship between the educationalists and the strongly integrated sports movement, evolution in Norway was disrupted by the competitive situation that occured during the 1920s both between the school authorities and sports associations as well as inside the politically split sports movement. The educationalists were not keen to let external sport promoters and clubs direct the voluntary school sporting and did consequently little to develop a cooperation with the sports movement, which again was weakened by the ideological quarrel between the bourgeois *Landsforbundet for Idrett* and the workers' sport federation. This explains, at least in part, why the physical education in Norwegian secondary schools from a legal point of view was mostly unchanged during the interwar period. Apart from two circulars in the first half of the 1920s, which both dealt with the schools' hygienic conditions[55], none of the changes in the educational practice were the result of legislation. Games and sports gained step by step in the physical education syllabus, but this, as we shall see in the following chapters, above all was a result of private initiatives and voluntary actions.

VI.

In which way did the legal systematisation of physical education in Finnish secondary schools differ from the corresponding developments in the Nordic neighbour countries? A suitable way to begin to answer

this question is to once again remind the reader that the southern part of Finland was one of heartlands of the Swedish kingdom until 1809, when the country, as a result of an eastern invasion in 1808, was made a Grand Duchy under Russian rule. The change was more political than cultural. Finland was not only allowed to maintain many of its most crucial laws from the Swedish epoch, but was in fact able to profile its high culture, and consequently also strengthen its awakening national identity, through financial support from the new ruler, the Russian tsar.

In this process special attention was paid to higher education, which during the Swedish epoch had been given at *Åbo Akademi*, a university situated in an administration town on the Finnish southwest coast. In 1812 it was decided that the Finnish administration should be moved eastwards to Helsingfors, which until then had been known only as a small harbour next to the largest naval fort complex in the Baltic, the Sveaborg. The process was, by and large, completed in 1829, when the university moved over to the new capital, which had been thoroughly rebuilt in the neoclassical style. At the back of the new and fashionable university building, which was placed by the Senate square in the city centre, was a one-storey gymnasium erected for the students, which soon became the heart of the rising interest in physical education in Finland.

Finnish secondary education, as it has been pointed out earlier, until the 1840s was arranged according to the Swedish education act of 1807, which, apart from a vague recommendation to build gymnastics apparatuses in the playgrounds of the schools, contained nothing that would have forced the headmasters to organise physical exercises for the pupils. Attempts were made to improve the

situation in the 1820s, but it was only after the university gymnasium in 1834 had began to arrange exercises for its students that public opinion began to see physical education as a useful subject for adolescents. In 1835 a school commission proposed an education bill that paid larger attention to the question[56], and eight years later, in 1843, a secondary education law was passed that gave considerable space in the curriculum to physical education. The subject was made compulsory for each and every male pupil in the eight year school system, although nothing was specified about what amount the two highest classes should be taught. According to the law the four lowest classes should be taught five hours per week and the two next classes four hours per week.[57]

The law could not have been followed fully; not a single school in the whole country in the 1840s had a gymnasium and only a few had access to a playground suitable for organised exercises.[58] Another, maybe even more crucial disadvantage was the lack of a domestic teacher training institution. As a consequense of this most of the teachers, employed before the 1870s, were unqualified or educated abroad, above all at the *GCI* in Stockholm.[59] Circumstances in other words had not changed markedly when the secondary schools in 1856 were reorganised according to an education act that, among other things, reduced the weekly lessons for physical education at all levels.[60] The reform was strictly speaking a set-back for the subject, but was nevertheless a sign that the authorities tried to introduce laws that were possible to follow. It included also one slight improvement; physical training masters should from then on be equipped with a certificate which confirmed their competence.

During the 1860s Finnish educationalists in general began to show more concern over the subject's poor condition. The lack of able teachers caused much discussion[61] and led finally, in the education act of 1872, to a new arrangement, which improved the situation. Teacher candidates should now go through a theoretical and practical exam at the university gymnasium, which gave evidence of their professional ability.[62] The following year this declaration was followed with a detailed directive, which stated that every class in the eight year secondary school should have two hours per week supervision in physical exercises. According to the directive the movements should above all give the body strength and suppleness. It was nevertheless not specified in which way these intentions should be achieved.[63]

In the 1870s Finland was undoubtedly far behind its Nordic neighbour countries in the matter of the establishment of a national system for physical education in secondary schools. One reason for this was obviously the difficulty in advocating the subject as useful from a military point of view. The Russian authorities were quite suspicous of any attempts to organise paramilitary associations in the Grand Duchy before the 1870s, but, after national service was implemented in 1878, took a more positive attitude to the matter. This change had direct consequences also for the systematisation of Finnish physical education; four years after national service had been put into practice the teacher training apparatus was thoroughly reconstructed. Reform was a result of an extensive campaign, in which the subject was explicitly advocated as a means of improving youths' preparation for military service.[64] Teacher

competence was from then on obtained only through finishing a one year course at the University gymnasium, which was transformed into an educational institution.[65]

In many respects the 1880s was an important decade for the improvement of the subject's educational circumstances. New secondary school buildings were now, almost without exception, equipped with a gymnasium and quite a few of them obtained at the same time a playground in the neighbourhood.[66] Political opinion was also favourable; in 1885 was it proposed by the Finnish Estates that the weekly amount of physical education in the secondary schools should be increased to three hours per class.[67] The suggestion was realised nine years later, in 1894, the same year as the teacher training programme was expanded into a two years course.[68]

In other words the situation in Finnish secondary schools was clearly improved by the turn of the century. Most of the state schools had by then competent teachers and facilities both for indoor and outdoor exercises. Another sign that the national systematisation had reached a "complementation" stage was the legal reforms of the subject, which now were carried out mostly through minor regulations and circulars. Nevertheless, the Finnish development was backward in one thing; a physical education inspector was not employed by the school authorities to carry out annual and nation wide visitations before 1914.[69]

The inspection reports from the 1910s showed clearly that the educational practice differed quite considerably from the principles, which had been dictated by the school authorities. Games and

sports had gained a striking popularity among the male pupils and threatened the legally sanctioned balance between the different exercise categories.[70] Little could nevertheless be done to correct the situation during the First World War. Finland was dragged into the conflict in January 1918, when the revolutionary atmosphere in Russia spread westward and the Finnish civil war broke out.

The 1920s was a decisive decade for the legal reform of physical education in the Finnish secondary schools. Most of the leading curriculum specialists were ready to promote sports and other outdoor activities, as long as these exercises could be justified from an educational point of view. In 1922 the authorities sent out a circular, which included some general recommendations to introduce new sports and stated that every secondary school should fill in a questionnaire, by means of which the educational facilities were investigated. How large was the gymnasium, did the school have dressing-rooms and showers, were there facilities for outdoor sports?[71] The questions showed clearly that the policy was to give more space for achievement and competition oriented activities, while at the same time traditional gymnastics were to be conserved and continued.

During the following years this strategy was carried out quite thoroughly. National sports associations were allowed to spread their information through official channels[72] At the same time the authorities made further investigations into the standard of the facilities used in physical education.[73] In 1931 secondary school headmasters were informed that marks could be given also in sports and the next year this circular was followed up by a comprehensive directive, which gave a good picture of how ambitious, or at least

enthusiastic, some of the leading educationalists were about school sports. The teachers were not only encouraged to arrange games and competitions in athletics and winter sports, but were able to obtain information about new didactic methods and necessary equipment.[74]

Two years later, in 1934, it was finally decided that all state schools should have a one week long winter sport holiday in February or March. The idea was obviously taken from Sweden, where a similar project had been carried out a few years earlier. Finnish school authorities seem also to have learnt something from the mistakes of their Swedish colleagues; apart from a recommendation to arrange organised excursions to the countryside nothing was said about how the days should be spent.[75] Not surprisingly this increased the popularity of the sports days among both teachers and pupils.

It is no exaggeration to say that physical education in Finnish secondary schools by the 1930s had gone through a legal systematisation, which in most respects was just as thorough as in its Nordic neighbour countries. The transformation had began later than in Sweden or Denmark, but was, once the change had started, much faster in certain areas. This s.g also its effects. As we will find out shortly it is obvious that the imbalance between educational ideals and actual school conditions was often greatest in Finland.

VII.

To sum up, it can be claimed that the legal developments associated with the evolution of physical education in the four Nordic states by and large followed the same pattern, although the developments

were slightly different in each country. Apart from the contemporary systematisation of the national school networks, which naturally had an essential impact on the pace of the reform of certain school subjects, the process was in each case clearly dependent on when political opinion became interested in supporting reform. The militaristic motive had, as we discovered in the national analyses, a predominant role in the early stages of the systematisation, but was by the turn of the century partly replaced by more subtle incentives, which seldom received as strong parliamentary support. As a consequence of this the legal reformation of physical education in Nordic secondary schools between 1900 and 1940 was carried out in a more piecemeal manner and predominantly in conjunction with other educational improvements.

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1. See for example Paludan 1885 p. 121; Richardson 1984 p. 24.

2. Paludan 1885 pp. 86-87.

3. [Niels Treschow],"Om gymnastiske øvelsers nødvendighed og nytte for ungdommen", *Indbydelses-Skrift til den offentlige eksamen ved Christiania Katedralskole i 1800*, Christiania 1800 pp. 3-7. The quotation is a translation of following sentence; "Men hvor lidet udretter ej et pludselig opflammende Mod uden Erfarenhed og Övelse?" (p. 6).

4. Korsgaard 1982 pp. 34-36.

5. *Skolordningen af 1807*

6. "När skolgymnastiken infördes i skolorna", *Tidskrift i Gymnastik* 1894 p. 93.

7. *Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga Stadga för Gymnastiska Central-Institutet af den 8 Januari 1864 (SFS 1864 No 5).*

8. *SFS 1878 No 53*; See also chapter six about the importance of

this reform.

9. *Kongl. Maj:ts Rådiga Stadga för Rikets Allmänna Elementarläroverk. Gifwen i Stockholms Slott den 14 augusti 1856 (SFS 1856 No 52).*

10. *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Cirkulär till Dom-Capitlen angående undervisningen i gymnastik och militär- öfningar wid elementar-läroverken, folkskole-lärare seminarierna och folkskolorna (SFS 1863 No 3).*

11. *Kungliga cirkuläret af den 19 Juni 1866.*

12. *Transumt af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Cirkulär till Dom-Capitlen, angående utsträckning af krigsbildningen wid elementarlärowerken och folkskolelärare-seminarierna i riket af den 29 Juli 1870 (SFS 1870 No 36).*

13. *Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga cirkulär till domkapitlen samt direktionerna öfver Stockholms stads undervisningsverk och Nya elementarskolan, angående undervisningen i öfningsämnena vid de allmänna läroverken (SFS 1895 No 70).*

14. *SFS 1905 No 6.*

15. Gustav Moberg, *Den fysiska fostrans ställning inom svenska skolväsendet 1914. Enligt undersökning af gymnastik- och idrottskommittén genom olika skolor utsända frågor*, Stockholm: Nordiskt idrottslifs tryckeri 1915.

16. *Kungl. Maj:ts förordning den 15 februari 1918*; The decision was done the summer before, in 1917, in order to cut down the education budget. It was nevertheless carried in a very special situation; 15th of February, two weeks after the Finnish Civil War had broken out. It is not impossible that the Swedish bourgeois politicians saw the Finnish revolution partly as a consequense the easy access to weapons in the country.

17. *Kungl. Maj:ts kungörelse angående undervisningsplaner för rikets allmänna läroverk; given Stockholms slott den 29 juni 1928 (SFS 1928 No 252)*; see also SFS 1928 No 412 paragr. 55-65.

18. *Kungl. Maj:ts förnyade stadga för rikets allmänna läroverk (SFS 1933 No 109).*

19. *Forordning angaaende de lærde Skoler i Danmark og Norge 7 Nov. 1809.*

20. *Reglem. for Almue- og Borger- Skolevæsenet i Kiøbenhavn 29 Jul. 1814; Anordn. for Almue-Skolevæsenet i Kiøbstederne i Danmark, Khavn undtagen 29 Jul. 1814.*

21. *Pl. ang. den gymnastiske Underviisning i Almue- og Borger-Skolerne i Danmark 25 Juni 1828; Cancellie-Pl. ang. Underviisningen i Gymnastik for Kbhvns of Forstædernes Drengebørn 24 Aug. 1830.*

22. "Gymnastikundervisning",
Leksikon for Opdragere. Pædagogisk-psykologisk-social handbog. Bind I:A-K, København 1953 p. 788.

23. Paludan 1885 p. 592.

24. See the reports from the schools; Inberetninger om skydeøvelser ved statsskolerne 1863-1887, 1898-1910, Ministeriet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet , 3. kontor,*Rigsarkivet, København.*

25. *Cirkulære fra Kirke- og Undervisningsministeriet til Rektorerne ved de lærde Skoler 9 August 1871.*

26. Paludan 1885 p. 592.

27. Korsgaard 1982 pp. 57-71.

28. *Cirkulære fra Kirke- og Undervisningsministeriet til samtlige Rektorer ved de lærde Skoler 21 Juni 1882.*

29. *Bekjendtgjørelse om Bestemmelser angaaende Oprettelsen og Ledelsen af lærde Skoler 2 Dec 1890.*

30. *Instrur for Posten som Gymnastik Inspektor ved de under Ministeriet
for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet forterende Skoler Undervisningsarnstalter 17 Okt. 1889.*

31. *Cirkulære fre Kirke- og Undervisningsministeriet til de lærde Skoler og de eksamensberettigede Realskoler 10 Nov. 1891.*

32. *Cirkulære fra Ministeriet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvæsenet til samtlige Skoledirektioner ang. Indførelse af Haandbog i Gymnastik 10 April 1899.*

33. Evidences for this can be found in following documents; Sager vedr. gymnastikundervisningen 1889-1912, Ministeriet for Kirke- og Undervisningsvaesenet, 3. kontor, *Rigsarkivet, København.*

34. *Cirkulære til de lærde Skoler og de eksamenberettigade Realskoler ang. en Gymnastikdagbog 10 Juni 1901.*

35. For a closer description of this see chapter eight.

36. *Cirkulære til Rektorerna for Statens højere Almenskoler ang. Övelser i Skydning i Statens højere Almenskoler 10 Oktober 1907; Bekjendtgørelse angaaende Boldspil i Statsskolerne og de private højere Almenskoler 25 Maj 1916; Bekendtgørelse angaaende Undervisningen i Gymnasiet 13 Marts 1935 paragr. 13.*

37. Paludan 1885 p. 221.

38. Højgård 1942 pp. 271-272; Paludan had in other words wrong (1885 p. 223) when he wrote that the in 1823 finished school building should have had a gymnasium from the beginning.

39. Høigård 1942 p. 295.

40. Fredrik Platou,"Universitets Gymnastiksal", in *St. Hallvard. Organ for selskabet for Oslo byes vel*,(Red.) Arno Berg, Oslo 1957 pp. 184-185.

41. Stene 1970 pp. 4-5.

42. Paludan 1861 p. 293.

43. *Lov om offentlige Skoler for den høiere Almendannelse 17. Juni 1869, paragr. 17.*

44. See for example the annual school reports of the *Katedralskole* and *Aars's og Voss's Skole* 1865-1870.

45. This problem is uncovered most clerly in the annual report documents that the inspector wrote to the Ministry of Education; Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet, Gymnastikinspektøren-Gymnastikkontoret; Nr 6 Innberetninger 1875-1899 (*Riksarkivet i Oslo*). See also the comments in following circular; *Rundskrivelse af 20de februar 1884.*

46. *Rundskrivelse af 18de mai 1885.*

47. *Rundskrivelse af 28de august 1889.*

48. *Lov om høiere Almenskoler af 27. Juli 1896*, paragraphs 8, 25 and 65.

49. Sverre Grøner,"Den obligatoriske og den frivillige gymnastikken i Norge", *Tidskrift i Gymnastik 1938* pp. 37-43.

50. *Rundskrivelse av 10 februar 1908 angaaende indførelse av undervisning av skytning i de høiere skoler.*

51. Rifle shooting is for example mentioned only occasionally in the gymnastics inspector's annual reports to the Ministry of Education during the period 1908-1912; Gymnastikinspektøren-Gymnastikkontoret, Nr 8 Innberetninger 1907-1912; Kirke- og Undervisningsdepatementet, *Riksarkivet i Oslo.*

52. *Rundskrivelse af 17 april 1906 indeholdended regler for undervisningen i gymnastik ved de høiere skoler; Rundskrivelse af 9 august 1906 angaaende folkeskolelærer Hans Hegnas bog "Friluftlek".*

53. *Kongelig resolution av 16 mai 1911, hvorved bl.a. nedenstaaende program for de i lov om høiere almenskoler av 27 juli 1896 paragr. 26 fastsatte 6 dages eksersis og idræt approberes som gjældende indtil videre.*

54. *Lov om forandring av 26 paragr. i lov om høiere almenskoler av 3 juli 1914.*

55. *Rundskrivelse av 27. januar 1923 om gymnastikundervisningen og renholdet i lokalerne; Rundskrivelse av 17de august 1925 om bruken*

av egne drakter i gymnastikktimerne.

56. Ilmanen & Vuotilainen 1982 pp. 19-22.

57. *Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Gymnasii- och Skol-Ordning för Storfurstendömet Finland den 6 november 1843.*

58. Koivusalo 1982 pp. 72-78.

59. Ibid pp. 49-51.

60. *Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Gymnasii- och Skol-Ordning för Storfurstendömet Finland. Gifwen, i Helsingfors, den 7 april 1856.*

61. See for example Koivusalo 1982 pp. 45-46.

62. *Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Skolordning för Storfurstendömet Finland. Gifwen i Helsingfors, den 8 augusti 1872, paragr. 52.*

63. *Kejserliga Senatens bref till Öfwerstyrelsen för skolväsendet, angående fastställda lektionsplaner och lärokurser for lyceer. Utfärdadt i Helsingfors, den 4 Januari 1873.*

64. Ilmanen & Vuotilainen 1982 pp. 52-55.

65. *Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Kungörelse, angående gymnastikens ordnande i landets elementarläroverk och om inrättande wid Alexanders Universitetet i Finland af en läroanstalt för gymnastiklärarutbildning. Gifwen i Helsingfors, den 22 juni 1882.*

66. Henrik Lilius, *Suomalaisen koulutalon arkkitehtuurihistoriaa. Kehityslinjojen tarkastelua keskiajalta itsenäisyyden ajan alkuun,* Suomen Muinaisyhdistyksen aikakauskirja 83, Helsinki 1982.

67. Kiuasmaa 1982 p. 58.

68. *Hans Kejserliga Majestäts Nådiga Kungörelse, angående behörighet till lärare- och lärarinnetjenster i gymnastik vid elementarläroverken och fruntimmersskolor i landet samt rörande gymnastikens ställning i sagda skolor. Gifven i Helsingfors, den 13 september 1894.*

69. Koivusalo 1982 p. 129.

70. Matkakertomukset vuosilta 1913-1914 sekä 1915; Ivar Wilskmanin arkisto, Kansio II; *Suomen urheilun keskusarkisto.*

71. Ca 21, Pöytäkirjat 1922; Db 5, Kiertokirje 466/1922; Kouluhallituksen arkisto III; *Valtionarkisto,* Helsinki.

72. See for example Db 5, Kiertokirjeet 476/1923, 572/1926; Kouluhallituksen arkisto III; Dc 2 Kiertokirje 823/1936; Kouluhallituksen arkisto, oppikouluosasto; *Valtionarkisto,* Helsinki.

73. Kiuasmaa 1982 p. 292; see also "Valtion Urheilu- ja voimistelulautakunnan tiedustelu koskeva urheilukenttiä, voimisteluhuoneistoja ja uimalaitoksia 23.1 1930", in *Helsingin yliopiston pienpainatekokoelma, XX Urheilu.*

74. Dc 1, Kiertokirje 720/1932; Kouluhallituksen arkisto, oppikouluosasto; *Valtionarkisto*, Helsinki.

75. Dc 2, Kiertokirje 778/1934; Kouluhallituksen arkisto, oppikouluosasto; *Valtionarkisto*, Helsinki.

Teacher training and textbooks

I.

Legal developments, of course, reflect only the most formal dimension of the establishment of national education systems. Put slightly differently, laws and regulations have the intended impact on the educational circumstances only as far as they are supported, or at least accepted, by teachers. Therefore it is necessary to examine this group of professionals more closely and determine by which methods they were taught and what kind of training they had as students. Hopefully in this way we can get a better idea of the principles that directed educational practice in the gymnasiums and playgrounds.

It might be useful to start with a glance back to the time when the Nordic teacher training institutions were established. The oldest, of course, was the military gymnastics institute in Copenhagen, which was founded in 1804. Nine years later, in 1813, the Swedes got their own institute, *GCI* in Stockholm, which until 1839 was directed by P.H. Ling. The Norwegians and Finns got their own institutions much later; the gymnastics school in Christiania opened its doors in 1870, whereas the university gymnasium in Helsingfors was transformed into an educational institution as late as 1882. These facts show why Nordic physical education was, to a con-

siderable degree, influenced by the methods used at the institutions in Copenhagen and Stockholm right up until the last quarter of nineteenth century.

In which ways did these two centres differ from each other? It is of interest to recall that P.H. Ling studied at Nachtegall's institute during the first years of nineteenth century, before he returned home to establish his own institute and tradition. Danish scholars therefore, especially in the 1940s, have pointed out that P.H. Ling's method, the so called Swedish system of gymnastics, was built in fact on the educational tradition established by Nachtegall. Not surprisingly the Swedes had another interpretation. According to them P.H. Ling's educational outlook was an independent creation, which integrated the best parts of Pestalozzi's, GutsMuts' and Nachtegall's programmes into a coherent system.

As Jan Lindroth has observed, this dispute, to a great extent, was based on reconstructions of the conditions at the beginning of the last century.[1] In fact little is known about how P.H. Ling developed his educational ideas in practice. Most of his writings on physical education were coloured by the romantic genre. He was, as mentioned earlier, also a poet and his writings should be understood more as fashionable rather than practical pamphlets.[2] However, in 1834 Ling published a practical textbook.[3] It clearly showed the Continental influence; the requirement that every bodily movement should be recognised, classified and thereafter co-ordinated with other movements according to a designed pattern was much like GutsMuths' method to divide the body in functional parts in order to build up a differentiated training schedule.[4] The idea of progres-

sion was not Ling's own either, but inherited from the educationalists of the Enlightement era. It is probable that Ling in this question was influenced not only by Rousseau[5] but also by Pestalozzi, who, like many of his contemporaries in Germany, was eager to make the point that learning should proceed progressively.[6]

Nachtegall's originality is even more difficult to distinguish. He was, as Henrik Sandblad has rightly pointed out, not a man of letters like P.H. Ling, but a practical instructor, who above all utilised GutsMuths' methods in his gymnastics teaching of the Danish officers.[7] In 1828 Nachtegall published a textbook, sanctioned by the government, which leant heavily on GutsMuths' *Gymnastik für die Jugend.*[8] Six years later, in 1834, he produced an extended version that was meant for Danish secondary schools. It contained certain exercises, which Nachtegall must have borrowed from Pestalozzi or P.H. Ling. In contrast to GutsMuts' method, which emphasised the strength and speed of the movements, Nachtegall introduced a number of exercises to be practiced by free standing groups. The aim was, at least according to P.H.Ling, to improve the body's flexibility and carriage through stretching and bending movements.[9]

Although Nachtegall and his Danish followers seldom utilised these Ling-inspired types of exercises one thing seems apparent; neither Ling nor Nachtegall invented anything revolutionary. It would be more appropriate to understand both of them more as skilful interpretators of Continental trends than personally responsible for establishing new "systems". Does this then mean that the widely accepted notion of a Ling system of gymnastics is inaccurate? The

answer depends on how narrowly the concept of a gymnastics system is defined. If it is understood as a clearly constructed ideology with detailed instructions and explicit aims, it is apparent that the gymnastics taught at *GCI* in Stockholm reached this level only during the decades after P.H.Ling's death in 1839. In short, the point is that the Ling system was to a considerable extent a creation of his disciples, who took over the responsibility for the teacher training at *GCI*. It was a need for uniformity and clarity, not P.H.Ling's romantic visions, that stimulated the full development of "his" system.

