

the plunge in 1911; Engineering and Architecture in 1939; Theology in 1918. Not until the 1970s did substantial numbers of women appear in these fields. Chapter Eight treats the so-called female professions of teaching, household science, nursing, social work, physiotherapy, and library science. Only here did women students or faculty find real encouragement. The trend to more men in these areas has in recent years, however, undermined these strongholds without equivalent gain in the traditional bastions of male power.

Part IV identifies "Women of Action" with Chapter Nine focusing on the "Women's Movement on Campus". This is defined broadly to include all cooperative efforts to attain rights and privileges "previously reserved for men" (p. 369). Gillett sees four stages: the first involved the late 19th and early 20th centuries' struggle for education, the second saw students and graduates move beyond campus to larger social concerns, the third in the mid-20th century brought artificial liberation and the fourth phase from the 1960s to the present encompasses the modern woman's movement. The final stage receives two-thirds of Gillett's attention, a focus in contrast to the rest of the volume which dwells on the earlier years. Condensed as they are, issues ranging from peace in the 1930s to the women's liberation in the 1960s are treated rather summarily. Very much absent is a profile of McGill women either as individuals or as a group. The latter in particular would have given the reader a surer sense of the expectations and experience of female students, staff and faculty. Only with the first Donaldas do we have a somewhat satisfactory collective portrait, a product no doubt of their small numbers. The Conclusion entitled "What Have We Learned" reaffirms that equality is not yet won. Anti-feminism needs to be confronted by women organized together and with male allies. Otherwise, if McGill's past history is any indication, "women, their interests, needs, accomplishments" (p. 445) will be ignored.

Gillett adds considerably to our knowledge of Canadian women's experience with higher education. There is many a potential thesis topic in the issues she raises and her own research is often impressive. Too often, however, the appetite is whetted only to be disappointed by brief or uncritical treatment. This is especially true for the long period between the heroic pioneers and modern feminists. The years from World War One to the 1960s need a great deal more elaboration before we are to understand them. Despite such limitations *We Walked Very Warily* is important reading for those wishing to come to terms with the history of higher education in Canada.

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Sheila Fletcher, *Feminists and Bureaucrats: A Study in the Development of Girls' Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. viii & 249 pp. \$29.50 (U.S.)

The Endowed Schools Act of 1869 was passed at a time of unique activity in women's education in England. The National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, formed in 1857, provided a platform for women to press for equality of educational opportunity for girls and boys. With support from some men influential in government and civic organizations, reform minded women, led by Emily Davies, had successfully requested that the Cambridge lower examinations for boys be opened to girls, had instituted lectures for older women in several cities, and had opened a college at Hitchin designed to provide women the same education as men received at Cambridge University.

All plans for higher education, however, were doomed to failure without an infrastructure of primary and secondary education to prepare women for work at a university. Hence, the inclusion of provisions for the education of girls in the Endowed Schools Act was a coup for the forces of reform. In her book *Feminists and Bureaucrats*, Sheila Fletcher claims that one of the Act's most original components was the provision that endowments should be taken from traditional foundations to establish schools for girls. The provision succeeded in relatively few cases because of opposition to it from trustees and headmasters of endowed boys' schools, apathy in some places towards girls' education, and a change in attitude towards the provision among those administering the Act after 1874. However, Fletcher draws the reader's attention to the boldness of the plan which "at a time when, to all intents and purposes, secondary schools for girls did not exist, when hardly anyone wished them to exist, this Act created them." (p. 2).

Fletcher examines closely the work of the Endowed Schools Commission set up by the Act, savoring the details. Three commissioners, five assistants, and a secretary to the commission divided the country among them, and set out to restructure school endowments, one by one. For each endowment they had to draw up a plan for revision, known as a Scheme, which had to be negotiated with the public of the locality, and accepted by the

trustees of the endowment, the Education Department, and both Houses of Parliament. Negotiations took years, sometimes decades, and without authority to impose their ideas, the commissioners could work only by persuasion.

Only one section of the Endowed Schools Act, section twelve, referred to women. One reason why that section received notice once the law had been passed was that the very men who had investigated the state of girls' education for the Taunton Commission, whose report led to the Endowed Schools Act, were among those later appointed as assistants to the Endowed Schools Commissioners. Included among these were D.R. Fearon, J.L. Hammond, C.H. Stanton, and J.G. Fitch.

During the years 1870 to 1874, the Commissioners struggled to divert some monies from endowments to the education of girls. To do this they had first to persuade local groups that there was a need for girls' education in their localities; then, that the legitimate demands for better education for boys could be met, and still leave some money available for girls. The Commissioners could recommend establishing one of three grades of schools, depending upon the standard they judged the girls and boys should reach. It was especially difficult to make provision for the highest grade school for girls, because there was a general feeling that while endowments might reasonably provide girls with an education designed for their vocation as wives and mothers, it was not reasonable to provide secondary education of the type given in first grade schools, which traditionally had a leaving age of nineteen and prepared boys for the University. The Commissioners in four years drew up plans for the provision of 47 girls' schools and one co-educational school.

In 1874 a change of government entailed a change of policy. Lord Lyttleton and the Endowed School Commission had aroused opposition not only for their support of women's education but for flouting the original purposes of many endowment funds. Such actions were opposed mightily by conservatives throughout the country. Hence, a Conservative government dismantled the Commission and placed the activities mandated by the Endowed Schools Act under the Charity Commissioners, who had been appointed in 1853 to administer the Charitable Trusts Act. Although the impact of the change was not immediately obvious, Fletcher shows that Schemes establishing the same number of girls' schools were accepted in the *twenty* years after 1874, as had been accepted in only *four* years under the Endowed Schools Commission. When further examined, one finds that although the Schemes existed, in many cases no girls' schools were actually established.

