

rather they are consciously and deeply held by society in general. Consulting children as to what they would or would not like to do would be truly arbitrary since children live for the next half hour whereas intelligent adults consider long-term effects and possible ramifications on this and on the next generation. Moreover, punishment is implied by *any* set of values — a test of whether one really holds in serious fashion any value, the right not to be sexually harassed, for example, is whether one is prepared to punish, that is, hurt in some way, those persons who persist in violating the right in question. Power can be used for good or ill. Power is not, in my view, already evil.

Notwithstanding the above criticisms, Rothstein's general plea for sensitivity to the problem of overcrowded, inner-city schools, particularly in such cities as New York, can't fail, must not fail, to evoke a positive response from the reader, ill-edited and over repetitious though the book may be. I give Rothstein, therefore, the last word:

Since the end of the 19th century, the life of urban schooling continues to manifest itself in the disciplinary structures associated with huge, bureaucratic organizations — condemning new generations to an education obsessed with selection, confinement, and discipline, resisting, with the aid of powerful forces in society, all calls for a more humane, more scientific, more success-oriented training. We are in the habit of subjecting children to public humiliation on a daily basis, righteously, without thinking deeply about the effects of such traumatic handling on the youth of our nation. I end this book with what I consider to be an appropriate quote from the Jewish Talmud: Whoever humiliates someone in front of others is to be considered as one who has killed him (p. 171).

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Widdowson, Frances, *Going up into the Next Class*. London, Great Britain: Hutchinson & Co., 1980, 98 pp.

Frances Widdowson is interested in explaining why the social class composition of British elementary teacher training colleges began to change from 1850, when equal numbers of working-class boys and girls attended, on through the remainder of the century to become, by 1914, feminized and more middle-class in character. She seeks also to uncover the effects of such changes on the teaching profession as a whole.

A specific question for Widdowson is: "Why did girls from the professional classes usually shun elementary teaching. . . . Why, conversely, did girls from the lower middle classes begin so overwhelmingly to dominate the profession in the latter part of the century, effectively elevating it from a working-class to a middle-class occupational domain" (p. 11)?

By utilizing an assortment of primary historical sources, Widdowson is true to her call for the restoration of women's experience to the records of time. Referring to the element of class as a "largely ignored, but crucial, aspect of the history of education," (p. 11) she asserts that, as educational research has gone, "the subtle interaction of class and gender . . . is what has been missing in our understanding of both the past and the present" (p. 9).

Widdowson thoughtfully brings several dimensions of human attitude and action to bear on the issues she analyzes; among these, the expressions of parents and students towards colleges and diary musing of school staff. In the process, however, she also exposes a number of important questions, which if answered, would result in an enhancement of the meaning of the work.

An overriding question posed by the book is one that grows from a central assumption, namely, that a higher "class" of student would make (or lead to) a higher quality training school, and, ultimately, a higher calibre teaching profession. While this assumption "sounds" entirely feasible, Widdowson never really validates it by showing how such an interactive process actually "works." What kinds of dynamics existed between what students did and how schools benefitted?

The assumption starts to waver when the author discloses that indeed pupils from the working class were better skilled in the 1850s and 60s than were their middle class counterparts. This disparity prompted the higher orders to see about improving and standardizing the educations of their own advantaged children.

It seems a reasonable conjecture that better-schooled, more effectively institutionalized students would prove the more likely stuff of which prestigious schools were made. As Widdowson concedes, "the main reason why girls from impoverished middle-class homes did not become elementary teachers was their defective education and inability to pass the necessary examinations in order to qualify for free training" (p. 18). The concern was also voiced that "middle-class girls . . . might disrupt the continuity of classes by their ignorance as they were unused to working systematically" (p. 24).

As to the notion of class itself, the idea runs through the book and is never caught within a comprehensive theoretical framework that would allow sense to be made of its apparent active qualities. Comments on the significance of one's social class position abound; for example,

All in all, then, to parents of middle-class girls, pupil-teaching would have seemed to offer few compensations for the hard work involved; not only was the training physically tough, but it would also have been seen as socially degrading (p. 16).

Such close proximity to lower-class staff and students, particularly in a residential college, certainly alienated the interest of the professional class (p. 48).

To the disquietude about rank, the Lady Superintendent of Durham Training College (1872) added that ". . . it might be dangerous to mix the classes . . ." (p. 49).

What is required then, is a more thorough-going discussion of the features of class consciousness as they applied to the educational behaviours Widdowson describes. Readers should see the relationship of a theory of the "psychology of class" to the complex process of professionalization; a development the author barely mentions.

What Widdowson *does* allude to is the factor of public opinion as being an important component in the process of professionalization. This is hinted at when she says that "training colleges, in the mid 1850s . . . were associated in the public mind with the working-class recruit" (p. 16). It is a reality of the process of professionalization that the conferral of public approval for an aspiring occupational group must occur before that group can secure professional status in the eyes of the community. One wonders what the public's reaction was during this period.