Fig. 4: Pehr Henrik Ling (1776-1839)

II.

This systematisation began during the period L.G. Branting was director of the *GCI* between 1839 and 1862. The change was partly caused by the increasing number of teacher candidates. Between the years 1813 and 1826 43 students, mainly officers, graduated from the institute, whereas the numbers who qualified annually during the

Branting epoch rose to between 15 and 20.[10] According to one source about 300 teacher passed through the half year long course at the *GCI* between 1835 and 1863.[11] Systematisation was also the outcome of Branting's interest in medical gymnastics. He paid special attention to anatomical aspects of the movements. This lead to a gymnastics schedule in which particular postures and carriage were more emphasized than movement or activity.[12]

Military components such as fencing and marching were practised to some extent at the *GCI* during the Branting epoch, but not as extensively as at the military gymnastics institute in Copenhagen, which until the 1840s was directed by Nachtegall, who, as mentioned above, followed, to a great extent, the gymnastics practiced in Germany. The exercises at the institute in Copenhagen and in the Danish schools in general required therefore more initiative and skills. In addition to drill, which was commonly at the beginning of the lesson, Danish teacher candidates, who with few exceptions were all officers, were trained in skills requiring movements on various pieces of gymnastics apparatus.[13] The same programme was applied also in the schools. In this regard Danish physical education differed markedly from Swedish. The contrast was sharpened in the 1850s, when Nachtegall's successor after 1847, N.G. la Cour, published a textbook, which included many instructions about military training.[14]

The Danes also followed educational practices, which had been established in most parts of Germany by the end of 1840s. Discipline and obedience was emphasised through a set of exercises that, at least partly, seems to have been borrowed from Adolf Spiess's German textbook of 1840.[15] In Spiess's case it is not an exaggeration to

claim that he established a complete system of physical education. His method was based on GutsMuts' and Jahn's teachings, but it took much more notice of exercises suited to conditions in the schools; appropriate movements were chosen not only according to the pupils' age and sex, but also according to the size of the exercise groups, which often swelled to over 100. Spiess, therefore, introduced a system, which, like applied Herbartianism, gave detailed directives on how every lesson should be carried out.[16]

It is not difficult to see that the systematisation of German physical education happened in conjunction with a larger simultaneous transformation, the constitution of a national school system. Furthermore, it is not too extreme to claim that physical education was given a clear function in this transformation, the reinforcement of bodily discipline.[17] How far does this explanation fit developments in the Nordic region? By and large quite well. As we have seen physical education was more or less introduced as a secondary school subject for male pupils in each of the four countries by the end of the 1840s. In addition the teacher training institutions in Copenhagen and Stockholm had by then began to reorganise their methods in order to make the subject more manageable from an educational point of view. But this was only the beginning of the systematisation that was carried out during the last four decades of nineteenth century in each of the countries in question, and which clearly happened in interaction with the integration of the national school structures.

The interaction was seldom direct and by no means explicit, but can nevertheless be traced through an analysis of the changes in the Nordic teacher training systems. If we begin with a look on the

situation in Sweden it is apparent that the 1860s was not only a decade of progress in the integration of secondary education, but also a time for an extensive reformation of Swedish physical education in general. Although the institute in Stockholm had become famous abroad during the 1840s and 1850s for its health promoting methods,[18] it was in an urgent need of changes in the early 1860s. The teacher training programme had been developed in part by Branting, the director until 1862 when Gustaf Nyblaeus (1816-1902) took over, but had two weaknesses; neither the educational nor the militaristic aspect was sufficiently recognised. In 1864 the *GCI* was thoroughly reorganised. The course was extended from six months to two years and three training programmes were introduced; one for school teachers, one for army instructors and one for medical gymnasts. In connection with these changes the institute building, which since 1815 had been situated near the city centre at the corner of Beridarebangatan and Hamngatan, was enlarged in order to include another gymnasium.[19]

The reform was not only a sign that the authorities wanted to strengthen the military component both in teacher training and in the schools. Their intention was also to improve the teachers' educational skills. The strongest proof of this was the appointment of P.H. Ling's son, Hjalmar Ling (-1886), as principal in charge of the pedagogical course. Hjalmar was by then already a recognised interpretator of his father's gymnastics method and had published two textbooks,[20] which in a short time became cornerstones in Swedish as well as Norwegian physical education. The son was not a poet but a system builder. He continued the classification of the

movements, started by his predecessors, and introduced a detailed lesson schedule, which to a considerable degree followed the educational thinking of the German authority Adolf Spiess.

This means that it is misleading to understand the so called Swedish gymnastics as a homogeneous system built entirely on P.H. Ling's ideas. It should rather be seen as a didactic method applied at the *GCI* and developed in interaction with other, especially German, gymnastics methods. The confusion has partly been caused by a group of Hjalmar Ling's most dogmatic disciples, who were eager to present their method as something that totally differed from Central Europeans ones.[21] Another, even more basic explanation is the tendency to confuse the two Lings, which has been fatally common not only among laymen but also among Nordic historians.

III.

By the time of Hjalmar Ling's retirement in 1882 his method was used in every Swedish secondary school. This was a result of the reorganisation of the *GCI*, which had made teacher training more efficient, but even more it was a consequence of the fact that physical education, as in Germany, had won a more established position in the curriculum when secondary education was integrated. This was true too of the other Nordic countries. Only when the subject was taught on a regular basis and by teachers who had been equipped with a method designed for educational conditions, could a centralised system be established. In Denmark the process was delayed by many factors. Nachtegall's followers at the military gymnastics institute in

Copenhagen had apparently not the same ambitions as their Swedish colleagues to distinguish their methods from German practice and before the 1880s failed to get enough support from the school authorities to improve the subject's educational standards.[22]

As a consequence of this physical education in Danish secondary schools was still in the 1890s to a considerable degree based on methods, which were more suited for military purposes. As late as 1883 the authorities published a textbook, which by and large followed the educational philosophy of earlier decades.[23] Nevertheless attitudes had began to change; in 1882 a commission appointed to investigate the hygienic conditions in the schools, two years later produced a report that supported most of the demands that Dr Hertel, as we remember from chapter five, had put forward in 1881. Besides medical recommendations the school authorities were requested to improve both methods in schools and in teacher training, which lacked any theoretical content other than a short course in anatomy. The reformers got their inspiration obviously above all from the *GCI* in Stockholm.[24]

In 1887 a new report was drawn up by a commission, appointed one year earlier, which proposed that Danish physical education should be reformed according to a plan that, like the Swedish system, paid attention to both the educational and the physiological dimensions of the subject. It was not enough that the exercise improved the health, it should also suit the school conditions. The commission was not eager on every point to import the Swedish method, which was characterised as too boring and puritanical, although it was convinced that the Danes had to follow the Swedes by establishing a complete system that coordinated the different levels

of teaching. This could happen only by creating a civil organisation for teacher training, which would have sufficient educational knowhow and capacity to carry through the reformation. Therefore it was recommended that planning work should be continued by an extended expert group, which, apart from tackling the issues mentioned above, had to prepare a textbook for the new system.[25]

This new commission was appointed in 1889. Its tasks were clearly defined and would propably have been completed in a couple of years if the work had proceeded as planned. Problems soon occured; only a few of the commission members were educationalists and even fewer knew how the different exercise categories should be organised and carried out in order to construct the desired "system". Some of the members, such as the energetic Kristian Kroman, the earlier mentioned Spencerian, were eager to combine Swedish gymnastics, with its physiological rationale, with games and other outdoor sports, which were supposed to strengthen the character.[26] Others, like representatives of the military gymnastics institute in Copenhagen, were worried about their own position and viewed with suspicion the "scientific" motives for introducing the Swedish method. They wanted instead the established, so called Danish method, practiced at the institute and in the schools, to be implemented together with a limited number of sports and movements picked from the Swedish method.[27]

In short, the preparation of the textbook was linked at several levels to the question of how teacher training should be reformed. It was, therefore, an ideological as well as a corporate struggle between those who wanted to maintain an organisation tied to the army, by continuing the training of teachers for civil pur-

poses at the military gymnastics institute, and those who wanted to transform physical education into a subject that not only improved the discipline of the body, but also strengthened character and maintained health. Thus the Danes began from the other end to their Swedish colleagues, who had had a reformed teacher training institution and a thorough didactic method when they began to establish their national system for physical education. The Swedes also had another advantage; their school structure was more homogeneous and by the 1880s had clearly reached a higher level of systematisation. In essence the Danes had neither a sufficiently centralised school system nor the required educational expertise to compose a practical textbook, which would have reformed teaching in the schools.

The textbook, finally published in 1899, was quite unsuitable. It was too large, almost 500 pages,[28] and a compromise that included detailed descriptions both of gymnastics movements, which, to a considerable extent, had been organised according to Hjalmar Ling's schedules, and a large number of games and other sports. It was more understood as a symbolic step towards systematisation than an instruction book to be followed from day to day. The theoretical parts, mainly written by Kristian Kroman, were masterpieces in educational thinking, but by and large incomprehensible to the majority of physical training masters, who were low ranking officers. In addition many of the new gymnastics movements were either too time-consuming or difficult to become popular among the staff and pupils.[29]

Fundamental changes therefore could only come about in conjunction with reform of teacher training. According to Søren Cops at the most only fourteen company officers yearly passed out from

the military gymnastics institute between 1815 and 1898. In 1886 the anatomy course was extended and one year later the teacher candidates were taught educational theory for the first time. These improvements nevertheless had only a minor impact; the two year course was planned by the army authorities and did not provide the teachers with sufficient educational skills.[30] Physical training masters had thus a very low social status in Danish secondary schools. They were in consequence not treated as equals by their academic colleagues and had often to face the same dismissive attitudes from their pupils.[31] The same situation prevailed in the other Nordic countries by the turn of the century, but seems nevertheless to have been worst in Denmark, where the teachers, both from a social and professional point of view, were most isolated.

The problem was fully recognised and was an often discussed issue among the members of the various Commissions as well as in administrative circles, but was not adequately confronted before the turn of the century. The two rival forces, the educationalists with Kroman as their leading spokesman on one side and the military representatives on the other, had failed to solve the problem and were therefore forced to see the initiative taken from a third direction. In 1898 a one year training course in physical education was started at the Teacher College in Copenhagen, which soon became one of the most extensive courses at the college. The move was not appreciated by those who had argued for improvements earlier. In their opinion the course was nothing but a temporary solution that only undermined the hopes of establishing an independent training institute for civilians.[32]

Nevertheless, it was an initiative that, together with the secondary education act of 1903, gradually set reform in motion. The school authorities made sincere attempts to follow up the use of the textbook published in 1899, and appointed in 1904 a full-time inspector to carry out nation wide school visits. Three years later, in 1907, the Senate of Copenhagen University received a letter from the national Education Society, in which it was suggested that the students should be able to study physical education at the Teacher College in Copenhagen. The idea was to train secondary school teachers, who, as well as teaching an academic subject, also would be able to function as physical training masters.[33] It seems to have been a well-founded suggestion; in 1909 the Faculty of Science decided to begin collaboration with the Teacher College and introduce physical education as a supplementary subject and three years later, in 1913, both the science and arts faculties formally classified it as a minor subject.[34]

It was one of the crucial steps towards the establishment of the most modern teacher training system for physical education in the Nordic region prior to the Second World War. In 1911 the physical education course at the Teacher College was transformed into a new gymnastics institute, which was closely linked to the university. The teacher candidates got their practical training at the institute, which was situated in the northern part of the city, and were taught theoretical subjects at the university, which was in the heart of the medieval city centre.[35] In 1923 the new institute building stood ready at Nørre Alle 51, one of the main thoroughfares in Copenhagen. It was equipped with a range of facilities including large playfields and spacious gymnasiums,[36] which the teacher train-

ing institutions in the three other Nordic capitals got only after the war. In short, the conditions for training a new generation of physical education teachers for Danish secondary schools were now established.

Change was, however, slow. Many students began their training at the institute, but only few of them reached the final examinations and got the required qualifications. By 1920 only eight students had passed the course.[37] As a consequence most secondary school teachers in physical education in the early 1920s were still retired army officers. Nevertheless, by the end of the 1930s things had changed; most teachers were civilians and in addition to this many of them were also teachers in other subjects.[38] In short, the teachers' status and the standing of physical education now improved.

The Danish developments up to 1940 are a good example of the extent to which much the reform of the teacher training system could influence and set the modernisation pace of the educational practice. Nevertheless, a look at the circumstances in the other Nordic countries during the same period only partly confirms this assertion. The Swedish teacher training institution, the *GCI* in Stockholm, after the reform in 1864 was not thoroughly reorganised until 1934 and already showed in the 1900s clear signs of becoming an establishment that was obstructive to any fundamental changes in teacher training or to the educational methods in the schools.

During the period 1910 to 1939 was no less than five reform proposals put forward in vain. None of these suggestions got enough support from the authorities. The first of these, a committee proposal of 1910, which among other things included the suggestions

that *GCI* should be linked to Stockholm University, was voted down both by representives of higher education and of the *GCI*. The academics were not interested in any professional collaboration with the *GCI*'s teachers, who were predominantly officers, and vice-versa. The other four proposals between 1915 and 1929 were rejected for similar reasons.[39]

Therefore it is not surprising that *GCI* by the early 1920s had lost its reputation as the Nordic centre for physical education, which it had formerly especially during the last two decades of nineteenth century. The didactic methods by and large were unchanged; apart from Hjalmar Ling's gymnastics system, carefully preserved by his disciples, a considerable part of the male teacher training was occupied by drill exercises. The schedule might have suited the teacher candidates, who, until the reform in 1934, were almost all (90%) officers, but was certainly not attractive for sport-minded school youth. The institute was thus forced to give more attention to games and sports and by the end of the 1920s had reserved a substantial part of its timetable for theoretical and practical training in those activities.[40]

The reform of 1934 strengthened, therefore, role of sport in teacher training and had also a positive impact on the educational situation in the schools. The teacher candidates, from now on were not only better prepared to function as sport instructors, but to greater extent were also taught to see gymnastics as only one among other exercise categories. In essence, it seems as if the reorganisation of the teacher training in Sweden between 1920 and 1940

happened as a consequence of changes in the practice in the schools, rather than as a deliberate attempt to modernise the whole system of physical education, as in the case of Denmark after 1910.

IV.

What was the situation in Finland? By way of introduction it is useful to review the training of Finnish teachers of physical education before the university gymnasium in Helsingfors in 1882 was transformed into an institute for this purpose. In 1843 physical education became a compulsory subject for male pupils in Finnish secondary schools. This requirement was implemented only sporadically; the Grand Duchy had, in contrast to its western neighbours Sweden and Denmark, neither a domestic institution that to train the teachers nor sufficient space in schools for supervised exercises.

The situation had not changed significantly by the end of the 1860s, although according to the education act of 1856 it was required that physical training masters should be equipped with a certificate. Most of the teachers got this from the university gymnasium, but a few went over to Stockholm and got their education at the *GCI*. According to Irja Koivusalo, ten of the employed teachers had been trained at the institute in Stockholm by the end of the 1860s, whereas 18 had an academic degree, which automatically gave them a teacher certificate, and as many as 63 lacked a formal teacher qualification.[41]

The Swedish influence was significant in other respects as well. The teachers followed the methods taught at the *GCI* as well as they could and as their only textbook P.H. Ling's had instructions from 1836, which, as suggested earlier, paid little attention to educational questions. In 1868 the teachers were finally offered a Finnish textbook, when Karl Göös published a collection of instructions, which in addition to the movements adopted from Hjalmar Ling's methods, included a couple of directives that were clearly influenced by German didactics.[42] Göös had by then already distinguished himself as a man of new ideas. He had studied in both Scandinavia and Germany in the early 1860s and published a pamphlet in 1864, in which he suggested that teachers in physical education should be trained at Helsingfors University in order to obtain a qualification that improved both their standard of teaching and social status.[43]

It is hardly a coincidence that the proposal was made in 1864, less than an year after the *GCI* was thoroughly reorganised. Göös had certainly been in touch with the institute in Stockholm even after he had returned to Finland, and was therefore, probably, well-informed about its reform. It is apparent, however, that regarding more extensive reforms the situation in the Grand Duchy was premature. Apart from the lack of any teacher training system and coherent teaching methods the political circumstances were unfavourable. In contrast to the Swedish government the Russian rulers were not particulary interested in promoting the conditions for a school subject that, especially during these decades, was understood as a means of preparing youth for war; the Polish revolt in 1863 was still a fresh memory. In addition the Finnish government and school

authorities at this time had their hands full with another project, the construction of a centralised and integrated system of secondary education.

All the same the 1860s was the decade when influential sections of the public in Finland was allowed to speak out more freely and among other things began to discuss the needs for the systematisation of physical education. The question was debated not only at national education conferences[44] but also in the press. One consequense of these discussions was the opening of a private gymnastics institute for female student teacher in Helsingfors in 1869.[45] Another was the new competence requirements in the secondary education act of 1872, which stated that teachers in physical education had to pass both a theoretical and practical examination to obtain a permanent appointment.

These improvements, however, were not sufficient enough to establish a system for the control and direction of the subject. And a notable critic was the young Viktor Heikel (1842-1927), who after some years as theology student at Helsingfors University had become interested in physical education and decided to travel abroad to get a detailed picture of how the subject was taught in the more advanced European countries. The first journey during 1867 and 1868 included the *GCI* in Stockholm, as well as different parts of Germany. The second journey in 1871 was even more ambitious; apart from a further visit to Germany he visited England and Scotland. Heikel was therefore not only well-informed about the methods of the systematic Swedes and Germans, but had also a quite accurate impression of British public school athleticism.[46]

After the return to Helsingfors in the autumn 1871 Heikel continued the campaign for a thorough reform of Finnish physical education, which he had started before his second journey.[47] His newspaper articles were noticed by educationalists both in the home country as well as in Sweden[48] and were an efficient introduction to his career as the founder of a system for physical education, which, was created through the adaptation of earlier traditions. In 1874 Heikel published his first textbook on physical education for boys. It was by and large a synthesis of what he had learnt during his studies abroad. It combined the Swedish health emphasis with the German emphasis on good discipline and in addition included physical activities, which, at least partly, must have been borrowed from Great Britain. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Heikel built his method mainly on the didactic tradition, which Adolf Spiess had established and his German followers had developed further.

This meant that above all he paid attention to the educational suitability of the movements and exercises. The lessons had to be planned in detail and match the specific circumstances in the schools; the pupils' age and sex, the teacher's ability, the facilities as well as the season were all to be taken into account. Following the German and Danish teaching pattern Heikel divided the lesson into two parts. The first part was reserved for collective exercises, whereas the second part was meant for gymnastics on a range of equipment, similar to those used in Germany. The achievement oriented gymnastics movements, in suitable circumstanses, could alternated with games in order to make the lessons more enjoyable for the pupils.[49]

Heikel took careful notice to the health aspect, but was, however, highly critical of Hj. Ling's teaching methods, which he had been taught during his session at the *GCI* in Stockholm. It is no exaggeration to claim that his whole life's work was a reaction to what he had experienced as student at the Swedish institute. He was Swedish-speaking by birth and education, but seems not to have appreciated the atmosphere at the institute, which, at least according to him, was poisoned by the rivalry between the civilian and officer teachers.[50] Heikel also made friends with one of Hjalmar Ling's sharpest critics, A.B. Santesson, who was the man who encouraged him to continue his studies in Germany.[51] Heikel failed in the practical instruction examination[52] which propably was held by Hjalmar Ling himself. It is not surprising therefore that his textbook got a harsh handling, when it was reviewed in 1877 in a professional journal in Sweden. Heikel was labelled as a theoretican without a practical bent for physical education.[53]

V.

These events explain, at least in part, why the Finnish system of physical education developed in a different direction to the Swedish during the last quarter of nineteenth century. In 1875 Heikel was appointed as director of the university gymnasium, which, as a result of the education act of 1872, had become the official agent for the examination of teacher candidates. Heikel and his colleagues now started an energetic campaign to institutionalise this function and transform the gymnasium into an institution for regular

teacher training courses. It was a successful campaign that got even more wind in its sails when it was advocated as a reform that would improve both teacher competence and preparation for national service, which was carried out from 1878 onwards. In autumn 1882 the Senate of Helsingfors University gave its approval to a proposed curriculum for the new institution, which stated that the one year training course for secondary school teachers, apart from practical teaching in the gymnasium, should also include a range of theoretical subjects like didactic methods and physiology as well as voluntary lectures on medical gymnastics.[54]

This reform strengthened Heikel's position as the leading man in Finnish physical education. He continued as head of the institution until 1911 and was consequently in a good position to ensure that the students were taught according to his own ideals. This meant that the his method, outlined for the first time in the textbook of 1874, was still used in most Finnish secondary schools for boys as late as 1910.[55] Heikel also had the machinery to spread his negative opinions about the educational ideas of Hjalmar Ling and his disciples at the *GCI* in Stockholm. Therefore it is not hard to understand that the professional dialogue between the two teacher institutions was not especially warm before the First World War. The only exception were the Finnish female teachers, who in opposition to their male colleagues, had the determination and independence to develope their didactic methods according to the principles taught at the *GCI*.[56]

The gap between the teacher training institutions in Stockholm and Helsingfors was caused not only by Viktor Heikel's traumatic experiences as Hjalmar Ling's pupil in the late 1860s. The teachers at

the *GCI* were, with few exceptions, officers, whereas their colleagues at the Finnish institution were civilians, who in many cases had begun their studies at other departments of the university before they had chosen physical education as their speciality. In other words the Finnish institution was in more direct contact with educationalists and was not, like the *GCI*, an unit that trained its teacher candidates completely separate from the other branches of higher education. In addition, Heikel and his disciples did not have a strongly established tradition to protect and were therefore more ready to admit that their methods were, by and large, combinations of other systems.