Fletcher points out that although the numbers of girls' schools finally established were few, there was a feeling by 1900 that opposition to schooling for girls had died away. This is not surprising since opposition to a reform is strongest when the momentum to introduce it is strongest. Thereafter, there follows a lull in which those who pressed for reform make gradual inroads into the beliefs of the population. However, the bitterest opponents merely drop into silence, to revive again once the reform movement proceeds.

Fletcher claims that the endowed schools for girls by 1900 provided education for more girls than did the schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company which have attracted most attention from scholars of women's education. The numbers must have been fairly comparable, and Fletcher's book is significant in drawing attention to the effects of diverting endowments to girls' education in the years between 1870 and 1902. However, I think we need a different kind of book from Fletcher's before we can assess the relative contributions to girls' education of the endowed schools and those of the Girls' Public Day School Company. The latter were developed not only with an innovative financial structure, which made them dependent upon shareholders not endowments, but with an innovative curriculum. Headmistresses of endowed schools for girls may have been constrained by their trustees, as Fletcher suggests in her final chapter. Hence, endowed schools may have tended to be more conservative in their curriculum than the schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company.

However, endowed schools provided education for thousands of girls and teaching and administrative experience for hundreds of women, many of whom had previously taught in schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company. By working closely with trustees who oversaw boys' as well as girls' education, women teachers in endowed schools gained experience in measuring the achievements of girls against those of boys. Similarly, women governors of endowed schools gained access to data comparing endowments for boys and girls. Inadvertently, the endowed schools provided obvious comparisons of inequalities, which may have paved the way for the decline of endowed schools as the means for educating most children, and for the takeover of secondary education, for both girls and boys, by the county councils in 1902.

Feminists and Bureaucrats is a meticulous book, the work of a scholar fascinated with administrative procedure. The reader may not be as equally absorbed by details, but Fletcher uses each one to build a case which seems irrefutable: that the Endowed Schools Act was an important piece of legislation for women's education that, until now, has passed unexamined.

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Cavallo, Dominick, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981. xv + 188 pp. \$21.50(U.S.)

Americans have always been suspicious of leisure activities and of people unlike themselves. If the people happen to be both foreign and young, the urge to control their activities — their play — could prove irresistible. Throughout our history children's play has been a matter for serious attention by adults, but no group of adults took a more serious or purposeful view of play than the earnest middle class reformers who made up "the movement to organize children's play" in the period from 1880 to 1920. They mounted a holy mission to bring air, light, organization, and control to the young denizens of the foreign quarters of large American cities. They did so secure in the belief that the best psychological minds of the day applauded their efforts and had lent them the scientific knowledge which both justified their crusade and armed them for their combat with the forces of darkness who commanded the bastions of theaters, dance halls, unsupervised streets and the impenetrable mysteries of foreign languages and cultures. They would save the children from the evils of the great city, liberate them from the dank ghettos, train their minds and give them a new moral sense by means of rigorous physical activity and supervised team sports. The result of their efforts would be a city dotted with playgrounds and peopled with clear-eyed, right-thinking Americans who understood the need for both individual initiative and teams sports and who found the excesses of unfettered capitalism and imported collectivism equally repugnant. No other reform effort captured the essence of progressivism in quite the same way.

In *Muscles and Morals* Professor Cavallo might have been content to describe this movement, interpret its meaning in terms of sociological theory and leave it to gather dust alongside other works in the social control school of progressive historiography, but he is after bigger game. Why, he asks, did these reformers take the peculiar course they did and why did the leaders of the movement and the leading child psychologists work together so closely? What, the question becomes, was the central meaning of play in American culture in the Progressive Era?

We learn in a neat and efficient manner who the leaders of the play movement were, what their basic attitudes were (but in a broad general way, only Jane Addams receives a detailed treatment because "surviving members of the Gulick and Lee families informed the author that material relating to their adolescent years had either been destroyed or was 'too personal' for perusal by others.") Jane Addams was a typical progressive because she, like other reformers of that period, had "an acute masculine-feminine role confusion." This resulted in part from the breakdown of the "separate spheres" doctrine which had delineated gender roles for urban middle class families in nineteenth-century America and in part from the cultural ambivalence and idiosyncratic nature of childhood. She resolved this crisis by founding Hull House, becoming involved in the play movement and thereby synthesizing "feminine and masculine ethical strains into a new and dynamic moral vision of urban America." We also find brief sketches of the leading child psychologists (G. Stanley Hall, James Mark Baldwin, William James, John Dewey, and Edward L. Thorndike) and an explanation of why some of their ideas proved so useful to the evangelists of organized play.

What is missing from Cavallo's account is a sense of how the movement actually worked. Photographs scattered throughout the text hint at what it might have been like to be a child playing on one of the supervised playgrounds, but we do not know how the children or their parents regarded these innovations or what the local political costs for establishing them were. Nevertheless Cavallo makes an important contribution to the history of social reform and to our understanding of one of the many currents of progressivism. He also adds a new dimension to the picture of the development of child psychology in the United States by describing the use the leaders of the play movement made of the ideas of the leading child psychologists of the early twentieth century. *Muscles and Morals* is a fine example of what used to be called social and intellectual history. Thus its virtues are also its defects. We do not learn enough about the local aspects of the movement of organized play to make this acceptable social history and the ideas of the leaders are not analyzed in a broad intellectual context. Still Cavallo