A last point here concerns the often confusing language Widdowson employs to identify particular class strata; examples include, "middle-class education" (which, according to Widdowson, was private and notoriously variable), "working-class" and "solidly middle-class." The confusion spreads when the author states that "elementary teaching did not become a generally accepted occupation for the high school educated, middle-class girl before 1914" (p. 71).

At this stage the reader is curious as to exactly which social class the training schools *did* mean to attract and doubt begins to cloud Widdowson's suggestion that the large influx of middle-class women acted to upgrade and denigrate the profession. Of middle-class girls, Widdowson reiterates that "their response to training was not entirely positive" (p. 57).

Clearly there *were* lower middle and middle-class girls in attendance at elementary training institutions. Widdowson cites the advantages of this experience as including rent-free accommodation, stipends, personal independence and the cultivation of self-reliance. She is also sensitive to "some of the conflicting pressures facing lower middle-class women in the second half of the nineteenth century" (p. 8). She refers here to the confrontation between the ideology of marriage and women's needs for employment — a potential necessity due to critical "man shortages."

Of their new-found interest in elementary teaching towards the turn of the century, Widdowson says girls from the professional middle-class were the inheritors of "the gradual change in consciousness as regards middle-class women and work" (p. 16). Government Commissions delving into the state of education beginning from

the 1860's, "together with feminist propaganda in the 60s on the need for the lower middle classes to find new areas of work . . . may well have made this class respond to the pupil-teacher schemes" (p. 19).

Here Widdowson admits the role of prescriptive literature in bringing about a changed view of woman's position in society. Yet this significant and methodologically problematic connection could be elaborated. Since the authors suggests the influences of feminism and other non-educational agencies on the process she chronicles, one asks if there are other events that were also taking place at this time which may have proved influential for the study at hand.

With fully one-third of British women in the workforce by 1851, the 50's marked a turbulent period within which the female suffrage movement was born. In 1870 women became eligible for election to school boards. The late 70's and early 80's ushered in the controversy of higher education for women with Cambridge opening, with reticence, its examinations to the fairer sex in 1881. Surely these and other similar developments helped to create the "new consciousness" to which Widdowson refers.

The classic nineteenth-century writings of Charles Darwin, John Stuart Mill, Dr. Henry Maudsley, Havelock Ellis and D. H. Lawrence also shaped the ideological climate of their times by means of their formulations about *all* women's rights, and intellectual, sexual and emotional capacities.

In relation to these comments it is interesting that Widdowson speaks at some length of Angela Burdett-Coutts and Louisa Hubbard; two women devoted to the training school recruitment of "superior" girls. Their inclusion is striking given the social backgrounds of each as well as the overall organization of the book.

Burdett-Coutts, a wealthy philanthropist, contended that "elementary teaching would provide a cheap and convenient way of providing a home and economic independence for surplus daughters or wards among the impoverished middle-class" (p. 17). Hubbard, a well-fixed "feminist," "proposed the extension of the woman's domestic role outwards into the school and community as the reward of elementary teaching, rather than pointing to the attractions of salary, security and promotion" (p. 33). In advocating the ideals of rural teaching for girls, Hubbard attempted "to avoid a headlong clash with the traditional ideology" . . . (p. 33).

While they did contribute to the dialogue on the polemic of the working woman, Burdett-Coutts and Hubbard do not stand as stunning examples of feminist thought on the matter: economically, both women were entrenched in the privileged class; ideologically, their assertions point to maintenance of the status quo. One wonders, then, what personal stake or motivation drove these women to take up roles in public life.

The author's use of their work contrasts her general reliance on source material "created by" or in direct connection to the institutions she studies (e.g. Commission reports, staff testimony, student files) and a general downplaying of the influences of "outside" influences and agencies. Perhaps profiles of women innovators *within* the educational field, but not directly involved in particular institutions under study, could help provide a stronger counterpoint to the thinking and activity underlying developments in teacher education. Examples here might be women like Emily Davies and Octavia Hill.

A constant issue in the writing of the history of women (and Widdowson acknowledges it as the problem) is addressing the personal experiences of students themselves so that a deeper appreciation of the texture of their lives can unfold. The diary entries once penned by girls in training tantalize the reader who wishes only that there were more of them. One wonders how much the phenomenon of social class determined the rhythms of a day in the life of a "college" girl. Apart from the feeling that many upper-class girls found college life distasteful, the configurations of their experiences remain as shadowy outlines.

The reader is left with clearer images, however. It seems that class presented often insurmountable barriers to students and staff. It seems that "going up into the next class" meant the enhancement of the social prestige of individual schools and finding something somewhat useful for a respectable girl to do prior to marriage. In this sense Widdowson reflects a socially inflexible society which conventional wisdom has long noted for its rigid class consciousness. We simply wonder if we can so comfortably trust to convention.

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