Nevertheless, the reform of Finnish teacher training up to the Second World War followed the Swedish pattern rather than the Danish. The institution in Helsingfors was reorganised and enlarged as a result of, and in conjunction with the systematisation of secondary education, as in Sweden, rather than as an outcome of progressive thinking among the professionals, as in Denmark. In 1894 the teacher training programme was extended by means of a second year at the same time as the gymnasium building was rebuilt and enlarged. The institution also started a training programme for female student teachers, which, despite Heikel's outspoken criticism, was organised like the teaching at the *GCI*. The reform was, strictly speaking, a consequence of a thorough preparation, which had mobilised both the school authorities and the professionals[57], but was most certainly also inspired by the reorganisation of the *GCI* in 1887.[58] Some of the planners, for example, had hoped to follow the Swedish example by extending the programme to three years and by introducing a distinct division between the teaching in physical

education and medical gymnastics. Others, like the influential Heikel, were however not eager to give special attention to the medical aspect, which was understood as too "Swedish".[59]

All the same the development was more favourable for those who worked for reforms along the line of the Swedish model. In 1908 a third year was added to the training programme simultaneously as medical gymnastics got more space on the curriculum. The reform was greeted not only by those physicians, who followed Continental trends by being worried about overpressure and hygiene in schools, but also by female teachers in physical education, who, by and large, had been trained since 1894 according to *GCI*'s methods.[60] Less happy was a group of male teachers, who began an energetic press campaign against the new programme, which in their opinion paid no attention to the fact that the popularity of games and other outdoor sports had increased rapidly among school youth during the previous three decades.[61]

Although some of their demands for a more sport-oriented teacher training were noted in 1913, when the institution employed a part-time teacher to hold regular instruction in sport, little was done in practice to improve the situation before the 1930s. Committees were appointed in the 1910s and 1920s as in Sweden, but did not have the capacity to fully implement the demands. It was, however, not only the antagonism between the physicians and the teachers' representatives which hindered a modernisation of the curriculum.[62] The reforms in 1894 and 1908 had both been put in practice during a period of continuous prosperity, whereas the later attempts to carry out modernisation were made during and after the First World War, which were financially more difficult times.

Changes of any significance had to wait therefore until the 1930s. In 1931 the school authorities recieved a letter from a group of physical education teachers. It demanded more sports instruction in teacher training. This time the initiative led to action; the Ministry of Education now declared that half of all the lessons in physical education in the secondary schools should be reserved for sports at the same as time the school authorities intensified its campaign in favour of these activities. These improvements had an impact on school conditions, but increased all the same the need for a thorough reorganisation of the teacher training programme. In 1934 the Senate of Helsingfors University received a proposal from the teacher training staff, which recommended that sport lessons should be increased by abandoning the course in medical gymnastics. This suggestion got a positive response from the university authorities and was carried out step by step during the 1930s.[63]

The impact of this reform was weakened unfortunately by the poor conditions in the teacher training institution. The gymnasium building in the city centre was unsuitable for the training programme that was introduced in the 1930s. It was undersized and unhygienic. And addition the playing fields and other outdoor facilities were a long way away. The situation was even worse by 1934, when the institution moved to another, even smaller building in the inner city.[64]

The situation at the Finnish teacher training institution was in some respects the same as it was in Sweden, although the *GCI* had undergone a thorough reorganisation in 1934 and was promised more spacious facilities before the outbreak of the Second World War. The teacher training programme in both countries was reformed essen-

tially in response to the changes in the schools' educational practice rather than as a progressive determination to give teacher training a new direction. This development was partly a consequence of the institutional traditions of the both countries. By the turn of the century Sweden and Finland had established national systems for physical education that were based on a well organised teacher training institutions as well as on a didactic methods, which were taught on every education level. Problems occured, however, when attempts were made to reform educational structure through a reorganisation of teacher training, which in many ways was at the heart of the system. The established practices had their strong supporters among the older generation and were as sanctioned in a good defence position. In other words, the teacher training units in the two countries had become institutionalised in such extent that they were unable to renew themselves without strong demands from the schools and the public opinion.

We have already pointed out above that the Danish development was rather different and that this first of all was caused by the energetic reconstruction of the didactic methods and teacher training system at the turn of the century, which opened the gates for new ideas and practices on all levels. The final task of this chapter will therefore be to examine the evolution of the Norwegian teacher training system.

VI.

The Norwegian teacher training institution was established in 1870 and in circumstances which have many similarities with the contemporary situation in Finland. Both countries until the early 1860s had almost all their competent teachers trained at the *GCI* in Stockholm. Furthermore, both countries had school authorities which by the end of the 1860s had made sure that physical education had become a compulsory subject for every secondary school boy. And finally, both countries had by then a number of educationalists who began to see the need for a permanent institution for domestic teacher training. The Norwegians had, however, no reformers of Viktor Heikel's calibre to count on and were, as subjects in the monarchic union with Sweden, more directly influenced by the principles and methods taught at the *GCI*. It is necessary therefore to describe the Norwegian development first of all in conjunction with the concurrent changes in Sweden.

The first attempt to establish a permanent institution for physical education in Christiania was made in 1826, when the army authorities appointed a teacher from the *GCI* to train Norwegian officers in gymnastics. In 1829 this work was continued by a native, lieutenant Munch Petersen, who one year later, in 1830, tried in vain to give the course more status. As a consequence of this Norwegian officers throughout the next three decades were forced to travel to Stockholm in order to get a professional training in gymnastics.

However, the need for competent instructors grew steadily in the secondary schools and led in 1859 to the establishment of a seven month course in Christiania for company officers. The course was arranged by the Norwegian army, which at that time was still commanded by officers loyal to their Swedish monarch and his union bureaucracy. It was not appreciated therefore by the Norwegian nationalists, who made their own efforts to start teacher training that, apart from being more independent, would also pay more attention to educational questions. Their ideal was eventually put in practice; a four months course, meant both for males and females, was started in different parts of Norway and by the end of the 1860s had been attended by about 400 student teacher.[65]

The number might well be an exaggeration, but it shows all the same that there was a need for a more permanent solution. The political authorities had also become more aware of the situation during the 1860s. The Norwegian parliament, *Stortinget*, in 1862 reserved funds for the development of teacher training and decided seven years later, in 1869, to integrate existing courses by founding a national teacher training institution in Christiania. This establishment was created through a royal resolution the following year.[66] The twelve months training course was held during two winter seasons and was meant both for officer and civilian teacher candidates. In fact the course was more suitable for officers. The institute was subordinated to the Norwegian Ministry of Defence and was as a consequence of this directed by officers until 1943, when it was reorganised by the German occupying power. It is therefore

not surprising that the Norwegian male teachers in physical education were recruited in most cases from the army before the Second World War.[67]

How were the teacher candidates trained? One way to answer this question would be to say that the institute in Christiania in many respects was a miniature of the *GCI* in Stockholm until the turn of the century. Another would be to point out that the first two directors, Ivar Bjørnstad and Olaf Petersen, had been trained at the Swedish institute. The Norwegian teacher candidates were thus, to a high degree, taught to organise their lessons according to the principle of Hj. Ling and his disciple L.M. Törngren (1839-1912), who was director of the *GCI* between 1887 and 1907.[68] The Swedish influence was visible at many other levels; the lack of Norwegian textbooks forced the schools to provide themselves with instructions composed at the *GCI*[69] and in addition, the first domestic textbook, published by Bjørnstad in 1877, was nothing but a good translation of Hjalmar Ling's work of 1859.[70]

Nevertheless, it would be a wrong to claim that the Swedish method won popularity among the Norwegians. It was accepted in the army and the secondary schools as a form of exercise in the discipline of the body, but was not used in its original form by the growing number of voluntary gymnastics and sport clubs, which, by and large, were in the hands of the nationalistic forces. The nationalists preferred instead the German form of gymnastics, the *Turnen*, which, as has been emphasised earlier on, was more achievement oriented and therefore also more stimulating for the par-

ticipants. Swedish gymnastics was, in their opinion, not only too boring and formal, but also a dangerous form of "Swedish" obedience training.[71] It was therefore inevitable that the dispute between the proponents of the two gymnastics traditions was strongly coloured by the growing dissatisfaction with the monarchic union.

All the same the dispute had a constructive impact on the teacher training as well as on educational practice in the secondary schools. It opened the educationalists' eyes and encouraged them towards a synthesis of the Swedish and German gymnastics, which from the 1890s onwards was known as the "Norwegian system".[72] It was in fact a combination of the two traditions that had many similarities to the didactic solutions Viktor Heikel had introduced in Finland in the 1870s. Every lesson started with collective movements that had to be done to commands and according to a detailed choreography, which took into account the exercises' physiological function. Without question this had its origin in the Swedish method. Then exercises followed on a range of gymnastics equipment, such as bars and rings, which were typical of German *Turnen* gymnastics.[73]

However, it is important to keep in mind that Norwegian educationalists had a different notion of the Swedish method than Heikel and his Finnish disciples. The Swedish method might have been monotonous in their eyes and therefore needed be enlivened with *Turnen* gymnastics, but it was still understood as the fundamental basis of physical education. This attitude can be discovered in Louis Bentzen's textbook of 1892, which was used both in teacher training and in secondary schools until the 1920s.[74] Bentzen was, for ex-

ample, eager to point out in the foreword that he followed the Hjalmar Ling's method, although his instructions included many movements that were opposed to the principles in the Swedish method.[75]

Bentzen was an influential man also in other respects. He was not only director of the teacher training institute between 1904 and 1931, but also responsible for school inspections, which he carried out with great energy and thoroughness.[76] In addition he took part in the planning and implementation of the reorganisation of the teacher institute, which was carried out in 1915.[77] The most crucial change was the introduction of three separate courses; one for army personnel, one for male teacher candidates and one for women colleagues. The idea was clearly borrowed from the *GCI*, which had had this arrangement since 1864, but it was obviously put in practice for more domestic reasons. The main motive was without question the wish to improve the subject's pedagogical standing in the secondary schools by enticing civilians with academic qualifications to get a degree from the institute and become physical education teachers.[78]

According to Fridtjov Stene, who is the only one who has taken a detailed look at the history of the Norwegian teacher training institute, these efforts were not especially successful. During the interwar period most of the male teachers were officers, who had got their training from either of the two courses open for them.[79] In other words the Norwegian authorities had the same problem as their Swedish colleagues, who had to appoint many commissions and put forward a number of proposals before teacher training at the *GCI*, through reform in 1934, was made more attractive for civilians. However, nothing essential was achieved by the Norwegian authorities

before the end of the 1930s. The most decisive improvement was probably gained in 1937 through the incorporation of the military course into the course meant for secondary school teacher candidates. Another, although in practice less important improvement, happened in 1939 when students at Oslo University were allowed to count the teacher training at the gymnastics institute as a minor subject in their academic degree.[80]

It is not difficult to recognise that the Norwegian teacher training system was in even bigger need of renovation in the 1930s than the systems in Sweden and Finland. The problems of recruiting civilians, of course, was partly caused by the low status of the profession, which could rise only by strengthening the links to the academic world, but had also to do with the backward methods at the institute. In contrast to the Swedish and Finnish institutions, which at least made sincere efforts to modernise their curricula during the 1920s and 1930s, the Norwegian teacher training institution seems to have been rather indifferent to demands to improve the teachers' instructional competence in games and other outdoor sports, which got more and more attention in the secondary schools. As late as 1938 games and sports was the only group of activities that was taught merely as a practical subject at the Norwegian institute.[81].

It is clear that the Nordic teacher training systems faced new problems after they had been institutionalised during the last three decades of nineteenth century. Once a tradition was established it had the tendency to enforce itself by controlling the didactic methods that were used in teacher training and in the schools. This development was a consequence of educational systematisation, which

required more uniformed directives and methods in every area of education, but seems to have been especially strong in the training of physical education teachers.

VII.

The comparisons of the developments in the four countries revealed a number of reasons why Sweden and Denmark were in advance of Finland and Norway in many areas of teacher training during the period in question. It was not only that the Swedish and Danish teacher training institutes were established during the Napoleonic Age, whereas the Norwegian and Finnish counterparts were created during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, but also that at the end of the last century the Swedes had the advantage of having a more uniform didactic system and a more centralised school system, through which the method was effectively spread and controlled. For their part, the Danes gained from an early and thorough modernisation of teacher training, which was carried out at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, national differences were reduced during the 1920s and 1930s and this was caused largely by the increasingly sport-oriented curriculum, which step by step weakened local traditions and began to establish new and more international practices, although the evolution of Norwegian teacher training showed how slowly the change could be.

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2. Sandblad 1985 pp. 35-48.

3. P.H.Ling ,*Gymnastikens allmänna grunder*, Uppsala 1834

4. J.C.F.GutsMuths, *Gymnastik für die Jugend*, 2 Aufl., Schnepfenthal 1804 p. 182.gg

5. Christer Bjurwill, "Idrottens didaktik", *Idrott, historia, samhälle. Svenska idrottshistoriska föreningens årsskrift 1989*, Stockholm 1989 pp. 21-22.

6. About Pestalozzi's ideas and method more in detail, see H. Meusel, *Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi Über Korperbildung*, Frankfurt 1973; about Pestalozzi's influence on P.H. Ling, see Lindroth 1974 p. 30; Henning Eichberg has also discussed the similarities between Pestalozzi's and P.H. Ling's methods, see Eichberg 1978 p. 152.

7. Sandblad 1985 p. 67.

8. V.V.F. Nachtegall, *Lærebog i Gymnastik for Almue- og Borgerskoler*, København 1828.

9. V.V.F. Nachtegall, *Lærebog i Gymnastik til Brug for de lærde skoler i Danmark*, København 1834.

10. S. Drakenberg,"Kungliga Centralinstitutets historia under L.G. Brantings forestandarskap 1839-1862", in *Kungliga Gymnastiska Centralinstitutets historia 1813-1913*, Stockholm 1914, pp. 117-118.

11. The foreword to the catalogue of GCI's archives p. 3; *Riksarkivet, Stockholm.*

12. Lindroth 1974 p. 31.

13. Trangbæk 1987 pp. 56-59.

14. N.G.la Cour, *Lærebog i Gymnastik for Borger- og Almueskolerne i Danmark*, København 1856.

15. Trangbæk 1987 pp. 56-59.

16. Adolf Spiess, *Die Lehre der Turnkunst*, I and II, Basel 1840, see for example pp. 6-11 (I).

17. See for example the introduction to R. Naul (ed.), *Körperlichkeit und Schulturnen im Kaiserreich*, Wuppertal, Puttys Sport Paperback, 1985.

18. Holmberg 1939 pp. 179-185 ;see also Lindroth 1974 pp. 31-32.

19. C. Hjorth,"G.C.I.:s direktion, stadgar, lärarkår, ekonomiska forhallanden, eleveantal, byggnader m.m.", in *Kungliga Centalinsitutets historia 1813-1913*, Stockholm 1913 p. 207; Hjorth mentions also that the next enlargement happened in 1895-1896, when two gymnasiums were built on top of the old ones. Fifty years later, in 1946, the institute moved finally in to a new complex on Lidingövägen 1, next to the Olympic stadium.

20. Hj. Ling, *Tillägg vid de Tabeller hvilka varit begagnade för Gymnastiska Centralinstitutets lärokurs*, Stockholm 1859; Idem, *De första begreppen af rörelselära. Sammandrag för undervisningen vid Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet*, Stockholm 1866.

21. See for example Lindroth 1974 pp. 198-222.

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23. J. Amsinck, *Lærebog i Gymnastik for Skoler og civile Læreanstalter i Danmark. Med 160 i Texten indsatte Figurer og Planer*, Kjøbenhavn 1883.

24. Copsø 1983 pp. 14-16, 21-29.

25. *Indberedning fra Gymnastikkommissionen af 5te April 1887*, København 1888 pp. 8-21.

26. See for example Kristian Kroman, *Den nye danske skolegymnastik. Foredrag ved det skandinaviske gymnastiklærerselskabets møde i København 1899*, København 1902 pp. 4-9.

27. Copsø 1983 pp. 45-53.

28. *Haandbog i Gymnastik. Paa opfordring af Kirke- og Undervisningsministeriet udarbejdet af Gymnastikkommissionen af 30. November 1889*, København 1899.

29. Peder M. Trap,"Haandbog i gymnastik", *Legemsøvelser i skolen i tilslutning til Haandbog i Gymnastik 1899-1949*, København 1949 pp. 8-9; Copsø 1983 pp. 57-61; see also following contemporary reaction to the textbook; Holger Nielsen, *Vor Skolegymnastik. Særtryck af Berlingske Tidende*, Kjøbenhavn 1901 pp. 4-29.

30. Copsø 1983 pp. 14, 32.

31. See for example Dahlberg & Plum 1916 pp. 170-171; or Kirkegaard 1979 pp. 120-124.

32. Copsø 1983 pp. 62-65.

33. Emanuel Hansen,"Fra 1911 til 1961", in *Danmarks Højskole for Legemsøvelser 1911-1961*, København 1961 pp. 11-13; The students had already in 1905 got the right to finish the course at the Teacher College as part-timers, see *Bekendtgørelse om Fleraarigt Gymnastikkursus for Studenter 6 April 1905, Love og Anordningar 1905/60.*

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embedseksaminerne under det filosofiske og det matematisk-naturvidenskabelige Fakultet 25 Okt. 1913, Love og Anordningar 1913/249.

35. Korsgaard 1982 pp. 182-184.

36. Niels Illeris,"Læreruddannelsen", in *Legemsøvelser i Skolen i tilslutning til Haandbogen i Gymnastik 1899-1949*, København 1949 pp. 13-14.

37. Copsø 1983 p. 84; see also the table of the number of students of different categories at the institute 1911-1939, *Danmarks Højskole for Legemsøvelser 1911-1961*, København 1961 p. 77.

38. Illeris 1949 pp. 11-16.

39. *Kungliga Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet 1913-1963. Festskrift med anledning av institutets 150-åriga tillvaro*, Ystad 1963 pp. 7-17.

40. Ibid pp. 24-31, 49.

41. Koivusalo 1982 pp. 49-50.

42. Karl Göös, *Voimistelun harjoitusoppi*, Hämeenlinna 1868.

43. Karl Göös, *Några ord om gymnastiken i våra skolor samt förslag till dess ändamålsenligare ordnande*, Jyväskylä 1864 pp. 15-21.

44. See *Förhandlingar vid Första Allmänna Skollärareмötet i Finland 15-19 Juni 1864*, Utgifne af G.E. Eurén, Tavastehus 1864 pp. 101-105; Ilmanen & Vuotilainen 1982 pp. 31-32.

45. Ibid pp. 47-48.

46. About Heikel more in detail, see Suomela 1853; about his travels 1867-68 and 1871, see his letter to relatives in the Heikel archive, *Suomen urheilun keskusarkisto*, Helsinki.

47. See for example his serial article about games and sports in English public schools; *Hufvudstadsbladet* 1870 n:o 286, 289, 292.

48. Sandblad 1985 pp. 193-194.

49. Viktor Heikel, *Praktisk handbok i skolgymnastik för gossar*, Helsingfors 1874.

50. Letter from V.H. to his brother Felix Heikel 11.11 1867; Viktor Heikelin arkisto, kansio 1; *Suomen urheilun keskusarkisto*, Helsinki.

51. Suomela 1953 pp. 274-294.

52. *Tidskrift i Gymnastik* 1879 p. 740.

53. *Tidskrift i Gymnastik* 1877 pp. 354-355.

54. Ilmanen & Vuotilainen 1982 pp. 49-59.

55. Koivusalo 1982 p. 35.

56. Ibid pp. 58-61.

57. Ilmanen & Vuotilainen 1982 pp. 68-73; see also footnote 68 in chapter eight.

58. *Kongl. Majestäts nådiga stadga för Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet den 13 juli 1887 (SFS/54)*

59. Ilmanen & Vuotilainen 1982 pp. 68-71.

60. Ibid p. 88; see also *Nådig Förordning angående förändrad organisation af Kejserlig Alexanders-Universitetets gymnastikinrättning. Gifven å jakten Standard den 19 (6) oktober 1908.*

61. See for example A.A.V-a. [Arvo Vartia],"Yliopiston voimistelulaitos", *Suomen Urheilulehti* 1909 pp. 91-95.

62. Ilmanen & Vuotilainen 1982 pp. 94-105.

63. Ibid pp. 111-118.

64. Ibid pp. 111, 121.

65. Stene 1970 pp. 4-6.

66. *Kongelig resolution den 3 Decb. 1870*

67. Stene 1970 pp. 6-7.

68. Olstad 1987 pp. 36-37.

69. Nordahl & Tyrihjell 1961 p. 24.

70. Bjørnstad 1877.

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72. Olstad 1987 pp. 38-39.

73. Stene 1970 p. 7.

74. Stene 1970 p. 8.

75. Louis Bentzen, *Tabeller og veiledning for gymnastiklærere ved skoler for den høiere almendannelse*, Kristiania 1892 pp. 3-4, 67-79.

76. See for example Bentzens sharp inspection reports between 1907 and 1927; Gymnastikinspektøren - Gymnastikkontoret, Nr 8 og 9; Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet; *Riksarkivet, Oslo.*

77. Stene 1970 p. 8.

78. See the committee proposal, which was added to the bill that was passed by the Stortinget in 1915; *Stortingsbeslutning angående*

ny plan for "Den gymnastiske Centralskole" den 28 mai 1915 pp. 4-7.

79. Stene 1970 p. 6.

80. Ibid pp. 8-9.

81. Grøner 1938 p. 39.

Architecture and equipment

I.

We shall now look beyond the legal framework and didactic methods taught to the teacher candidates and try to reconstruct physical education in Nordic secondary schools for boys between 1880 and 1940 through an analysis of the conditions in the twelve sample schools, introduced in the first part of this work. Reconstruction in this chapter will be approached from two different angles. Firstly, in what way did architectural design and geographical location of the school buildings have a concrete impact on the pupils' education, and secondly, what can be discovered about the teaching through analysing the equipment in the schools?

II.

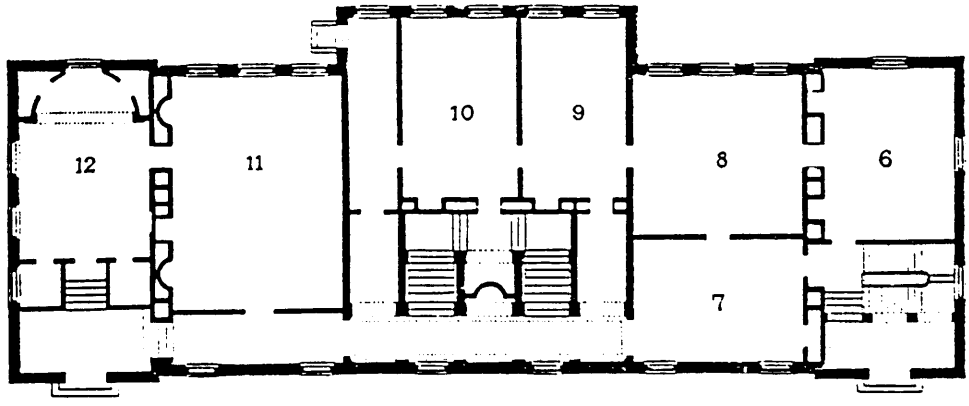
From an educational point of view the second half of nineteenth century was not only the epoch when European school structures were systematised, but also the time when national and local authorities as well as private initiators began to create a new type of school buildings specially designed for secondary education. These buildings had to match the new requirements of a differentiated cur-

riculum and were therefore constructed in quite other way than the earlier school buildings, which in many cases had been erected originally as dwelling-houses.

The differences can be illustrated through a comparison between two secondary schools in Copenhagen, *Metropolitanskolen* and *Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole.* Both are outstanding examples of the school architecture of their own time. *Metropolitanskolen* had been situated next to the Medieval church of Virgin Mary in the city centre ever since it was established in the thirteenth century. The school was totally destroyed in the British fleet's bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807 and was therefore rebuilt. The new building, finished in 1815, was a two-storey construction with a clean Roman exterior, which perfectly suited the neo-humanistic education ideals of the post-Napoleonic era.

However, the interior showed most clearly that it was erected in a time when the architects were not required to pay any attention to educational and hygienic matters. It was not only that all of the class-room windows opened to the east, which gave sunlight only in the mornings.

Fig. 5: *Metropolitanskolen*



The corridors were too narrow and functioned inadequately as links between the different rooms (Fig 5).[1] The structural weaknesses of *Metropolitanskolen* becomes even more apparent if we take a look at the school building of *Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole*, which was built in 1891 in one of the most respectable suburbs of Copenhagen. The Frederiksberg school building was undoubtedly a product of close collaboration between the architect and the school representatives. It had spacious corridors on all three floors, which led directly into the well lit class-rooms, as well as into an impressive central hall on the ground floor. In addition it had a large gymnasium in the basement, which was equipped with a changing room.[2]

The Frederiksberg school building can be understood as an architectual reflection of the transformation that Nordic secondary education had went through during the second half of nineteenth century. It was designed to suit a differentiated curriculum, which, in contrast to the curriculum of the first half of the century, gave much more space to "modern" subjects like science, modern languages and, of course, physical education. The Frederiksberg school was in fact exceptionally well provided to meet the increasing requirements of a physical education that was more varied than the traditional drill-oriented gymnastics. In addition to the gymnasium it was equipped with a large outdoor space, which was divided into two playgrounds and a playing field (Fig 6). It differed in this regard quite markedly from *Metropolitanskolen* which apart from its rather narrow gymnasium, erected next to the main building in 1832, had

nothing to offer the pupils but a small backyard.[3] It would be quite misleading, therefore, to think that the schools' geographical site and architectural construction had only a minor influence on the ac-

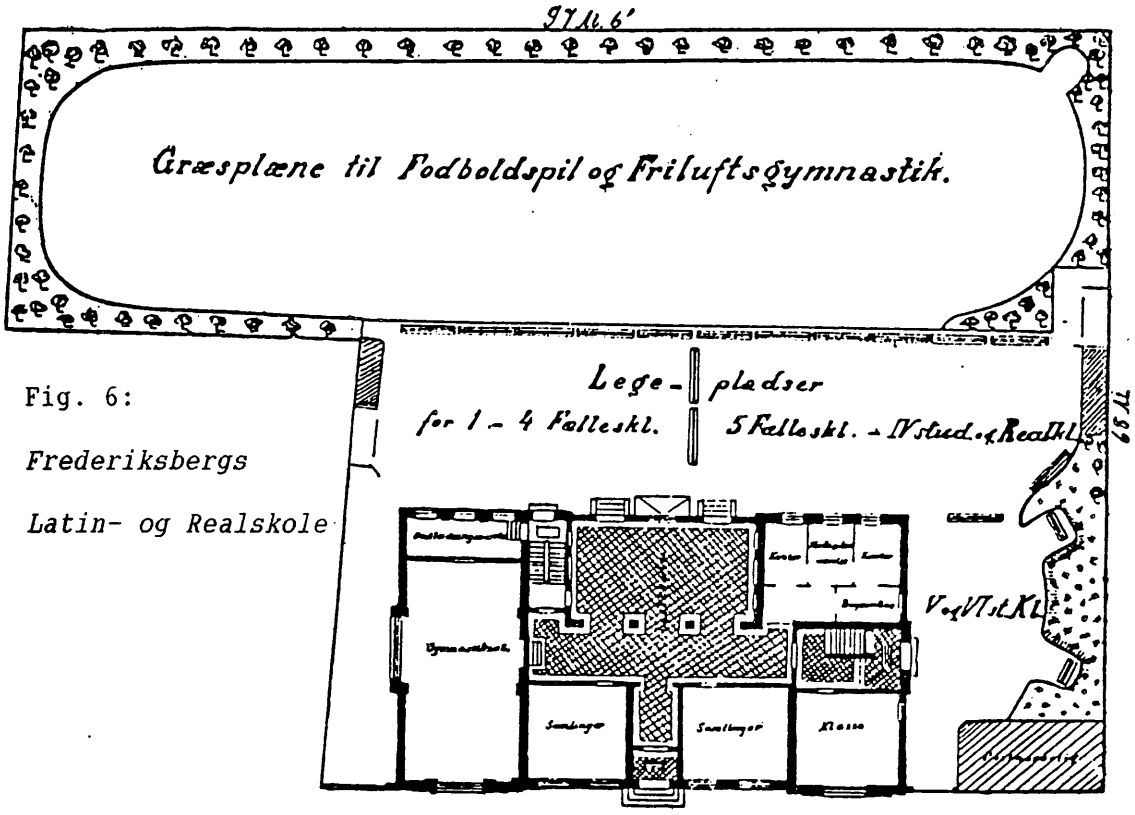


Fig. 6:
Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole

tual conditions for a subject like physical education. Once the buildings were erected little could be done to change their impact on the educational process, which, needless to say, began at the same moment as the pupil took his first step into the school. This is something that is important to remember in any consideration of several of the other ten sample schools. As an matter of fact nine of these ten schools by the turn of the century were in buildings that were constructed during the second half of nineteenth century. They were built to meet the educational requirements of that epoch and had consequently become somewhat old-fashioned by the early

1920s, which in many respects, was a time when the established didactic procedures of physical education were more seriously questioned than ever before in the four Nordic countries.

This development can be followed up in more detail by examining how many of the facilities for physical education, installed in the 1880s and 1890s, had become insufficient by the end of the 1920s. For example it is obvious that most of the gymnasiums constructed during the last two decades of nineteenth century were understood as out of date after the First World War, when the demands of more hygienic school conditions were enforced. The gymnasiums had been built in the first place to strengthen and discipline the body and were to a lesser degree designed with an eye to hygiene. Some of the schools were even forced to arrange their physical education lessons in public halls, which were often unsuitable places. This was the case with one of the Stockholm schools, *Reallläroverket*, which functioned in a town house until 1890. Lessons were arranged in a poorly ventilated dance hall, which often had empty bottles in the corners and litter on the dirty floor.[4]

The situation, however, became much better when *Reallläroverket* got its own building in 1890 in the northern part of Stockholm. Apart from the impressive school building of red brick a separate gymnasium was built in the spacious backyard, which, according to an annual report by the headmaster Sixten von Friesen, was a more hygienic solution than placing it, as was customary, inside the school beneath the assembly hall.[5] The arrangement was partly von Friesen's, who had travelled around Germany inspecting the country's newest school architecture.[6] Yet, it is apparent that the strongest

reason for this solution was the criticism of the construction of the most famous school building in Stockholm, *Norra Latinläroverket*, which was erected ten years earlier, in 1880.

(Fig. 7a)

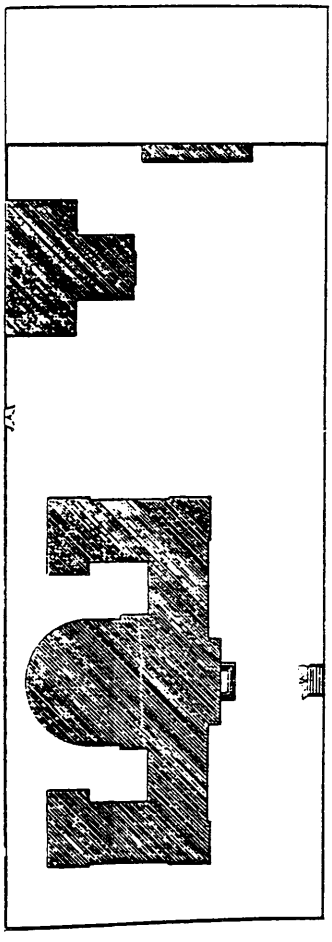
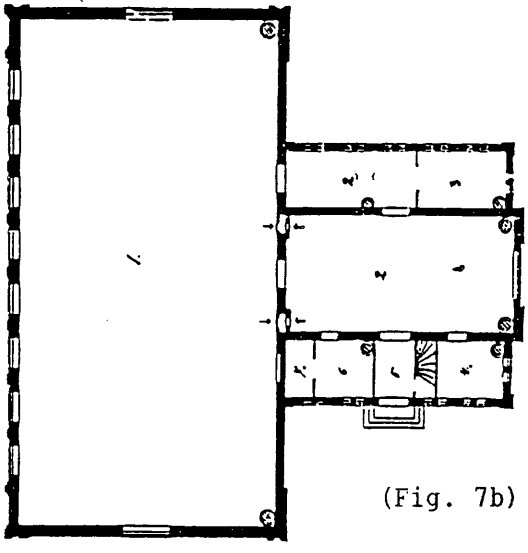


Fig. 7: *Norra Reallläroverket*

Fig. 7a: The school buildings

Fig. 7b: The gymnasium



(Fig. 7b)

The most energetic critic was the physician Axel Key, who, in his inquiry into the hygiene in Swedish secondary schools in 1885, had pointed out that the ventilation of the building was poor.[7] The gymnasium was placed in the basement with the latrines behind the wall and in addition to that the assembly hall placed directly above it.[8] The gymnasium of *Reallläroverket* seems, therefore, to have been constructed as an reaction to these shortcomings; it not only had a much better position, ventilation and lighting, but was also equipped with spacious changing-rooms, a shower and an arsenal.

Another important improvement was the isolation of the latrine, which especially during the warmer seasons, must have been rather smelly (Fig 7a).[9]

However, by the end of the 1920s most of these solutions had proved merely impractical. Practice had shown that the shower was unsufficient to meet the needs of large classes and was hardly used. The changing-rooms had also become too small for the increased number of lessons in physical education; classes had to wait outside until the earlier ones had left and in addition were often forced to queue before all the pupils had changed clothes. It is therefore not surprising that the teaching staff of *Reallläroverket* in 1927 decided to apply for public funds to rebuild the gymnasium.[10] Matters proceeded swiftly and two years later, in October 1929, the new gymnasium was ready. Except for the gymnasium floor everything was reconstructed; a gallery was installed, the changing-rooms were moved to the northern short side and were equipped with wardrobes and sufficient showers. The rebuilding enlarged the playground at the same time,[11] which, as a result of the increasingly sport-oriented syllabus, must have been used almost as much as the gymnasium.

The architectural transformation of this gymnasium reveals at least two things; firstly how much a subject like physical education was dependent on the available facilities, and secondly that health promotion became step by step a more important motive than the production of a collective discipline. Most of the Nordic secondary schools in the late nineteenth century were equipped with a gymnasium, which, with its closed space and gymnastic equipment, was like a factory for bodily strength and discipline. However, only some of the urban schools had installed showers and even fewer ac-

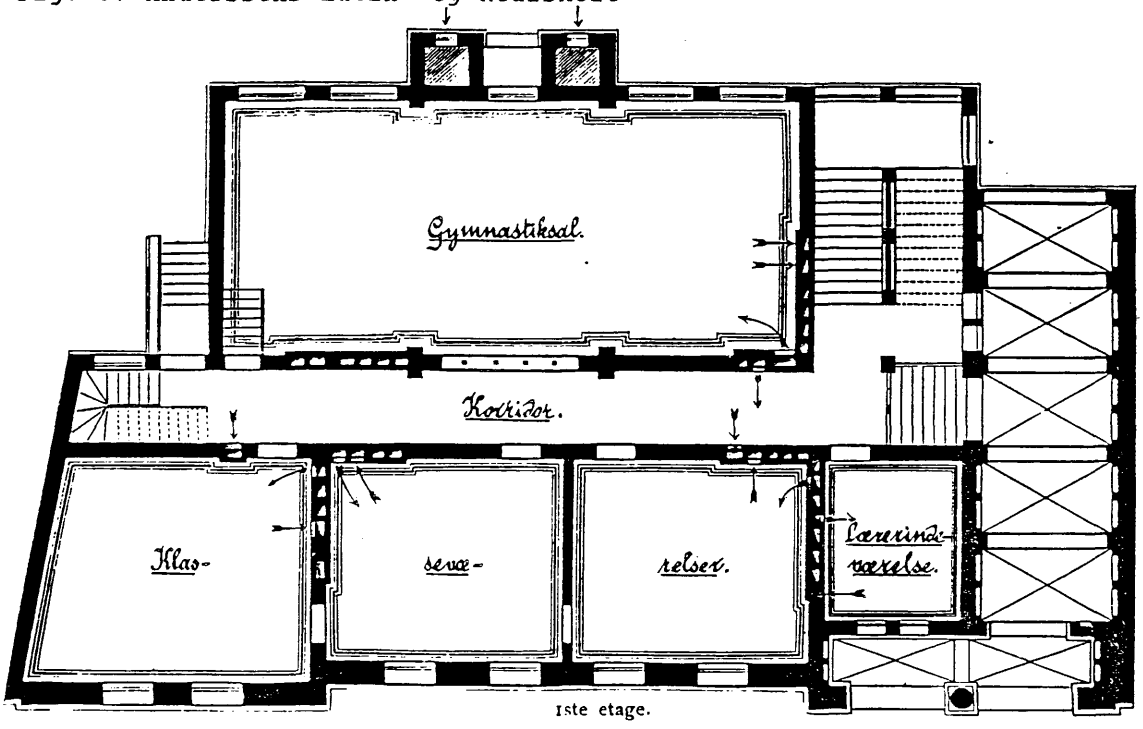
tually used them. The pupils exercised in their everyday clothes at the turn of the century and took no shower after the lessons. The demands for better changing-room hygiene began to grow, nevertheless, especially during the 1920s when an enlarged proportion of the lessons became sport-oriented and were practiced outdoors. The new activities were more energy-consuming, more sweat producing and above all dirtier than the pedagogic gymnastics, which were seldom practiced outdoors.

The hygienic improvements of the gymnasiums, as well as the school buildings in general, can be explained in connection with another, more wider transformation; the establishment of national health care systems, which, as in the case of the increasingly hygiene conscious physical education, could be understood as an action of isolating bodies from each other. It was now recognised that individual bodies should be protected from disease by minimising their direct contact and by keeping them clean.[12] The gymnasium showers at least in principle had this purpose; they were meant to clean the bodies that had been intensively exposed to each other during the exercises in the gymnasiums and playgrounds.

It is obvious that the efforts to improve the gymnasiums' ventilation were undertaken for the same reasons. But only a few of the secondary schools in the Nordic capitals had space or money to build separate gymnasiums in their backyards like *Realläroverket* in Stockholm. The majority had their gymnasiums placed beneath the assembly hall and some even had the two combined, like for example the two private schools *Anderssens Latin- og Realskole* in Christiania and *Nya svenska läroverket* in Helsingfors, which both were built in the 1880s. Both of these schools were erected at the corner of a city

centre block and it was quite understandable therefore that the owners saw the combination as a way to create space for the class-rooms.

Fig. 8: *Anderssens Latin- og Realskole*



The Norwegian school, *Anderssens Latin- og Realskole*, had its combined assembly and gymnasium hall on the ground floor. It was a well illuminated hall with a ventilation system, which at the time was highly praised. Practice, however, showed that air ducts were quite insufficient and that the windows were wrongly placed to create cross-draughts (Fig 8).[13] The lack of fresh air was probably most urgent in the winter afternoons, when the windows had been closed most of the day and the school gathered in the hall for the prayer.

Nya svenska läroverket in Helsingfors had the same kind of problems with its combined assembly and gymnasium hall, although it was equipped with opposite windows that improved the much needed cross-draught. Its air ducts, which seems to have been inadequate from the beginning, were blocked by the time of First World War and could never be repaired properly (Fig 9).[14] In addition to all these shortcomings it should be emphasised that neither of these two schools installed any changing-rooms or showers before the postwar period.

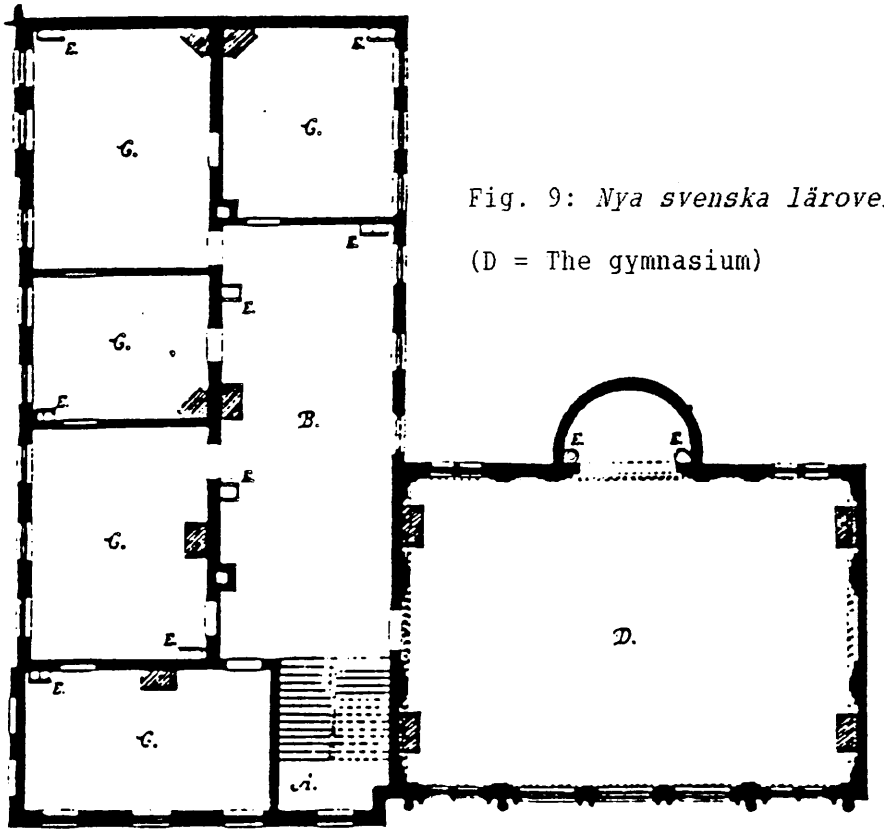


Fig. 9: *Nya svenska läroverket*
(D = The gymnasium)

It is obvious that the ventilation of the gymnasiums was worst in the smaller private schools. The schools were established by progressive educationalists, who wanted to offer an alternative to the traditional education in the state schools, but who, in reality,

to an increasing degree, were forced to follow the regulations of the authorities. This led not only to financial difficulties, but also to unsatisfactory conditions for physical education, which, as we must always keep in mind, was a lowly ranked subject and, therefore, often one of the last to receive proper attention in times of financial shortage.

Lack of space could occur in other ways. One example of this is the case of *Suomalainen Normaalilyseo*, the Finnish normal school in Helsingfors, which in the beginning of its existence functioned in very cramped circumstances. Between 1887 and 1905 the school had no other assembly hall than the gymnasium in the basement, which was badly illuminated and furnished with horizontal bars and bucks that drew the pupils attention away from the prayers. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the turn of the century the teaching staff had had enough not only of the crowded classrooms but also of the combined assembly and gymnasium hall, which, apart from all its hygienic disadvantages, destroyed the atmosphere of the daily and annual school gatherings.[15] The complaints of the staff were noted and five years later, in 1905, the school moved into a new building, which was both spacious and functional. The new gymnasium was without doubt one of the best of its kind; it was large and light, it had efficient ventilation, changing-rooms and showers.[16]

However the school still lacked a separate assembly hall. It was a shortcoming that might seem insubstantial, because the gymnasium in every way filled the double function sufficiently, but in fact it was a serious matter. The academic staff had difficulties accepting the idea that the body and soul could be cultivated in the same space. The problem was not now the smell or dirt, which had

been minimised through the hygienic improvements, but the symbolic confusion of the architectural language. How could the headmaster give his speeches the required dignity if the assembly hall contained neither portraits nor any other historical symbols that emphasised his authority, and how was the religion teacher supposed to hold meaningful morning prayers when the only things that pointed to heaven were the gymnastic ropes? The staff continued therefore its campaign for segregation until 1926, when the school was enlarged and a separate assembly hall was constructed.[17]

The reconstructions of the Finnish normal school reveals, in other words, that the motives behind the architectural improvements of the gymnasiums and school buildings in general often had to do with morals and ideals as much as with hygiene and physiology. Physical education above all was understood as way to improve the strength and health of the bodies, although many educationalists were ready to accept it also as a subject that prepared for the cultivation of pupils' minds and characters. In order to make the aims of the education as explictly visible as possible it was therefore important to have an architectural interior and order that enforced the impression of a divided and hierarchical curriculum. It is thus maybe not an accident that the gymnasiums normally were placed beneath the assembly halls; it was as if the architecture symbolised the lower status of the subject.

III.

But let us not pay over much attention to the ideological dimensions of the architectural arrangements of the gymnasiums. Apart from some of the technical arrangements, such as the ventilation and lightning, the educational process in the gymnasiums and playgrounds was more dependent on the space and the available equipment than on the seemingly symbolic position of these facilities. If we take a look at the size of the gymnasiums in the four countries it becomes apparent that they were largest in Sweden at least until the First World War. This was not due to the fact that the Swedish secondary education, was to a larger extent, state financed than other Nordic neigbour countries, although it of course might have had some influence, but above all it was a consequence of the Swedish practice of arranging lessons for two or three age groups together.

According to the Finnish educationalist Ivar Wilskman, who published a comparative article about the conditions for physical education in the four countries in 1909, the exercise groups in Sweden rose to over 200 pupils in some of bigger urban secondary schools while in the Nordic neighbour schools they seldom rose beyond the size of an ordinary class, which was about 30 pupils. Wilskman's investigation shows that the average size of the Swedish school gymnasiums at that time was 26,4 x 12,8 x 7 metre whereas in the other three countries they had the average size of around 18 x 9 x 6 metre.[18] These statistics alone show that educational practice in the Swedish urban schools must have differed quite markedly from the practice in the corresponding schools in Denmark, Norway and

Finland. The Swedish teachers were, to much higher degree, forced to fill their lessons with group exercises and could only occasionally let the pupils exercise on the gymnastic equipment or play games.

A look at the educational circumstances in the three Stockholm schools *Nya Elementarskolan*, *Norra Latinläroverket* and *Reallläroverket* between 1880 and 1940 confirms this impression. At the end of the school year 1885-1886 none of these schools had a regular group in physical education that would have been smaller than 48 pupils. Most groups were, in fact, around one hundred pupils and the largest, in *Norra Latinläroverket*, was 180 pupils.[19] Fifty years later, in spring 1936, the group sizes were virtually unchanged; almost all of the physical education classes in the three schools were over 50 pupils.[20] The situation might have been better in most of the other Swedish schools, although it is unlikely, but nevertheless it gives an idea of how physical education was organised in some of the country's most prestigious schools in the late 1930s.

The large "classes" seems also to have been one of the reasons that forced the school authorities in Stockholm to build more extensive playgrounds than their colleagues in the three other Nordic capitals. In 1914 was the average size of the playgrounds in the Swedish secondary schools almost 10.000 square metres,[21] which meant that they could be for example 120 metre long and 80 metre wide. Some of the Stockholm schools, as for example *Reallläroverket* or *Norra Latinläroverket* with its 13.700 square metres playground in its backyard,[22] were even more spoiled by the space provided. However it would be wrong to believe that all the Stockholm schools were blessed with the same kind of facilities; *Nya Elementarskolan*

in the heart of the modern Stockholm had neither a suitable gymnasium nor a playground large enough for football games and until the 1940s was forced to arrange all its physical education in the *GCI*, which was situated in the same district.[23]

If we take a look at the school playgrounds in other Nordic capitals it becomes apparent that the conditions often varied just as much. The case of Copenhagen has already been discussed; the backyard of *Metropolitanskolen* in the crowded city centre was approximately only a tenth of the combined space of the playground and playing field of *Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole*, which originally in the 1890s had had an even more spacious site. The sources tell little about the spatial conditions for the Christiania/Oslo schools, but it is nevertheless possible find out, for example, that none of the three sample schools (*Katedralskolen, Anderssens latin- og realskole, Aars's og Voss's Skole*) had a backyard or playground that could have been larger than about 4.000 square metres.[24]

The measurements of the playgrounds of the three sample schools chosen from Helsingfors are even more difficult to sort out through available documents; neither the school teachers nor the authorities seems to have bother themselves with such details. However, almost twenty years observation of Helsingfors city and the schools in question allows the author of this thesis to estimate that the yards of *Suomalainen Normaalilyseo* and *Suomalainen Realilyseo* were, and are, between 3.000 and 4.000 square metres large. In addition a drawing from 1887 reveals that the yard of *Nya svenska läroverket* must have had an extension of about 800 square metres.[25]

What do these figures tell us? At least three things; firstly they give us an idea of the spatial site and nature of the schools and their immediate environment, secondly they can suggest how the lessons in physical education could be organised outdoors, and thirdly they are an indication of how aware the Nordic architects and educationalists of the late nineteenth century were of the growing demands for more fresh air, games and sports for tthe pupils.

Nevertheless, it would be dangerous to draw any direct conclusions from these figures. As mentioned before, the Swedish schoôls in general and the Stockholm secondary schools in particular, might have had more extensive playgrounds than most of the other Nordic schools, but they had also distinctively larger units in physical education to operate with. In addition, it is obvious that the schools in Christiania/Oslo and Helsingfors had, during the time in question, the advantages of cities with a population between 100.000 and 200.000. The urban infrastructure was established and provided the inhabitants with a range of services[26] and yet the countryside was reasonably near.

If we look at the environment of two of the Helsingfors schools these benefits become apparent; *Suomalainen Normaalilyseo* in the southern inner city had a sufficient playing field and from 1928 onwards a municipal swimming pool in its own district, whereas *Nya svenska läroverket* was situated next to one of the largest parks of Helsingfors, Kajsaniemi Gardens, which contained one of the most used playing fields in the city. Furthermore the countryside could be reached until the 1930s from both of the schools in a quarter of an hour. The point is that the Helsingfors schools' urban environment was rather suitable for outdoor activities. The lack of a games

and sports oriented curriculum was therefore above all a consequence of a certain educational thinking and practice. This was not in the first place the case with the secondary schools in the inner cities of Copenhagen and Stockholm, which, except for their own playgrounds, often were surrounded by extensive building areas. The lack of outdoor lessons was, to a greater extent, caused by spatial conditions. These examples are be enough to show that a quantitative comparison of the conditions for physical education for secondary school boys in the four capitals seldom can be done without careful qualification. Local circumstances are always particular and should be understood as such.

This reservation is worth keeping in mind while we continue the comparison and take a brief look at equipment that, according to the fragmentary sources, were used in the gymnasiums and playgrounds. A survey of the sample schools' on this point show that most of them were already by the 1890s furnished with a range of gymnastic apparatus. The standard equipment generally speaking included the following; wall bars, horisontal bars, ladders, ropes, horses, boxes, and spring-boards. The Swedish and Norwegian school gymnasiums seems to have had equipment that were easy to use by larger education groups and which could be moved aside swiftly,[27] whereas the Danish and Finnish schools had equipment that required more space, individual instruction and greater skill from the pupils.[28]

By and large this is in line with what we have noticed earlier regarding the educational methods in the four countries. The Swedish and Norwegian indoor lessons were structured until the 1930s according to Hjalmar Ling's system, which payed little attention to in-

dividual skills and achievements, while physical education in the Danish and Finnish secondary schools built, to a larger extent, on the German *Turnen* gymnastics tradition, which in practice included more of such movements. Typical German equipments like parallel bars, trapezes, rings or horizontal banisters, which can not be found in the inventories of the Swedish and Norwegian sample schools for the years 1880 to 1940, seems, at least in light of the available sources, to have been common in the Finnish and Danish secondary schools during the same period.[29]

An example of a well-equipped Finnish school is the gymnasium of *Nya svenska läroverket*, which, as has been mentioned above, in other respects was rather inadvequate. It was of about 18 x 10 x 6 metres in size,[30] which was near the Nordic average, but had an impressive amount of gymnastics equipment that filled one fifth of the floor space.[31] Among other things it had 40 iron staffs in 1893,[32] which were used as complementary weights in the free standing collective movements. The staffs were introduced originally by Viktor Heikel, who saw them used in German schools in the late 1860s, and by the end of nineteenth century they had become quite important in physical

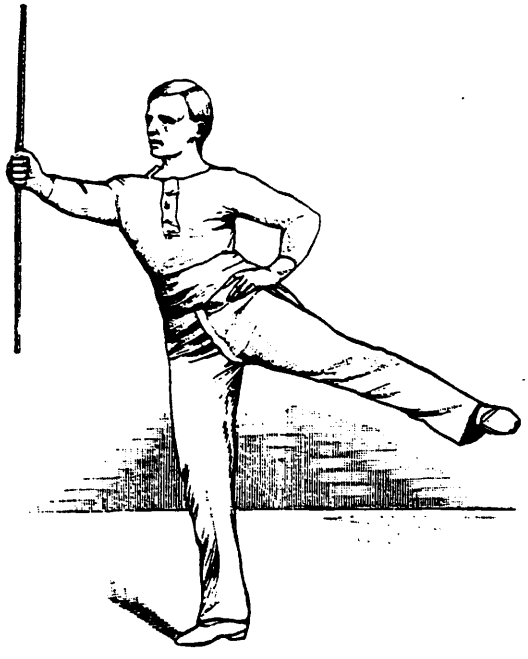


Fig. 10: A Finnish staff gymnast

education for Finnish secondary schoolboys.[33] What makes them especially interesting, however, is the fact that they were almost unknown, and certainly not used in the other Nordic secondary schools. The only plausible explanation for this is that the iron staff movements functioned in Finland as substitutes for military training with rifles, which had been practiced regularly in its neighbouring western countries since the 1860s. The Russian authorities in Finland after some hesitation had introduced a limited form of national service in the Grand Duchy in the late 1870s, but can not have been too keen of the idea that weapons were available for every nationalistic "hothead" in the country and therefore did nothing to encourage the Finns to introduce military training in the secondary schools. The iron staff movements were thus an ideal compromise; they were harmless as such but could, as Heikel pointed out in one his textbooks, be outstanding exercises for future shots who needed a steady and strong arm.[34]

This fact serves to remind us of that all the secondary schools in Sweden, Norway as well as in Denmark had from the 1860s onwards until the 1910s arsenals of their own or at least regular access to the local army depots. The weapons, ammunitions and targets were financed with public funds and seems therefore to have been looked after with care.[35] Another reason for the careful treatment of the rifles was also the status of the military training; the drilling in playgrounds and marches out to the shooting ranges were inspected by army officials and attracted, not surprisingly, more public attention than the more modest exercises in the gymnasiums.[36]

Nevertheless, in the end the military training and the iron staff exercises played a smaller role in physical education than the gymnastics movements described earlier. The Nordic teachers might have valued the drill with weapons and staffs as an useful exercise in discipline, but saw, at least until the First World War, gymnastics as the essence in their teaching. Another indication that gymnastics dominated the syllabus of Nordic physical education is the insignificant amount of sport equipment in the schools before the 1920s. Some of the schools, as for example *Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole* in Copenhagen and *Norra Latinläroverket* in Stockholm,[37] had sets of footballs and bats already in the 1890s, but in most of the other sample schools such articles were not found in the inventories before the turn of the century. Athletics equipment seems also to have been rare and can be found only in the Finnish sample schools before 1920s. Real change happened as late as the second half of the 1920s and the 1930s. For example; in 1931 the *Katedralskole* in Oslo - since 1925 the new name of Christiania - did not possess any sport equipment recorded in its inventory, but seven years later, in 1938, a whole range of games and athletics articles were registered.[38]

VI.

In summary, it is important to emphasise that the descriptions above should be understood as examples of spatial and technical circumstances under which physical education was practiced in a sample of secondary schools in the Nordic capitals. The descriptions can

not be used as evidence of the situation on the national levels. Yet, it is quite accurate to claim that educational conditions in the four capitals and in the sample schools in question often had a strong influence on school conditions in the other parts of the Nordic countries. Provincial schools were normally designed according to the architectural trends in the capitals, where their teaching staffs, with few exceptions, had got their professional training. In short, the descriptions above are examples of normative and not of typical circumstances.

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1. Dahlberg & Plum 1916, pp. 102-107.

2. Kirkegaard 1979, pp. 28-31.

3. Dahlberg & Plum 1916, p. 110.

4. Svedelius 1927, pp. 24-25.

5. *Norra Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1890-1891*, Stockholm 1891, p. 14.

6. Svedelius 1927, p. 32.

7. Key 1885, p. 472-476.

8. G.F.Gilljam, *Inbjudningsskrift med anledning af invigningen af Stockholms Norra Latinläroverks nya läroverksbyggnad*, Stockholm 1880, Pl.IV.

9. *Norra Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1890-1891*, Stockholm 1891, appendixes.

10. *Norra Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1927-1928*, Stockholm 1928, p. 9.

11. *Norra Reallläroverkets årsredogörelser 1928-1929*, Stockholm 1929, pp. 36-37.

12. See for example Jonas Frykman & Orvar Löfgren, *Den kultiverade människan*, LiberLäromedel, Lund 1979, pp. 137-145, 185-198.

13. *Anderssens latin- og realskole. Inbydelseskrift 1883*, Kristiania 1883, pp. 5-13.

14. Ola Hansson,"Gamla skolhuset vid Kajsaniemi", in *Nya svenska läroverket - Gymnasiet Lärkan hundra år 1882-1982, Festskrift utgiven av Kamratförbundet Lärkorna och Sällskapet Smågossarna*, Helsingfors 1982, pp. 164-165, 171.

15. *Helsingin Suomalainen Normaalilyseo, Vuosikertomus 1899-1900*, Helsinki 1900, pp. 16-17.

16. *Helsingin Suomalaisen Normaalilyseon vuosikertomus 1905-1906*, Helsinki 1906, pp. 24-26.

17. Waltari 1937, pp. 74-75.

18. Ivar Wilskman, *Voimisteluolot Skandinaviassa*, Helsinki 1909, pp. 2-4, 14-15.

19. *Nya Elementarskolans årsredogörelse 1885-1886*, Stockholm 1886, p. 56; *Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1885-1886*, Stockholm 1886, p. 21; *Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1885-1886*, Stockholm 1886, p. 71; *Norra Latinläroverket* had also the biggest school gymnasium in Stockholm (35,4 x 17,75 x 9,1 metre), Ibid p. 60.

20. *Nya Elementarskolans årsredogörelse 1935-1936*, Stockholm 1936, p. 21; *Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1935-1936*, Stockholm 1936, p. 36; About the size of the education see also groups in the 1910s see the Swedish committee report from 1915 on the conditions for physical education, Moberg 1915, p.11.

21. Moberg 1915, p. 32.

22. *Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1880-1881*, Stockholm 1881, p. 61.

23. Materialredogörelser 1867-1890 (GVb:1), 1930-36 (GVb:2), GCI:s arkiv; Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

24. *Indbydelseskrift til de offentlige examen ved Kristiania Katedralskole 1902*, Kristiania 1902, p. 44; *Anderssens latin- og realskole. Indbydelseskrift 1883*, Kristiania 1883, p. 5; *Aars's og Voss's Skole. Indbydelseskrift 1873*, Christiania 1873, p. 38.

25. *Nya svenska läroverkets skolprogram 1886-1887*, Helsingfors 1887, plate 1.

26. Marjatta Hietala, *Services and Urbanization at the Turn of the Century: the Diffusion of Innovations*, Societas Historica Finlandiae: Jyväskylä 1987, pp. 179-258.

27. Fortegnelse over Materialier og gjenstande 1869, *Oslo Katedralskoles arkiv*, ; Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1880-1881, Stockholm 1881, p. 61; *Norra Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1890-1891*, Stockholm 1891, p. 33.

28. Kalustoluettelo 1892-1894, Bl:4, Helsingin normaalilyseon arkisto *Valtionarkisto*; Inventarieförteckning 1888-1892, Be:1, Nya svenska läroverkets arkiv, *Helsingfors stadsarkiv.*

29. Fortegnelse over skolematerial 1886-1889, Inventarieprotokol 1924-1930, Östre Borgerdydskoles arkiv, *Landsarkivet for Sjælland, Lolland-Falster og Bornholm*; Voimistelusalin kalusto 1904-1930, Bga:4, Helsingin lyseon arkisto, *Valtionarkisto*; Kalustoluettelo 1892-1974, Bl:1, Helsingin normaalilyseon arkisto, *Valtionarkisto*, .

30. The estimation is done on basis of the plates in an annual school report from 1887, *Nya svenska läroverkets årsberättelse 1886-1887*, Helsingfors 1887.

31. Hansson 1982, p. 156.

32. Inventarieförteckning 1888-1893, Be:1, Nya svenska läroverkets arkiv, *Helsingfors stadsarkiv.*

33. The iron staffs appeares also in the inventories of *Suomalainen Normaalilyseo* and *Suomalainen Realilyseo*, see footnote 28 in this chapter.

34. Viktor Heikel, *Gymnastiska friöfningar med och utan jernstaf*, Helsingfors 1879, p. 17.

35. For a more detailed comparison of the military training in the three countries, see Paludan 1885, pp. 592-595.

36. The annual reports of the Swedish state schools contain a lot information about the military training. An impressive example of the kind of arsenals some schools had can be found in *Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1909-1910*, Stockholm 1910, pp. 58-59.

37. *Meddelser om Frederiksberg Latin- og Realskole 1894-1895*, København 1895, pp. 3-4; *Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1885-1886*, Stockholm 1886, p. 72.

38. Inventarium 1907-1930 (-1931), Inventarieprotokoll for 1938-1945, *Oslo Katedralskoles arkiv.*

In the gymnasiums and playgrounds...

I.

The question to be discussed in this chapter is to what extent we can say anything about the educational process as such through combining the reconstruction in chapter nine with other available sources. School architecture reflected only possibilities and limitations and not the actual content of education. The same thing can also be said about the available equipment; the fact that a school had a trapeze or a football gives us an idea of what could be done during the lessons, but is not evidence of what the pupils actually did. It is obvious therefore that an analysis of the activities in the gymnasiums and playgrounds in the first place have to take into count information about the lessons and sport clubs that can be found in the annual school reports and in other literature.

II.

The reports represented the view of the teachers and for that reason were already coloured by certain expectations and rationalisations, but they are the only sources that can give us a regular picture of educational process. Most of the secondary schools in the Nordic countries had begun to publish their annual

reports by the end of the 1870s. They were published in May or June, by the end of the school year, and included, in addition to information about teachers appointments and the internal policy of the school, reports of teaching in every subject. The descriptions were organised hierarchically; first came religion and classical languages and last came physical education and handicraft.

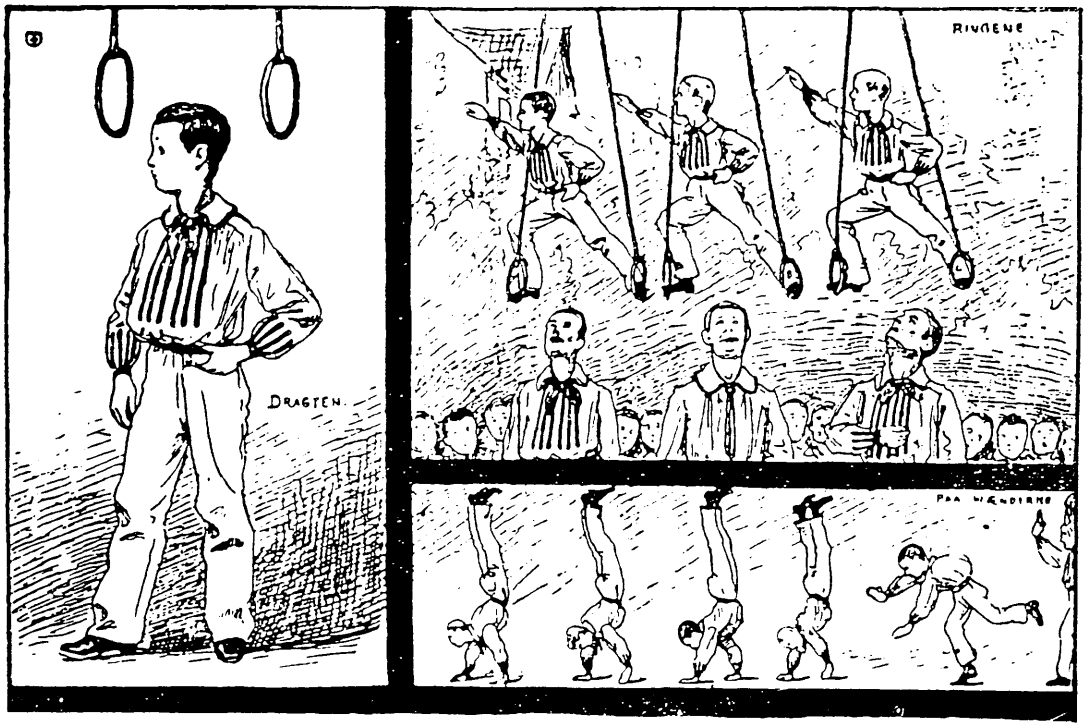

Fig. 11: A gymnastics performance by Danish schoolboys in 1838.

Until First World War the Swedish reports included the most information about physical education. This seems to be a result of the Swedish systematisation of the subject's methodology and training, which, as it has been pointed out earlier, had proceeded further than in the other Nordic countries by the end of last century, and which therefore offered the teachers a clearer pattern to follow in their reports. This is also the reason for the special attention that will be paid here to the Swedish development. In contrast to

their Nordic colleagues, who seldom offered quantitative facts about their lessons, the Swedish teachers excelled in giving reports filled with exact numbers and structured with great care.

A good example of this preoccupation is an annual report about the physical education in *Norra Latinläroverket* written in 1886 by Viktor Balck, the famous sports enthusiast and administrator, who in addition to his other duties and activities, worked in the 1870s and 1880s as a secondary school teacher. Following the established pattern Balck put forward a considerable number of "hard" facts. The total number of participating pupils during the autumn term of 1885 had been 593 and during the following spring term 563; the pupils were organised in five groups; the length of the lessons was half an hour and the their frequency was four to six times per week. The report included also detailed descriptions of the military training and, what is even more interesting, information about games that Balck had began to play with the pupils.[1]

A brief look at the practical arrangements of the teaching is enough to assure us that Balck's determination to give more emphasis to outdoor sports in the regular education seemed premature. It was not only that the classes were far too large and lessons so short. Games and and other sports failed to obtain a significant role in the physical education before the educational attitudes towards these exercises changed. Apart from Balck and some of his kindred spirits in Sweden, who were true advocates of British athleticism,[2] few secondary school teachers were convinced that the rough games and exciting competition could form the pupils' characters in a right direction. It was widely understood that it was the drill in

discipline and obedience, in other words collective gymnastics movements and military training, which, from an educational point of view, gave the best results.[3]

Nevertheless, Balck's *avant-garde* initiatives in the 1880s in favour of sports were welcomed by the secondary school pupils in Stockholm, who were among the most important social groups in the emerging sports movement in Sweden.[4] The pupils were among the first to join the voluntary gymnastic and sports clubs that were established in the capital in the 1880s, and in the 1890s began to establish their own associations. In 1895 a group of these clubs decided to establish a national organisation. This organisation, *IFK-förbundet*,[5] within a short time grew into an influential force in the Swedish sports movement. It endorsed athletic competition in all forms and was one of most enthusiastic founders of *Sveriges Riksidrottsförbund*, the national central body for sports established in 1903. In addition it played an important role in voluntary school sports up until 1916, when its position was finally overtaken by the Swedish School Sports Association, which was established by educationalists who wanted to bind sport closer to the school sector. By then the *IFK-förbundet* had fulfilled its original function and would develop into a more ordinary, post-school sports organisation.[6]

The establishment of the *IFK-förbundet* provided concrete evidence of the lack of interest that Swedish secondary school teachers showed in sports up until about 1910. It was neither teachers nor parents who took the initiative but senior and former pupils. It is by no means an exaggeration therefore to claim that

voluntary sport in the schools up to First World War comprised alternative youth culture that existed despite the teachers' indifference and sometimes even hostility.

Educational practice in the Swedish secondary schools clearly reflected this indifference to pupil inspired athletic activities. According to the annual school reports, and any of the other available sources, examined earlier, the physical education lessons seemed to have been structured in the following way. Two to six ordinary classes gathered in the gymnasium after they had left their outdoor clothes in the changing room. The changing room was in most cases nothing but a corridor with racks, benches and smelling of sweat and other bodily odours. Some of the more hygiene conscious schools, as for example *Reallläroverket* in Stockholm, required by the 1890s that the pupils should wear indoors light gymnastics shoes[7] and by the outbreak of the Great War this had become the custom in every Swedish secondary school.[8]

The lesson started with the teacher organising the group into one unit and thereafter commanding it to divide into files of five to ten pupils. Every file had a leading gymnast, who was chosen from among the pupils and especially trained to follow the commands and do the movements according to the choreography outlined in the textbooks. The commands were militaristic; short, standarised and shouted in a logical order. The junior groups were taught to stand at attention or to complete simple movements, while the senior groups performed more complex motions, which linked together the earlier learnt exercises into a longer and rather complicated choreography. The gymnastics apparatus was normally used during the second half of the lesson. Some equipment, as for example bucks and

horisontal bars, were then used by the files, which moved from one piece of apparatus to another. At the end of the lesson the files were again gathered together to hear the finishing commands that sent out them to the changing room and the school yard. The procedure was the same when the gymnastics lessons were outdoors, with the exception of the exercises on apparatus, which were replaced with free standing movements. Only very occasionally were games played.

Military training should not be overlooked. Until 1918 the four highest classes in the Swedish secondary school were occupied with an intensive drill programme at the beginning and end of every school year, during which time these classes were released from the ordinary teaching in physical education. A brief look at the military training in *Reallläroverket* in Stockholm during the calendar year 1885 gives us an idea of how they were carried out. The spring session began the 2nd of May and continued with daily weapon drill with the 99 pupils in the school yard and along the streets of Stockholm for three weeks. The shooting was limited to two occasions during the spring term because of the rainy weather, but got much more attention during the autumn session, which lasted from 9th of September to 2nd of October. In addition to the extensive shooting training, which was completed with a competition between the local schools, the autumn session included also a comprehensive weapon drill programme, which mobilised 136 pupils. According to the school report as much as 125 hours in all was spent on the military training during the two sessions.[9]

Instructions and commands used in these military training sessions did not differ markedly from those used during gymnastics lessons. The idea of progression had, together with the demand of a rigid discipline, a central role in the teaching. The units were divided into files while some of the more complicated movements were taught, but were otherwise directed in one group.[10] It is obvious therefore that the combination of collective gymnastics and regular military training established a didactic pattern in Swedish physical education for boys which was difficult to blend with games and other sports. The problem was still apparent in the 1920s and 1930s, although military training by then had been abandoned and the Swedish school authorities made noticeable efforts to give more space to sport in the curriculum.

III.

As late as 1936 it was acknowledged in the annual school report of *Nya Elementarskolan* in Stockholm that games and sport were included during the lessons only once a fortnight.[11] However this was an extreme case; most of the Swedish secondary schools had by then introduced a syllabus for physical education, which, although it was still predominantly based on collective gymnastics, paid more and more attention to sport. The lessons for instance had been extended to three quarters of an hour and were more often held at the beginning or the end of the school day, which made the timetable more flexible and consequently also more suitable for some of the time-consuming sports.

In the early 1920s the school authorities in collaboration with the sport organisations introduced a national sport mark system in order to encourage the teachers as well as the pupils to use more education time for achievement-oriented exercises. The pupils got points for each measurable performance and could in that way earn a mark of gold, silver or bronze. According to the requirement of the Swedish School Sports Association, which initiated the project, the distribution of the marks could occur only through its associated school clubs. The arrangement was presumably one of the reasons for the considerable growth of secondary school sport clubs, which occured in the 1920s and 1930s.[12]

However, the main reason for the growth of this sector was obviously the inspiration and example that the pupils got from the expanding sports movement and its stars, the champions and olympic athletes, who year by year got more publicity in the media. Adolescents' natural longing for action, excitment and personal achievements combined with the admiration of these sport stars led not only to nation wide projects like the earlier mentioned *IFK-förbundet*, but also to a whole range of more informal and local school clubs that existed, but also faded away, depending on the interest of the the members. It was this category of informal school clubs that together with *IFK-förbundet* at the turn of the century began to organise football cups in Stockholm.[13]

In short, the interwar period demonstrated that the idea of earning a sport mark never could became as exciting as the wish to represent the class or even the school in matches and competitions against other school teams. And in consequence of this it was often the school clubs, that concentrated their energy on organising tour-

naments and contests, which became a more important part of the schools' programme of physical activities than the regular supervised lessons.

This seems to have been especially the case in schools like *Nya Elementarskolan*, which for one or another reason were unable to modernise their syllabus and to pay sufficient attention to the pupils' desire for sports. The sports club of *Nya Elementarskolan*, established in 1908, played an important role in the school, although the teaching staff viewed voluntary sport with suspicion.[14] Another striking example of the same development occured in the neighbour school, *Norra Latinläroverket*, which in the 1930s still had a rather traditional programme of physical education; the education groups were over fifty pupils and the exercises in most cases strictly "Swedish". However it had an amazingly active sport club. It must have been by far the most active club in the school and, at least according to the annual report of 1936, took part in almost every available tournament or sport competition arranged for the pupils in Sweden.[15]

It would be wrong to assume that a more sport-oriented physical education should have weakened the pupils interest in voluntary organised school sport. On the contrary the sources indicate that the more the teaching included games and sports the more the pupils tended to continue with these activities establishing their own sport clubs in their spare time.[16] In other words the sport clubs were in other words joined not only by the school's leading athletes and most fanatic sport fans, but also by those who simply had become interested in some sport during the lessons.

One of the most outstanding examples of this category of school was *Reallläroverket* in Stockholm, which especially during the time Dr Carl Svedelius (1861-1951) was its headmaster became famous for being "the sports school" of the city. When Svedelius became headmaster in 1906 the school had a physical education programme that in no way differed from the practice in the other schools. Nevertheless, ten years later much had changed; games and other outdoor sports were practiced during the lessons whenever the weather was suitable and the sport club functioned both very actively and with exceptional success.[17] By the time of his retirement in 1926 the main focus in the school's physical education had turned from gymnastics to sports.[18]

Svedelius played a crucial part in this transformation. He often assisted the physical education teacher in organising the lessons outdoors and followed with enthusiasm the achievements of the sport club, which he tried to integrate into the compulsory sector of school life. The club got substantial financial support from the school and was allowed to publish its results in the annual reports.[19] Svedelius was in fact, in the 1910s and 1920s, one of the most energetic advocates of school sports in the whole Nordic region. We mentioned earlier that he was a founding member and first chairman of the Swedish School Sports Association and that he was the initiator of the Nordic physical education conferences, which were arranged from 1921 onwards. To these facts can be added that he was maybe the most articulate advocate for school sports supervised and consequently controlled by educationalists. Svedelius was eager

to point out that sport was an enormous source of energy and inspiration in school life if it only could be a part of the educational process and not an alternative to it.[20]

Official regulations, didactic methods taught at the teacher training institutions and applied in education, and spatial shortcomings in the schools were not always the main reasons for slow or fast change in educational practice. The case of *Reallläroverket* and its headmaster Svedelius shows clearly how much the development in physical education in the particular schools in the Nordic countries before 1940 could be dependent on the harmonious interaction between teachers and pupils. Self-evidently, teachers' attitudes and educational solutions to youths' inborn desires to release and test their growing body energies could play a crucial role in this transformation.

Yet, the fact remains that most of the Nordic secondary schools between 1880 and 1940 were ruled more by tradition and institutional patterns than by men dynamic in action or with minds open to new educational ideas. The systematisation of Nordic secondary education therefore was not either a process that encouraged the teachers to test and introduce new educational practices. On the contrary, it was an integration and stabilization process in which those who kept to the rules were better understood than those who took controversial initiatives.

IV.

In which way did the lessons in physical education in the secondary schools in three other Nordic capitals differ from the schools in Stockholm? At least two significant differences can be noticed in Helsingfors between 1880 and 1940. Firstly, the classes were clearly smaller. The schools in Helsingfors, as well as in Finland in general, organised their lessons in physical education for each age group separately. This was partly due to the fact that Viktor Heikel, the leading man in Finnish physical education, was strongly against the Swedish system with its large units, but seems also to have been a consequence of the *Turnen*-oriented methods, which he and his disciples applied in training of teachers and established in the schools. Secondly, Finnish physical education for boys did not include military training before the end of the 1930s. The lack of a directly militaristic element in the teaching, apart from the occasional fencing, gave the subject a connotation that differed quite markedly from what it had in Sweden or in the other Nordic countries before the First World War. It should not be forgotten either that the Finnish teachers in physical education, in contrast to their Nordic colleagues, were civilians, who, to a greater extent, were accepted as equals by the other school staff. This fact also had an impact on educational practice; in short, physical education teachers were more like their colleagues in the other subjects and the discipline during the lessons was not as rigid as in Sweden.

However it is apparent that the differences between the schools of Stockholm and Helsingfors, as well as between the schools in the two countries in general, were distinctly reduced during the

1920s and 1930s. This was not only an outcome of the fact that the Swedish schools gave up military training and slowly began to decrease the sizes of their education groups, but was also a result of that games and sports step by step gained more space in both countries' secondary school curriculum. As in Sweden, it was an educational development that at least partly was influenced by the activities in the schools' voluntary sport clubs, which at the turn of the century had began to organise internal matches as well as local cups in football and bandy. And as in Sweden, the Finnish school clubs had by then establish their own coordination networks.

In 1897 Swedish-speaking pupils in Helsingfors and Uleåborg, a harbour town on the northwest coast, joined the Swedish *IFK-förbundet* by establishing their own *IFK*-clubs. The cooperation with the school youth in Sweden faded soon away but seems nevertheless to have encouraged the Finns to further actions. The Swedish-speaking youth continued to establish independent *IFK*-clubs, whereas Finnish-speaking secondary school pupils in response in 1899 started their own national organisation, *Suomen Lyseoiden Urheilijat*, which in a decade became just as active as the contemporary *IFK-förbundet* in Sweden.[21]

An analysis of the attitudes to sport in the three sample schools in Helsingfors reveals however that organisational integration or the dynamic local activity of the school clubs by no means directly led to innovations and rearrangements in physical education. Voluntary sporting was encouraged and sometimes even led by enthusiastic teachers, and yet its impact on the educational practice was little before the 1920s. Some of the reasons for this delay, such as the nature of the systematisation of Nordic secondary

education and the old-fashioned teacher training methods, have already been discussed. In addition to these reasons the delay seems paradoxically enough to have been caused also by the popularity of the sports clubs, which weakened desire for a more sport-oriented curriculum. The successful activity of the sport clubs was often understood as a proof that the division between pedagogic gymnastics and voluntary sport was both natural and functional.

This was the case with *Nya svenska läroverket*, which ever since its establishment in 1882 had had a teaching staff eager to arrange outdoor activities during spare time and vacations. In 1899 the school got its own sport club, which in a short time took over the initiative from the teachers and began to establish itself as one of the town's most successful school clubs.[22] However, the interaction between the educational and voluntary sectors developed much slower. The lessons were distinctively gymnastics-oriented up until the late 1910s and the physical education teachers seem not to have been active in the sport club.[23]

The 1920s was a turning point. The change of attitudes was in the broadest sense a sign of the growing impact of the sports movement, but was in the case of Finland certainly also a positive reaction to the country's extraordinary success in the Olympic arena. The teachers became more involved in the sports movement and school clubs simultaneously as the school authorities took actions to encourage sport during the lessons. A look at developments in one of the other Helsingfors schools, *Suomalainen Reaalilyseo*, confirms this impression. Sports had had an essential role in voluntary school life since the turn of the century,[24] but until the early 1920s it was practiced only occasionally during the lessons. The

teachers began now to complete their programmes with ball games and athletics and by the end of the interwar period this had changed the whole character of the school's physical education.[25] The transformation decreased the division between the educational and voluntary sectors and led often to a symbiotic collaboration between them.[26]

One of the concrete results of inter-Nordic cooperation was the simultaneous introduction in the four countries of the sport mark system in the early 1920s. As in Sweden and the other Nordic countries the Finnish sport mark was distributed by the central sports organisation. Finnish school authorities followed Swedish example in other matters as well; the winter sport holiday, introduced for the first time in 1934, was, as mentioned earlier, undoubtedly an idea taken from her western neighbour.

V.

Educational practice in the secondary schools of Christiania/Oslo and in the other parts of Norway in contrast to the situation in Sweden is more difficult to determine. The Norwegian teachers followed, as we remember, in principle the same didactic lines as their Swedish colleagues and because of the common legislation policy during the union monarchy (1814-1905) were already forced to organise education in harmony with the Swedish system. During that time military training was put in practice with almost the same efficiency as in Sweden, although the facilities were clearly poorer in Norway.

Norwegian gymnastics lessons differed from Swedish, however, on some points. At least in Christiania the classes were already in the 1880s and 1890s seldom larger than two age groups[27] and by the 1910s their sizes had in most cases been reduced to one age group.[28] The teachers were officers like in Sweden, and as such were in essence advocates of a rigid discipline, but all the same often paid more attention to individual performances and skills. This was, of course, made possible partly by the more manageable size of the classes, but should also be understood as a consequence of influence of the voluntary gymnastics associations in Norway, which utilised a lot of the German *Turnen* equipment and movements.

Nevertheless, these differences were of minor importance in comparison with those which existed between the practices in Sweden and Finland before the First World War. And in addition it should be stated that it is rather difficult to get a comprehensive picture of the educational practice in the schools of Christiania/Oslo, or in any other Norwegian school, between 1905 and 1945. After independence was gained the Norwegian state was short of money and therefore allowed the schools to decide how often they published their reports. This led to the schools neglecting their duties in this matter altogether. Another, even more grave development was the careless attitude towards school documents, which, with few exceptions, never reached the archives.

All the same the few available sources indicate that the lessons in physical education in Norwegian secondary schools followed the trend in the other Nordic countries and became more sport-oriented in the 1920s and 1930s.[29] The change was slower than in Sweden and Finland and this was at least partly a consequence of a

dispute between Norwegian educationalists and representatives of the country's central sports organisation, *Landsforbundet*, which, as stated earlier, was established in 1919.

The dispute was rooted in a state commission report of 1918, which quite rightly had pointed out that the schools did little to encourage their pupils to take up sport. The Norwegian Teachers Society was inspired by the report, which among other things included recommendations to reserve state funds for the establishment of a Norwegian parallel to the Swedish School Sports Association, and applied in 1919 for financial support for this purpose. The application was composed by a group of educationalists who were convinced that a school association had to be directed by competent teachers and not by sports organizers, who were amateurs in educational matters. The dispute became aggravated the same year when the Ministry of Education got the *Landsforbundet*'s response to the teachers' intiative. The sports organisation was prepared to collaborate with the educationalists, but for obvious reasons wanted to be represented in the new organisation; a considerable part of its membership was recruited from the schools.[30] The tug-of-war continued until the end of 1921, when the educationalists became eager to find a solution in order to have a national body through which state funds for the participation in the Nordic physical education conferences could be distributed. In 1922 the disputing parties arrived at a compromise, which resulted in the establishment of the National Council for School Sports, *Landsnevnden for skoleidrett*. The educationalists got a dominant position in the council, although they were forced to give one post to *Landsforbundet*. Time showed however that the council had not the organisational strength to

function efficiently at the national level. Its leadership maintained its suspicious attitude to the sports organisations and remained therefore isolated. Another sign of its failure was the low state funding during the whole interwar period.[31]

Not surprisingly these shortcomings had a negative impact on voluntary sport in the schools. The absence of a dynamic school sports association made interaction between the schools difficult and stimulated the pupils to join the open sport clubs earlier. This development had consequences for educational practice; the teachers were less pressured to modernise their methods and were little involved in pupils' voluntary sport. It seems therefore as if the change towards a more sport-oriented physical education programme in Norwegian secondary schools was a transformation that happened despite teachers' attitudes to the sports movement.

VI.

Let us finally briefly juxtapose educational practice in the secondary schools in Copenhagen with schools in the other Nordic capitals. The first point that has to be made is once again connected with the question of size of classes. Developments in Copenhagen were very much same as in Christiania/Oslo; in the 1880s and 1890s[32] the classes were the size of two three age groups, but by the 1910s they had in most cases been reduced to one age group,[33] an approximate reduction from 80-60 pupils to 40-30 pupils.

But this was not the most significant difference between educational practice in Sweden and Denmark; the most crucial contrast was to be found in the methods. The Danish teachers, were until the interwar period, like their Swedish and Norwegian colleagues, almost entirely officers, but were not advocates of a rigid collective discipline during the lessons. Collective obedience was by no means disregarded, but it was exercised in more concentrated forms during the military training, which, as stated earlier, as in Sweden, was put in practice in Danish secondary schools between the 1860s and 1910s. German *Turnen* gymnastics movements and equipments were used to a considerable degree, which is a strong indications of the fact that the pupils got more opportunities to assert themselves.[34]

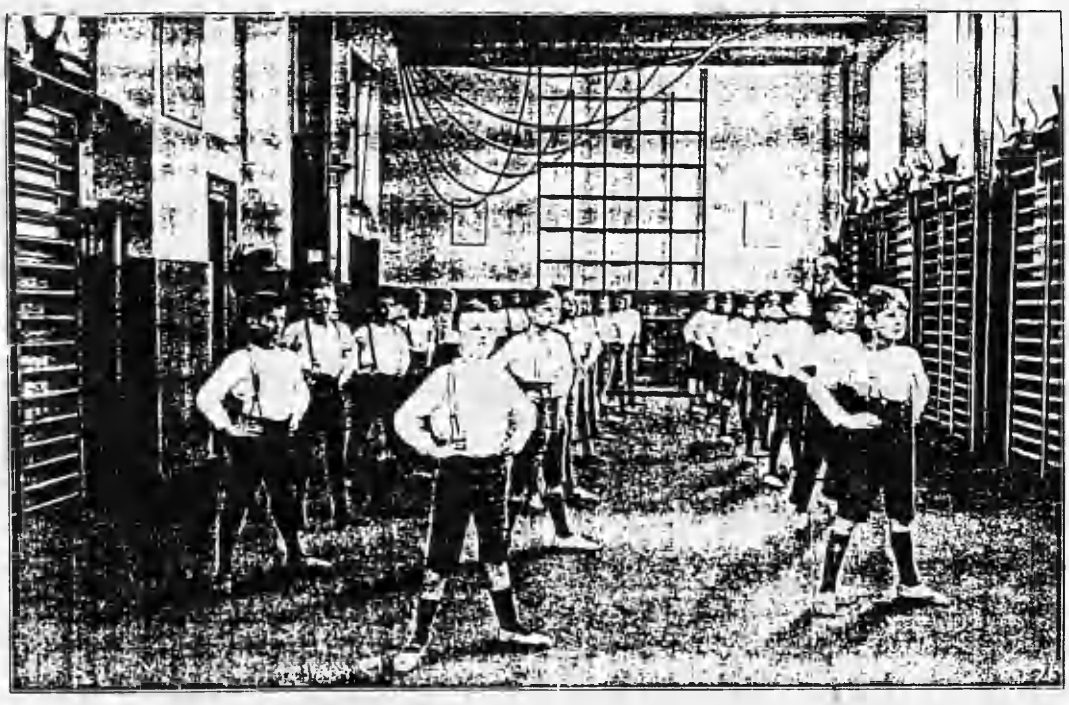

Fig. 12: A gymnastics lesson at Metorpolitanskolen in 1916.

The emphasis on individual performance continued to play a major role during lessons even after the school authorities in 1899 had published a textbook, which, as also mentioned earlier, was an attempt to systematise Danish physical education along the same lines as the Swedish system. One reason for this was presumably the antipathy to the mechanical nature of the Swedish system, but another, perhaps even more important reason was not surprisingly the growing interest in games and sports, which was especially strong in urban centres like Copenhagen.

The school youth of Copenhagen had become familiar with cricket and football during the 1880s[35] and by the end of the century the secondary schools in the capital had began to organise their own school cups and competitions. The first national games for secondary school pupils were arranged in 1898. The initiative was welcomed by the Danish central organisation for sports, *Dansk Idrætsforbund*, which soon took over the arrangement,[36] but was also criticized, above all by educationalists who saw many moral dangers in brutal matches and limitless competitions.[37] A public debate as well as an organisational dispute occured before both parties could agree on how games should be developed.[38] From 1904 onwards collective gymnastics performances were given more importance and in 1911 the organizers decided to lessen the competition between the schools by withdrawing the rewards and disallowing publication of the scoring.[39]

This arrangement resulted in smooth collaboration between the organizers, *Dansk Idrætsforbund*, and the school authorities, the Ministry of Education, but it was not a solution to stimulate voluntary school sport or to press the teachers to take more notice of

pupils' wishes. The pupils hungered for real excitment and were not keen on an anonymous and predominantly collective participation in games lead by idealistic educationalists.

The "sportification" of the secondary schools' physical activities happened, exactly as in the other Nordic countries, to a considerable degree through the interaction between the educational and voluntary school sectors. The school authorities tried to maintain the gymnastics as a fundamental part of physical education, but were at the same time convinced of the need to balance the programme with games and sports.[40] One sign of this was the reform of the teacher training in the 1910s, which resulted in the teacher candidates being much better prepared to function as sport instructors, and another was energetic participation in institutional inter-Nordic collaboration, which, as mentioned earlier, among other things led to the introduction of a sport mark system for school youth in each of the four countries.[41]

Interestingly enough, the Danish educationalists' initiatives to control the inevitable transformation towards a sport-dominant physical education programme lessened pupil determination to establish their own sport clubs during the first two decades of this century. Secondary school pupils in Copenhagen continued to join open sport clubs and arrange their own football matches and sports but did little up until the 1920s to establish more permanent organisational forms of voluntary school sports. However, the situation began to change during the interwar period when the educationalists' antipathy towards the Social Darwinian dimensions of modern sport faded away. This was at least partly due to the organisational consolidation of the Danish sports movement, which improved its status

and standardized sport regulation at all levels, but it was also an outcome of the fact that a growing proportion of physical education teachers were civilians, who had a more positive attitude to pupil sport. The teachers became more convinced of the respectability of the new *body culture* and were ready to support and even take part in the establishment of voluntary school clubs that promoted competitiveness between individual pupils and between schools.[42] This had also its consequences; by the end of the 1920s most of the secondary schools in Copenhagen had their own sport clubs, which functioned with the full support of physical education teachers and established institutional forms for the local matches and competitions.[43]

The closer interaction between the teachers and pupils also had an impact on the modernisation of educational practice. The school authorities' directives lost much of their importance and were overtaken by the individual initiatives taken in the schools. A look at the interwar evolution of physical education in the secondary schools in Copenhagen shows that the teachers to a considerable extent chose their own solutions and ignored the directives put forward by the Ministry of Education. For example, the school authorities' bureaucratic efforts to preserve the position of gymnastics exercises became less and less successful and from the early 1930s onwards seems to have been ignored altogether during the warmer seasons, when the playing fields and the other outdoor facilities were available. The outcome of this development was a change over to a sport-oriented physical education that was often more independent of the school authorities than in the other Nordic countries.

Educational practice in Copenhagen, and presumably also in other Danish cities, differed in other ways from that in the other Nordic capitals. The Danish teachers also had climatic advantages. The snow seldom stayed more than a couple of months in Copenhagen, whereas in normal circumstances it covered the other Nordic capitals for between four and five months. And it was not the snow as such that made outdoor lessons difficult but above all the sudden weather fluctuations, which in a day could make it impossible to use the ice-covered playing fields or the ski-tracks. It should not be forgotten either that the Danish school holiday was more than one month shorter than the equivalent holidays in the other Nordic countries. In other words, the potential time for outdoor lessons was clearly longer in the Danish schools.

VII.

The comparisons made in this chapter have repeatedly shown that the closer we analyse the circumstances in the particular schools, the more apparent it becomes that the ministerial education policies in the four countries by no means always had a decisive impact on the transformation of a single school subject like physical education. The changes and improvements could be directed as well as financed by the state, but their popularity and efficiency were nevertheless often dependent on the teachers' and pupils' enthusiasm and approval. The best example of this is undoubtedly the process through which games and other sports gained a stronger foothold in Nordic boys' compulsory education during the period in question. The trans-

formation was determined to a considerable extent by the point at which and how energetically teachers became involved in pupils' voluntary sport on the one hand, and by the actual impact of the pupils' initiatives and opinion about the physical education on the other. The earlier the interaction began, the stronger the chances seem to have been that these teachers, independent of the school authorities, began to organise matches and other competitive sports within the framework of regular education.

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1. *Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1885-1886*, Stockholm 1886, pp. 70-74.

2. Sandblad 1985, p. 275.

3. Jan Lindroth has analysed this attitude most thoroughly; see Lindroth 1974, pp. 248-259.

4. Jan Lindroth, "Kungahus och idrott - kungliga inslag i den tidigare svenska idrottsrörelsen", *Livrustkammaren*, Vol. 15: 1071, 1981, p.308.

5. The initials *IFK* stands for *Idrottsföreningen Kamraterna*, which in translation would be something like The Friends' Sport Society.

6. Lindroth 1974, p. 70, 108-110; Lindroth 1987, p. 67.

7. Svedelius 1927, p. 155.

8. Moberg 1915, p. 20.

9. *Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1885-1886*, Stockholm 1886, pp. 23-25.

10. See for example Viktor Balck, *Militärövningar vid rikets läroverk af V.G.Balck. Utgifven af Föreningen för befrämjande af skolungdomens vapenöfningar*, Stockholm 1899.

11. *Nya Elemantarskolans årsredogörelse 1935-1936*, Stockholm 1936, p. 21.

12. Lindroth 1987, pp. 65, 173.

13. Gunnar Grubb, "En kort återblick", *R.I.F. [Reallläroverkets idrottsförening] 1878-1953*, Stockholm 1954, pp. 5-11.

14. *NESIF [Nya elementarskolans iderottsförening] 1908-1938. En minnesskrift*, Stockholm 1938, pp. 2-11.

15. *Norra Latinläroverkets årsredogörelse 1935-1936*, Stockholm 1936, pp. 36-38.

16. Apart from the source mentioned beneath, see how this symbiosis between the compulsory and voluntary sectors developed in one of Sweden's few boarding schools; Eugen Bolmstedt,"Idrottens historia", *Lundsbergs skolas historia 1896-1946. Minnesskrift utgiven av föreningen Gamla Lundsbergare*, Stockholm 1946, pp. 201-240.

17. *Norra Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1915-1916*, Stockholm 1916, pp. 26-30.

18. *Norra Reallläroverkets årsredogörelse 1925-1926*, Stockholm 1926, pp. 20-26.

19. *Norra reals idrottsförening. Stiftad läseåret 1878-1879. 50 år*, Stockholm 1929; *R.I.F. [Reallläroverkets idrottsförening] 1878-1953*, Stockholm 1954.

20. Carl Svedelius, "Koulu ja urheilu", *Voima* 1922, pp. 63-64; see also his progressive ideas about the school discipline; Idem, "Värdet av olika slag av skoldisciplin", *Särtryck ur tidskriften Verdandi* 1912, pp. 1-9.

21. Laine 1984, pp. 188-189, 228-230.

22. Bengt Sjöström,"Idrottsförbundet", in *Nya svenska läroverket i Helsingfors 1882-1932*, Helsingfors 1932, pp. 103-114; Björn Federley,"Lärkidrott under ett sekel", in *Nya svenska läroverket - Gymnasiet Lärkan hundra år 1882-1982*, Helsingfors 1982, pp. 118-126.

23. See for example *Nya svenska läroverkets årsberättelser* 1900-1920.

24. *Helsingin Suomalainen Realilyseo 1891-1916. Muistojulkaisu.* Helsingissä 1916, pp. 70-79.

25. See for example *Suomalaisen Reaalilyseon vuosikertomukset 1920-1939*; see also the teachers'diaries 1920, 1930 and 1939 in Luokkapäivä- kirjat 1920 (Ad: 61, 64, 65, 66, 75, 78), 1930 (Ad: 80, 88, 92, 108), 1939 (Ad: 112, 120, 124); Helsingin lyseon arkisto, *Valtionarkisto*, Helsinki.

26. Kuujo 1951, pp. 66-69.

27. See the annual reports of the sample schools, for example *Indbydelseskrift til de offentlige examen ved Kristiania Katedralskole 1896*, Kristiania 1896, p. 12.

28. Wilskman 1909, p. 4.

29. Innberetninger 1913-1920, 1920-1927,, Gymnastikinspektøren - Gymnastikkontoret Nr 9, Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementets arkiv, *Riksarkivet, Oslo.*

30. Indstilling fra den ved Stortingets beslutning av 9de juli 1917 nedsatte Idrættskommission; Norges Lærerlags skrivelse til KUD 23.8 1919; Forhandlingsprotokoll 17.10 1919, 23.10 1919, 7.11 1919, in Nr 16 Frivillig skoleidrett (1918-1939), Gymnastik inspektøren - Gymnastikkontoret; Kirke - og undervisningsdepartementets arkiv, *Riksarkivet, Oslo.*

31. Protokoll fra Arbeidskomitéen til fremme av skoleungdommens frivillige legemsøvelser 8.10 1921, 15.10 1921, 27.10 1921, 27.3 1922; A. Kirkhusmos brev til KUD 6.4 1922, in Nr 15 Skandinavisk samarbeide om ungdommens fysiske opdragelse (1919-1939), Gymnastik inspektøren - Gymnastikkontoret, Kirke - og undervisningsdepartementets arkiv, *Riksarkivet, Oslo*; se also Olstad 1987, pp. 241-242; about the funding, see Frivillige idrett - Budjetterne, in Nr 17 Frivillige idrett - Idrettsmerket 1925, Gymnastik inspektøren - Gymnastikkontoret, Kirke - og undervisningsdepartementets arkiv, *Riksarkivet, Oslo.*

32. See for example *Frederiksbergs Latin- og Realskole, skolprogram 1885-1886*, København 1886, pp. 19-20.

33. Wilskman 1909, pp. 4-6

34. *Indberedning fra Gymnastikkommissionen af 5te April 1887*, København 1888; see also Trangbæk 1987, pp. 43-59.

35. There are many evidences of this. See for example W.Hovgaard, *Sport*, Kjøbenhavn 1888, pp. 37-40.

36. Herbert Sandler, *Dansk Idræt gennem 50 aar. I. Del*, København 1946, pp. 61-62.

37. R. Rasmussen & B. Kjølner, *Vor Skolegymnastik kontra Skoleidræts-stævner*, København 1903.

38. About the organisational dispute, see Den danske Afdelning af den internationale permanente Komission for legemlig Opdragelse 1902-1912; Kultusministeriets arkiv, *Rigsarkivet, København.*

39. *4. Danske gymnastik- og idrætsstævne af skoledisciple. Den 13 og 14 maj i Randers*, 1904; *Det 5te Danske Gymnastik- og Idrætsstævne af Skoledisciple Den 12. og 13. Maj 1911 i Aalborg*, 1911.

40. Ernst Møller, *Træk af skoleidrættens historie i Danmark*, Vejle 1980, pp. 22-36.

41. About the introduction of the Danish mark, see "Skolidrætsmærket", *Gymnastisk Tidskrift* 1922, pp.33-60.

42. See for example H.P.Langekilde,"Idrætsbevægelsen og Skolen", in

Gymnastisk Tidskrift 1925, pp 55-62; Otto Olsen,"Idræt og karakterdannelse", in *Gymnastisk Tidskrift* 1931, pp. 133-138.

43. About the institutional collaboration, see the programmes for *De Københavnske Skolers Idrætdag* 1934-1939, Kongelige Bibliotekets småtrykssamling.

Towards a bourgeois manhood

I.

In the previous four chapters now and then we have touched upon some of the ideological motives and forces that had an impact on the evolution of educational practice in Nordic secondary schools. The task of this final chapter will be to continue this ideological analyse in a more concentrated form and ask in which way physical education in the Nordic secondary school between 1880 and 1940 was understood as an important part of the preparation for bourgeois manhood.

Fig. 13: Danish military training at the turn of the century.

II.

It has been pointed out many times in this thesis that the Nordic secondary education between 1880 and 1940, like its counterparts in Central Europe and Great Britain, was essentially an institution for the upper and middle classes. The pupils both in absolute and proportional terms were predominantly recruited from these strata,[1] while those who had a different class background were taught to adopt a bourgeois life-style during their years as secondary school pupils. It seems obvious therefore that these schools had an important role in the reproduction of bourgeois culture.

In which ways? The question is by no means irrelevant; neither the concept of *bourgeoisie* nor *culture* are easily defined or described. But if we follow the habits of most historians and social scientist and understand the *bourgeoisie* as the middle and ruling classes of the capitalist society, and the *culture* "...as a collective noun for the symbolic and learned, non-biological aspects of human life..."[2] it is possible to explain the cultural reproduction in question, as an education that included training in a range of skills that were essential for those who wanted to maintain or achieve a life-style that corresponded with the dominant culture in the Nordic countries.

Reproduction was a continuous process and happened on many levels simultaneously. One dimension of it was the used and taught language; the pupils were trained to use a "correct language" in speech and in writing in order to master the codes of the dominant communication system. Another dimension was the teaching in subjects like history or sciences, which, apart from establishing a useful

knowledge base, functioned as an implicit indoctrination into the values and world-view of the bourgeois culture. It is not difficult to see why the history lessons had this double-function; the reconstruction of the past is in itself an intellectual exercise that in conservative institutions tends to strengthen existing values and beliefs, and this was for certain the case in the European secondary education, which as a successor of the Latin school payed much attention to the classical heritage. But more often it is forgotten that science teaching also had an important function as an instrument of ideological reproduction; it taught the pupils the basics of scientific reductionism, and, above all, the principles of the logical tradition in western philosophy, which was another cornerstone of the bourgeois culture.

In this context, however, it is of special interest to take a closer look at a third dimension of the Nordic process of cultural reproduction, which could be characterized as the discipline of the body. In contrast to the other dimensions of schooling this was a process that went on continuously. But it would be a mistake to think that the discipline of the body was a matter that required nothing but mechanistic drill in physical education lessons. On the contrary it must be stated that the development of an appropriate pupil physical demeanour went hand in hand with the other education. Pupils were supposed to behave physically in a way that suited the education they were receiving. In this sense it was truly a question of a bourgeois cultivation of the body. This point has also been made by Roberta J. Park, who has looked at the same phenomenon in North America:

> The well-ordered body also served as an icon for the ordered society at a time when many middle-class Americans were anxious about social changes they saw all around them.[3]

It should not either be forgotten that this cultural reproduction was at the same time a process that formed the pupils' gender-identity. In addition to their psychological as well as physical socialisation for a bourgeois adulthood they were also trained to think in terms of a set of ideals regarding their own sexuality, which prepared them for a manhood that was thought to be different from the one the working class or peasant boys of their same age were aiming at. It is not a coincidence for example that the Nordic physicians showed special concern about the sexual hygiene of the secondary school youth. Their energetic campaign against masturbation was not caused only by the fear of impotence and a dull mind, which many nineteenth century physician actually thought were the results of onanism, but was very much also a question of a moral preparation of bourgeois youth for a "clean" manhood, which should prevent them from being enticed into any kind of pre- or extra-marital intercourse.[4]

This is not to say that the propagation of extra-marital continence was merely a question of a moral crusade; the second half of nineteenth century and first decades of twentieth century were times when the spread of venereal diseases reached its peak also in the Nordic countries. The point is therefore that the campaign was a form of functional moralizing predominantly designed to enlighten a bourgeois opinion and create and maintain a strong ruling class. It

is not easy to say to what extent Nordic secondary school boys were explicitly advised to restrain their sexual desires, but it seems plausible to think that the message was brought out in different disguised forms during schooling. The "secret vice" and the "fallen woman" were notions that figured heavily in Nordic manuals dealing with manliness and morality.[5]

The advocated stereotype of bourgeois masculinity was that of a man who mastered his own sexuality with the same ease and precision that he was supposed to handle a gun. The ideal manhood of the European middle and upper classes of the second half of nineteenth century was a state in which the individual had total control over his body and mind. Furthermore, it was state in which he was able to release and transform his potential in order to fulfil all his social and cultural obligations.[6] The philosophical basis for these demands can be found in Christian thinking, which, a fact often forgotten, was strongly influenced by classical Stoicism.[7] Yet, it is clear that the ideal manhood of the late nineteenth century European bourgeois had developed a nature of its own; it was not a contradiction of the ideal Christian but implied a new life-strategy. It was a capitalistic life-strategy. This meant above all that the obligations in an increasing degree had to be met by new sets of ideals and action rather than by merely maintaining a traditional order.

It was not only a more individualistic ideal of manhood than previously but was also an ideology that paid more attention to gender differentiation. Boys and girls had for ages been brought up differently but were now told that their segregation was a crucial part of the cultivation of their gender; it was as if the parents and educationalists had become conscious of the growing demands of

individual freedom and therefore instead tried to introduce more polarised gender-identities. This is of course a simplification, but it gives us all the same some idea of one of the most important ideological forces that directed the education in institutions like the Nordic secondary school between 1880 and 1940.

III.

Let us continue the discussion by investigating the role physical education had in the process of preparing Nordic youth for a bourgeois manhood. As has been made clear in the previous chapters physical education was a subject that step by step during nineteenth century gained a position in the Nordic secondary school curriculum. The motive behind its introduction was predominantly militaristic; some Nordic advocates of physical education were often eager to point out that it was a form of character building and health promotion, but only few of them were successful in their campaigns before the authorities and political opinion began to understand that exercise could function as a substitute or preparation for the national service. It is therefore not surprising that many of these educationalists in the 1860s and 1870s for tactical reasons, if nothing else, began to strongly endorse this function.

For example, in 1874 T.J.Hartelius, director of the GCI in Stockholm, declared that the military victories of the German forces during the last ten years, to a considerable degree, had been a consequence of the disciplinary preparation which the the pupils had got in the schools. He pointed out that German physical education in

this sense was a part of the country's national service. Hartelius tried thus to convince his readers that gymnastics and military drill should continue to have a central role also in Swedish physical education. Games should by no means be neglectable in the teaching, but they could never compensate for the more traditional forms of the cultivation of the body. Hartelius had also a clear idea of the function of military training; "It strengthens discipline and carriage, it improves the flexibility and vigour of the movements."[8]

Hartelius' remarks are interesting for many reasons. They show how explicitly the discussion of the needs for reforms in physical education was linked to demands for a stronger military preparedness. Both educationalists and public opinion were aware of the health promoting effects of regular exercises but seems nevertheless to have payed most attention their disciplinary purposes. Collective social survival in other words was more important than the physical condition of individual. This approach was of course in no sense extraordinary in Nordic secondary education of nineteenth century; it was, as it has been stated earlier, based on the educational ideals of formal neo-humanism and followed to a considerable extent the didactic practices of Herbartianism, which above all was a method to master and control the collective. But the tradition of discipline and lack of space for individuality was all the same especially visible in a subject like physical education, which, in addition to the pedagogical frameworks mentioned above, was also directly influenced by the instructional methods of the military.

It would be simplistic to think that Hartelius and his Nordic colleagues would have understood physical education merely as a preparation for national service. On the contrary it is obvious that

many of them had more ambitious motives in their minds when they advocated a sound discipline during the lessons. For instance, in 1875 Hartelius wrote that it was necessary that people remembered that physical education was not only a groundwork for war but above all a subject that prepared the pupils to fulfil their civic duties during times of peace.[9] The same idea by the way was put forward by Viktor Heikel in 1870, who, in connection with a comparison of the physical education practiced in Germany and France, which, most probably as a result of the news from the battlefields, ended in favour of the German system, was keen to add that the exercises developed skills that were patriotic virtues in all conditions.[10]

It is not an accident that men like Hartelius and Heikel understood the virtues of courage, discipline and stamina as qualities most useful to cultivate also in the bourgeois youth. As true nationalists and energetic promoters of the state-building in their own countries they were both inspired by the wide spread belief that it was these virtues that had directed the German development in the 1860s and 1870s, which, in short, was an impressive mobilisation of the masses as well as an efficient integration of the elites. They saw physical education as a means to prepare the youth of the ruling classes to become obedient, honest and hardworking servants of the state.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to claim that the Nordic educationalists should have had their eyes fixed only on Germany in these days. Many of those who praised the disciplinary virtues of the German secondary education system were at the same time ready to point out that the most developed form of physical education was to be found in Great Britain, which, as a consequence of increasing

trade and better communications during the second half of nineteenth century, became recognised also in the Nordic region as the most advanced society in the world. The British system, however, was not admired for its discipline or order but above all as an excellent way to form and strengthen characters.

The concept of character was, of course, used among Nordic educationalists before they came in close touch with the British school culture and its ideological advocates. It was known from the classical literature, especially the Stoic, which emphasised the need of a strong character,[11] and played also an important role in the Renaissance literature, but it was not especially relevant as long as the moral education in the schools had a collective end rather than the refinement of individuals. The concept had many connotations, but stood in the first place as a measure of the efforts to master and develop the self for the benefit of the group. And in addition, it was a self-control that was supposed to be practiced in public and in favour of the dominant culture.

As Warren I. Susman has pointed out the notion of character in the Anglo-American culture of nineteenth century was frequently related to a number of terms which could be called key words in the bourgeois vocabulary.[12] Some of the most used combination words, like for example citizenship, duty, work and golden deeds, reflected the idea that character building was a part of the state building, whereas others, such as outdoor life, conquest, reputation and manhood clearly showed that the character should be formed through individual initiatives as well as through actions and therefore was a process that had personal aims.

These two perspectives were recognised by the Nordic educationalists who began advocate physical education as a form of character building. For example, the Finn Viktor Heikel wrote in several occasions during the 1870s and 1880s that he was convinced of that the expansion of the British empire, in large measure, was a consequence of the educational policy in the public schools. Through the harsh outdoor games the boys got characters full of self-confidence and ready for action, which made them fit for the public service of the enlarging empire.

Heikel's images of the British athleticism was of course not self-invented; he had, as mentioned earlier, visited English and Scottish public schools in 1871 and was ever since then assured of that the games and competitions were the most efficient means of character formation. In 1891 he defended the roughness of the games, although they caused "... many arm and leg fractures, sometimes even the loss of life ...", by emphasising that the British education was established on the principle that the individual had to be prepared to give his life or sacrifice a limb in order to increase the physical and moral strength of the nation. Furthermore Heikel reminded the reader of that this attitude was gained above all through sport, without which the youth became weak and immoral.[13]

This was by no means an inaccurate interpretation of the ideological message of British athleticism. In fact it is obvious that Heikel was one of the few Nordic educationalists during the second half of nineteenth century who had a more thorough idea of what the British meant by their muscular Christianity and games ethic. Heikel was a religious man. He was born into a clerical family and began his academic studies as a theology student before

he became interested in physical education. During his studies at the *GCI* in Stockholm in the late 1860s he converted from the puritan Lutheranism to the more liberal Baptism. These choices gave a clear direction to his whole life; from then on Heikel seldom failed to point out that the cultivation of the body was an important element of cultural reproduction and that the ultimate goal of physical education was the refinement of the soul. The muscular Christianity of the public schools was in his eyes a proof of that religion and action went hand in hand in the British culture and that this was the secret behind its imperial strength.[14]

Heikel was on this point as sincere as many of the most zealous muscular Christians in Great Britain like for example Edward Thring or H.H. Almond.[15] It can even be claimed that he, as an active Baptist, tended to overestimate the religious component of the educational policy of the public schools. His visit to the British Isles in 1871 was first of all a religious pilgrimage; he was lodged with local Baptists and spend the most of his time socialising with them and telling about the religious conditions in Finland. It is therefore understandable that his first and long lasting impression of the ethos of the British public schools was a confirmation of what he had picked up earlier on from the educational and religious literature. He saw in that sense what he wanted to see.[16] He was carried away with a myth, which J.A. Mangan has caught skilfully in the following remarks:

> Consideration of public school life in Victorian and Edwardian England, reveals that the public image seldom mirrored the private morality. Too frequently, there was

> an ideology for public consumption and an ideology for personal practice; in a phrase muscular Christianity for the consumer, Social Darwinism for the constrained.[17]

It was this honest, not to say naive, admiration of the moral facade of muscular Christianity that by the turn of the century had made Heikel a sharp critic of the unlimited hunt for records and personal fame, which more and more had began to dominate the modern sports movement. Heikel was still an advocate of outdoor sports, but required that the moral and aesthetical aspects of the cultivation of the body should be more important than the mechanical counting of scores and the exact measurements of bodily performances.[18] This attitude was of course partly a result of the fact that Heikel as the leading man in Finnish physical education was eager to maintain a balance between the teacher centred gymnastics and the sport, which from a psychological point of view was more emancipating, but was certainly also a consequence of his opposition to the Social Darwinian tendencies in the sports movement.

Heikel belonged clearly to those educationalists who saw the formation of character first of all as a part of state building. He was critical of both the established tradition in physical education, which paid little attention to individual needs and which in practice emphasised only the need for collective discipline, as well as of the shameless attitudes towards winning among those educationalists, who wanted to strengthen character through competition not only in order to achieve a better society but also as an attempt to increase the mental capacity and happiness of individuals for their own sake.

IV.

This qualified outlook on sport as such was not uncommon among Heikel's Nordic colleagues. Most of them were by the turn of the century ready to admit that educational practice was too monotonous and collective, and a lot of them were also convinced that sport could be an excellent way of forming characters if it was only practiced in the right way and under the right conditions. However, opinion diverged markedly when the question was discussed on a practical level.

Some of them, such as the Swede L.M.Törngren, Hartelius' successor as director for the GCI in Stockholm, were highly impressed by what they had seen of physical activities in the British public schools, but were nevertheless eager to point out that the British model unchanged was not appropriate for the Nordic secondary school system, which had more subjects and much less time and space for outdoor activities.[19] Törngren and his followers were prepared to supplement Swedish physical education with suitable activities but had no intension of reducing the dominant position of their gymnastics system. They admitted that games and other outdoor sports was a most efficient type of character training in physical education as long as competition was not overemphasised and all kind of egotism was excluded. Yet they were equally convinced that the established gymnastics-oriented programme also could have a strengthening impact on the character, if it only was practiced properly.[20] According to Törngren the authority and initiative of the teacher was in fact more essential in character building than the choice of exercises.

This view was naturally rooted in the strong belief in the efficiency of the teacher training at the *GCI* and in the potential of the Swedish gymnastics system, but was also a consequence of the fact that Törngren, even more sharply than, for example, Heikel, saw the character strengthening dimension of physical education as a preparation for a respectable citizenship and participation in the state building. The teacher, not surprisingly, was given a central role in this notion of the character building. It was his authority and instructions which guaranteed that the pupils were conditioned to obey orders, fulfil their duties, and, above all, were taught to know their hierachical position in the social order.[21]

Others, such as for example, Viktor Balck and his kindred spirits in Denmark, William Hovgaard, however, were convinced that character education was a process which required an active and independent involvement of the pupils and were therefore eager promoters of a more sport-oriented physical education. Balck and Hovgaard had both visited Britain for the first time in the 1880s. And both of them had been fascinated during these visits by the splendid conditions for physical activities in the public schools; they were amazed by the "enormous" sizes of the playing fields at Eton and Harrow and could not stop praising the physical well-being and dynamic character of the British school youth.

These reactions were of course by no means unique among Nordic educationalists who, during the last three decades of nineteenth century, had had the possibility to visit some of the famous "Great Public Schools" or some of the other wealthy boarding schools in England and Scotland. As mentioned earlier, Heikel and Törngren had both returned from their British pilgrimages with similar impres-

sions and by the end of last century this distinct form of athleticism had become a well-known and widely admired phenomena among Nordic educationalists with British connections. The words "It was at the playing fields of Eton that the battle of Waterloo was won", falsily ascribed to Wellington,[22] were repeated in almost every possible occasion and so were many of other claims of that the superiority of the British empire was due to the moral and physical training, which the imperial conquerors and administrators had received in the public schools.

Nevertheless, Balck and Hovgaard were more sincere than most of their contemporaries in northern Europe in this admiration of the public school athleticism. It was not only that without hesitation they were in favour of this kind of physical education and therefore were ready to replace a considerable part of the established gymnastics exercises with games and other sports. Both of them were absorbed by the idea that it was the competitive moment and the open, often aggressive confrontation between the pupils which was the secret behind the character forming function of sport. Furthermore, neither of them were seriously interested in the religious dimensions of British athleticism, the muscular Christianity, which, as we remember, had such a strong impact on more contemplative men like the Finn Heikel. And this was most probably a consequence of that Balck and Hovgaard were men of action who were strongly attracted by the Social Darwinian motives, which could be found beneath the thin layers of Stoic and Christian ideals in the British athleticism.

We have touched upon the life work of Balck in different parts of this work. We have described how in the 1880s he introduced sports to the school youth in Stockholm, how his writings were

spread to the Nordic neighbour countries, and how he by the turn of the century had become the leading man in the Nordic sports movement. However, in this context it is of special interest to remember that Balck was strongly influenced by his compatriot, the physiologist Frithiof Holmgren, who used evolutionary metaphors in his energetic campaign in favour of bodily exercises and outdoor games. The point here is that Balck through Holmgren had become familiar with Social Darwinian thinking before he arrived in Britain and became directly acquainted with sport in the public schools. Balck was mentally prepared to find ideological motives to the brutal sides of the British sport culture and was in this sense actually in the same situation as Heikel, who, although as a true Christian he had fixed his eyes above all upon the more the idealistic side of the athleticism, had seen what he wanted to see.[23]

The Social Darwinian approach played an important role in Balck's thinking throughout his life and seems to have been especially strong in his promotion of sport as a character forming exercise. He was a true admirer of the Anglo-Saxon culture and like most his Nordic sport advocating colleagues was convinced by those who claimed that the character strengthening outdoor life in the public schools was one of the secrets behind the believed efficiency of the British empire. As a consequence of this he seldom missed a chance to emphasise the state building function of the Swedish sports movement. However, he was even more fascinated by the more individualistic motives and desires of the sporting. He defended, on different occasions, matches, competitions and other forms of open confrontations between teams as well as between individuals and easily found reasons for why the prize-winners could be celebrated. According to

Balck the British example was the best evidence that competitive sport was an excellent preparation for the inevitable struggles of life. The defeats and victories on the sports fields were not only outstanding lessons in the education of the survival of the fittest; they taught youth that there was no contradiction in playing the game and still nourishing egoistic desires for fame and success.[24]

Interestingly enough, Balck was carried away with the idea that individual sports had an even stronger impact on the character than team games. The team could be a shelter whereas personal competition forced individuals to take the whole responsibility for their own actions.[25] This interpretation of the moral dynamics of sports was in fact not in line with the British athleticism, which essentially was a cult of the games ethos, and was not in line either with the principles of most of his Nordic physical education colleagues, who, as we remember, were suspicious of the educational value of both limitless competition and individual rewards. It seems therefore often more accurate to understand Balck's notion of the sports' character forming functions in conjunction with the growing pragmatism and individualism, which was characteristic of both the European and North American sport cultures at the turn of the century.[26] He frequently used the idealized interpretation of the British games ethos in his speeches and articles but showed in practice much more interest in result-oriented enterprises such as the Olympic games and the organisational consolidation of the Swedish sports movement. Put slightly differently, it could be said that Balck's active involvement in the expanding sports movement was both motivated and inspired by the Social Darwinian component of his

world-view; he believed in the evolutionary necessity of human selfishness and saw no reason why this force should be neglected in education.

Balck was for these reasons something of an outsider among his Nordic colleagues in the educational field at the turn of the century, but had many allies among those in North Europe who had accepted the open competitiveness of the growing sports movement and saw it as an efficient way to strengthen individual characters. One of the most radical representatives of the latter category, which we have briefly mentioned earlier, was the Danish submarin constructor William Hovgaard (1857-1950) who after studies in England at the Royal Naval College in Greenwich between 1883 and 1886 returned to Copenhagen and began to propagate the British sports as the superior form of physical preparation for a bourgeois manhood. Like many of his contemporaries, Hovgaard compared the healthy and well-behaved British public school youth with the secondary school boys in his home town, whom he accused for being both anaemic and weak characters. In other words, Hovgaard conclusions were not on every point original. For example, he claimed as many others that the too extensive intellectual curriculum and shortcomings in physical education in the secondary schools transformed Danish upper- and middle-class boys into lame civil servants who never would survive in free competition between individuals or as conquerors of colonies "... where no government or family could give a helping hand".[27] Yet it is apparent that he was one of the few Nordic promoters of the British public school model of physical education who saw sport entirely as form of strengthening individual characters and not at all as a function of state building. Hovgaard was thereby more Social Dar-

winian than Herbert Spencer himself, who often emphasised that cooperation, persuasion and altruism were essential social skills in advanced industrialised societies.

V.

The Social Darwinian interpretation of the social function of sports could not apparently play an especially significant role in the debates about physical education in the Nordic countries. It was too unsociable and not in line with the dominant educational outlook among Nordic secondary school teachers, who were trained to pay attention to the cultivation of the pupils' social responsibility and obedience to the state apparatus. Sport was advocated as a character forming activity by a number of Nordic educationalists, especially between 1880 and 1920, but it was only exceptions like Balck or educational laymen like Hovgaard who on the practical level vindicated sport in schools as a moral and physical preparation for the selfish competition between individuals and the harsh struggle for survival.

Most of those who spoke in favour of more sports in the curriculum saw these activities above all as an efficient form of exercise in social interaction and cooperation.[28] This was the case with influential men like the Swede Carl Svedelius, headmaster and school sport promoter, who from 1910 onwards often emphasised that sport could improve internal solidarity within the schools and develop responsible citizens.[29] This was also the case with many other Nordic educationalists who during the 1920s and 1930s emphasised the positive function of sports; Tahko Pihkala, a skilful

sport organizer famous for his invention of a Finnish variant of the American baseball, wrote for example in 1927 that games and other competitive exercises were superior to gymnastics because of their stronger impact on the pupils' sense of social responsibility[30], whereas his Norwegian colleague Hans Hegna in 1931 was eager to point out that juveline delinquency in Christiania/Oslo had decline markedly since the town in the 1910s had built a number of public playgrounds.[31]

It is also of interest to note that the ideological vocabulary and arguments used in favour of physical education were renewed and got new nuances during the interwar period. For example, the idea of sports as a *character building* activity suitable especially for the bourgeois youth lost lot of its credibility when the concept of character began to be over-used within the educational debate and gave way to other educational key words like *personality*, which, in contrast to the concept of character, first and last contained the idea of a self-knowledge and self-fulfillment.[32]

The philosophical notion of personality was by no means new. It had been used already by the Stoics to signify the innermost nature of the individual human and obtained a steady metaphysical foundation in the Christian interpretation of the person as a rational substance, indivisible and individual.[33] It emerged in educational discourse in a more concentrated form during the Age of Enlightenment and had a central position in Wilhelm von Humboldt's neo-humanistic *Bildungsideal*, which, as we remember, was the dominant ideological foundation of Nordic secondary education up un-

til this century. Yet is is apparent that the Humboldtian ideal of *Bildung* as a harmonious "...process of self-becoming of the individual..." and thereby a fully developed personality[34] played only a minor role in Nordic educational practice before the First World War. Bourgeois schooling in essence was a form of cultural reproduction and as such emphasized only the formal dimension of the neo-humanism. As a corollary of this the concept of personality had not a very significant function to fill in the Nordic educational vocabulary before the 1920s.

However, from the 1920s onwards the increasing use of the concept of personality in the Nordic educational literature and debate was not only a sign of the weakening impact of the neo-humanistic formalism. It was also a sign of a more psychological approach to the educational process; most of the Nordic educationalists probably did not open a single book by Freud and yet they were all in one or another way influenced by his theories of the unconscious and the fragile relationship between sexuality and social order.

This trend, the increasing concern among educationalists with the different layers of the human psyche, was not surprisingly less explicit in a subject like physical education, but it is still possible to point to a certain element in professional debate, which was indicative of such attitude changes. We mentioned the slackening impact of the argument of sports as a character forming activity. The argument was at first continuously used by educationalists but was more and more overshadowed by medical arguments in favour of physical exercises.[35] It is true that the health aspect always had played an important role in the promotion of physical education and that it was strenghtened each time the scientists found new evidence

for a positive correlation between exercise and health. Yet, it is also true that medical discoveries played only a minor role in the Nordic debate about physical education before the third decade of this century. The professionals did not have the required scientific knowledge and were, to too large extent occupied with disciplinary issues or absorbed by the idea of physical education as a form of character training. However, the situation began to change in all four countries during the 1920s; the teacher training became more science-oriented simultaneously as the physicians were offered a more central role in the debate.

The growing emphasis on hygienic and physiological questions in fact could been seen as a rational consequence of the social transformation of the western cultures, which, to follow Norbert Elias, can be analysed as a civilizing process. In other words, the systematisation and modernisation of physical education for Nordic secondary school boys until 1940 may be interpretated as a move from an accentuation of the external discipline of the bourgeois youth, in form of military drill and collective gymnastics, towards a more refined outlook on the individual cultivation of the body, in which disciplining was understood as a physiological and also as a psychological process.

This is not to say that the fundamental motive for physical education for the school boys in question changed markedly between 1880 and 1940; the aim throughout the period was to discipline the body and make it a strong and healthy servant of the individual soul, which again was trained to be an obedient citizen and hard-working state builder. However, the point is that an increasingly scientific approach made the Nordic educationalists aware of the

fact that the discipline became more efficient and total if the outward control was achieved through self-imposed restraint of the body and the emotions. For example, the hygiene campaigns and improvements in the schools were not only an attempt to better pupils' health. They were also an ideological and moral undertaking; the hygienic principle accustomed the pupils to think in terms of bodily isolation and individual refinement and was therefore an excellent way to develop their self-control and bourgeois personality.

The application of medical innovations and interpretations led also to the re-evaluation of established justifications of certain exercises in physical education. The most famous example of this development is probably the dispute between the Danes K.A.Knudsen and Johannes Lindhard, which poisoned the professional dialogue in Denmark during the 1910s and 1920s. Knudsen, an energetic physical education inspector who had been trained at the *GCI* in Stockholm, was a sworn advocate of the Swedish gymnastics and as such convinced of its rationality and "scientific" basis. He was therefore almost obliged to stand up and defend Hjalmar Ling's dogmas when they were questioned as untenable by Lindhard, professor of physiology at Copenhagen University between 1917 and 1935, who was responsible for the theoretical training of the student teachers in physical education.

The dispute was rooted also in personal antagonism, which in a way explains why it ended up in a complicated law-suit, but in this context it will be examined entirely as an issue of principal. Lindhard was strongly opposed to Knudsen's claim that the formalism of the Swedish gymnastics could be justified from a physiological point of view. He emphasised in many occasions that the "Swedish

system" was nothing but a collection of postures and saw therefore no reason why they should be understood as especially rational or health promoting. For example, Lindhard challenged the very heart of Hj. Ling's method by stressing that a straight back and a good carriage were only outward gestures which were by no means healthy as such or physiologically functional.[36] It is not an exaggeration to claim that Lindhard's arguments were more convincing than Knudsen's defensive replies. Lindhard could base his claims on empirical evidences - in contrast to Knudsen, who had only his Swedish authorities to lean back on - and was an active scientist up to date with the new and more psychological approaches in the contemporary educational thinking. In addition, Lindhard was an eager proponent of physical activities such as rythmic gymnastics and outdoor sports that were not only less formal and more energy-consuming but also intellectually more stimulating than the "Swedish system".[37]

The dispute was not just a quarrel between two strong minds. It was a confrontation between two forceful physical education ideologies. And as such it highlighted some of the main characteristics of the debate that occured in connection with a move from an emphasis on the outward discipline and character training towards a more genuine physiological, health promoting approach to the cultivation of the body. Firstly, it showed how much the image of the physical education was dependent on how the notion of bodily discipline and health was defined. Secondly, it illustrated how strongly the chosen definitions could dictate and dominate the professional debate. And thirdly, it revealed how little the

academic disputes and ideological confrontations were determined by the factual problems and circumstances in the gymnasiums and playgrounds.

Knudsen defended not an educational practice but an idealistic principle; physical education in Danish secondary schools was not yet fully organised according to an outspoken didactic system, although Knudsen claimed differently, and was anyhow not in line with his "Swedish" model. As we remember, sports and other less formal activities continually gained more space in education during the interwar period and made thereby the whole quarrel of the rationality of the "Swedish system" somewhat irrelevant at a practical level. Lindhard's arguments were often equally academic; he demanded a physical education based on scientific know-how but had not the patience to test how this should be carried out in practice.

VI.

In essence, it should be emphasized that the arguments used in the propagation of physical education for Nordic secondary school boys were strongly influenced by the changing values of bourgeois education and an evolving notion of the ideal of manliness. The early emphasis on the disciplinary function of collective gymnastics did not have merely a military basis; throughout the nineteenth century drill was believed to mould bourgeois youth into an obedient and hardworking class of servants of the state. It is clear that the later campaign in favour of school sports as a more efficient way of building character was influenced by the more individualistic and

action-oriented manliness ideal of the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, it is apparent that during the twentieth century the move towards a more health and hygiene conscious advocacy of physical education should be seen in the context of the growing attention paid to scientific understanding in the bourgeois world-view.

Put slightly differently, it was not so much the need of discipline, character and health as such that inspired the Nordic educationalists to promote various forms of physical exercises for secondary school pupils, but above all the belief that these exercises prepared this exclusive youth for its bourgeois manhood and its future obligations as honourable citizens.

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35. The change happened naturally slowly and it is therefore dif-

ficult to point on certain documents, writings or books that would have function as a break through for the new paradigm. However, a glance through Nordic physical education journals and conference reports from the 1910s and 1920s gives an idea of the transformation. See for example *Tidskrift i Gymnastik* (Sweden), *Gymnastisk Tidskrift* (Denmark), *Koulu ja Kasvatus* (Finland).

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Epilogue

The Second World War greatly affected boys physical education in Nordic secondary schools. The war stopped many promising developments and forced the educationalists to postpone intended reforms and limited their activities. In addition Denmark and Norway were occupied by German forces, Finnish teachers were mobilised and many of them killed, school buildings were bombed and badly damaged. The immediate postwar period therefore was not a time of rapid change or extensive improvements. It was a time of gradual recovery and restoration.

Sweden had avoided involvement in the war and consequently was in many ways in a better position than its Nordic neighbours in 1945. Advantage was visible in the field of physical education; in 1944 the teacher training institute *GCI* moved from the crowded city centre into a new and spacious building complex next to Stockholm's Olympic Stadion. The removal had a stimulating impact on teacher training. A range of new sports facilities were now available and so were the nearby forests and open fields. This made it possible to practise activities such as country-cross skiing and orienteering on a regular basis. The relocation even had its ideological dimension; it was as if it helped the institute to finally leave behind Hj.Ling's and L.M.Törngren's didatic dogmas and open the doors to fresh ideological winds.

Nevertheless, the improved conditions of the Swedish teacher training only gradually led to practical changes in schools. Most teachers had got their training before the war and therefore tended to stick to the old methods, the schools renewed their equipment only slowly and in urban areas had difficulty finding space for both expansion and new playgrounds. The pace of change in the secondary schools, in fact, was only slightly faster in Sweden than in the other Nordic countries.

In other respects educational trends in the four countries were rather similar; the shift from collective gymnastics towards a sport-oriented curriculum continued and was clearly reinforced by structural changes in other parts of society such the increasing leisure time and the sweeping "sportification" of the popular culture. Yet, it should not be forgotten that this transformation had began many decades earlier. As we have pointed out in chapters ten and eleven; the seeds of a sport-oriented physical education were sown during the last two decades of nineteenth century. The postwar period, therefore, should not be seen as a new phase in the didactic evolution of Nordic physical education. To a large extent it was a time when many of the earlier initiatives were completed and many older practices modernised rather than replaced.

It is clear, however, that the Second World War in a certain respect had a strong influence on the role of physical education in society. The war had a decisive impact on the Nordic secondary school as one of the main institutions for reproduction of the bourgeois culture and world-view. The Second World War had not been caused simply by Adolf Hitler. It was also an outcome of the chain-reactions of the First World War, which among many other things

weakened trust in bourgeois culture and by extension in one of its most important socialising mechanism, the secondary school. Peacetime restored some of the confidence in bourgeois education but did not wholly reduce earlier mistrust. Progressive educationalists demanded educational democratisation and questioned the ideological justification of the existing secondary school systems. Such criticism, however, could become really influential and lead to action only as an outcome of the Second World War, which shook the very foundations of European bourgeois life-style in Western Europe and almost completely destroyed the traditional middle and upper class cultures in the territories occupied by the Red Army. It was a cultural crisis that at least in the Nordic countries resulted in attitude changes which forced governments to re-examine their education policies and which inevitably led to the introduction of the comprehensive school system. Put somewhat differently, the Second World War was the crucial blow to the Nordic secondary education as a distinctive means of the reproduction of middle and upper class culture. This transformation, not surprisingly, had functional consequences for a single sex secondary school subject like physical education for boys. Once secondary education as a whole began to loose its social exclusiveness the same process began to occur at almost every level of schooling.

A comparison of the legal dimension of the renovation of Nordic physical education before and after the Second World War for example reinforces this judgement. As we have argued in chapter seven, legal action in question up until 1940 was to a considerable extent linked to and pushed on by two larger phenomena in the Nordic countries; the introduction of national service and the systematisa-

tion of secondary education. Both of these projects were connected with state building and thereby indirectly also with the consolidation of the dominant culture. And this meant that the legal evolution of Nordic secondary school boys' physical education was bound to reflect the basic aims and values of the bourgeois culture. The postwar period changed this constellation; from now on reforms were primarily advocated and implemented for medical and bureaucratic reasons rather than for nationalistic reasons.

Unsurprisingly, the change of attitude is reflected in teacher training. As chapter eight revealed, the majority of the teachers as well as their students at the Swedish, Norwegian and Danish training institutes up to the 1930s were officers, who essentially promoted bourgeois ideals of the cultivation of the body. By and large this was also the case with the Finnish teachers, who through their training were socially incorporated into the educated class. However, the war cast a shadow of disrepute and ridicule over the militaristic customs and hierarchical thinking within traditional education and quickened the transformation towards a more neutral and thereby less explicitly bourgeois outlook on physical discipline. The change of attitude is also revealed in the transformation of the manliness cult in the Nordic physical education for boys. Physical exercises continued to be the foremost way of expressing masculinity in the postwar Nordic secondary schools, but lost many of their chauvinistic and militaristic connotations when the teaching was taken over by civilians and when they took place under less formal circumstances.

It is not difficult, however, to find evidence of the longevity of tradition in this area of the Nordic secondary education. We located earlier the element of continuity in much of the educational process. Then there is the matter of school architecture discussed in chapter nine. The school buildings were concrete manifestations of the pedagogic thinking of the period and as such they set up long-lasting spatial patterns, and limits to education. As mentioned above, the basic design of gymnasiums or the extension of school playgrounds in the old city centres could seldom be improved markedly without large investment or removal to the more spacious suburbans. This had a stabilising - not to say stiffening - impact on the practical day-to-day teaching and with the result that many prewar methods lasted into the 1960s and 1970s.

It has been emphasised in many parts of this thesis that the notion of a distinctive Nordic culture had much substance during the period in question and that at many levels it played an important role in the evolution of the physical education in the four countries. The educationalists saw their Nordic colleagues as their natural reference group and were strongly influenced by each other both in methodological and practical matters. Interestingly enough, this has also been the case since the Second World War, although the increasingly sport-oriented curriculum weakened the Nordic traditions in physical education and established more international practices in all four countries. One reason for this continuity is obviously the existence of a range of inter-Nordic professional organisations and networks, which have been successful in maintaining and strengthening the tradition of collaboration. Another, perhaps

even more important reason is the recognition of the fact that the four countries, despite all the consequences of global cultural integration, have a lot in common in the educational field.

Nevertheless, whatever the influence of tradition and the restraints imposed by abstract and concrete phenomena, the fact remains that between 1880 and 1940 boys' physical education in Nordic secondary schools was not so much a static system involving the cultivation of bourgeois youth into manliness as an evolving, dynamic process which led to the thorough systematisation and modernisation of this subject. In other words, the period was a formative and decisive time for the establishment of this branch of education, although the transformation had began much earlier, during the Napoleonic Age, and, of course, continued on many levels after the Second World War.

This thesis has been an attempt to describe and analyse merely some of the major aspects of this transformation in one European region. More research is certainly needed before we obtain a complete picture of all its different dimensions. And this will require not only more archival literature and "ethnographic" surveys, but also further refinement of the comparative methodological approach used in this thesis. It is my firm conviction that the demand for well-structured comparative investigations of educational systems will increase rapidly as European integration continues and forces nations to look at their own history and society from new angles. Borders and minds are opening gradually and it is obvious that we need more comparative studies concentrating on common cultural traditions before we can claim that we truly know what we mean when we say that we are Europeans.

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Kongelig resolution den 3 Decb. 1870.

Rundskrivelse af 20de februar 1884.

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Rundskrivelse af 28de august 1889.

Lov om høiere Almenskoler af 27. Juli 1896.

Rundskrivelse af 17 april 1906 indeholdended regler for undervisningen i gymnastik ved de høiere skoler; Rundskrivelse af 9 august 1906 angaaende folkeskolelærer Hans Hegnas bog "Friluftlek".

Rundskrivelse av 10 februar 1908 angaaende indførelse av undervisning av skytning i de høiere skoler.

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Lov om forandring av 26 paragr. i lov om høiere almenskoler av 3 juli 1914.

Stortingsbeslutning angående ny plan for "Den gymnastiske Centralskole" den 28 mai 1915.

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2.4. Sweden

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Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga stadga för rikets allmänna läroverk den 1 november 1878 (SFS 1878 No 53).
Kongl. Majestäts nådiga stadga för Gymnastiska Centralinstitutet den 13 juli 1887 (SFS/54).
Kongl. Maj:ts nådiga cirkulär till domkapitlen samt direktionerna öfver Stockholms stads undervisningsverk och Nya elementarskolan, angående undervisningen i öfningsämnena vid de allmänna läroverken (SFS 1895 No 70).
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Kungl. Maj:ts förordning den 15 februari 1918.
Kungl. Maj:ts kungörelse angående undervisningsplaner för rikets allmänna läroverk; given Stockholms slott den 29 juni 1928 (SFS 1928 No 252).
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3.2. Finland

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3.3. Norge

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Anderssens Latin- og Realskole, aarberetninger 1882-1904.
Christiania Katedralskole, aarsberetninger 1879-1916.

3.4. Sweden

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