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Shaping alternative education for all: Baden-Powell's affiliation network of educational reformers, 1900–1939

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ABSTRACT

Robert Baden-Powell's role in initiating the Scout movement is well covered in historiography. This article addresses a little-researched question concerning his associations with contemporary educationalists as a means of promoting social reform through education. In combining social network analysis with the study of hitherto underutilised letters and writings, this article reveals that, from 1911 onwards, Baden-Powell intentionally built linkages with prominent educationalists. His contact with Professor Michael Sadler was particularly significant. The campaign culminated in the attempt to influence the 1918 Education Act. The findings of the present study show that the procedure used to spread the Scout scheme was the same as that used to market a 'pedagogical product', in a similar way to the Dalton Plan and the Montessori method. Moreover, this study provides an example of the use of social network analysis, which has been discussed but little applied in the history of education.

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Introduction

Robert Baden-Powell (1857–1941), a successful military general, introduced his Boy Scout training scheme for 'character education' in 1908. In an age of growing need to revise education methods and address juvenile delinquency, the combination of outdoor life and value-based leadership soon found an audience. Although his ideas were not unique and lacked scientific credibility, his scheme's immediate popularity made it a phenomenon that also attracted the attention of established educationists. The use of Scout training in the school curriculum was advocated by prominent professors of education, such as James Welton, Percy Nunn, Henry Bompas Smith and J. J. Findlay. The latter once called Baden-Powell the 'greatest educator of the present day'.¹ Baden-Powell himself considered Scouting, rather than a new method for formal education, a 'would-be helper in the same field', where schools 'take the intellectual development, [and] we go rather more for the development of "character"'.²

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¹Welton, *What Do We Mean by Education?* (London: Macmillan, 1914), 221–2; Robert Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', *Headquarters Gazette*, February 1917, March 1918; 'Education Conference', *Daily Telegraph*, January 6, 1915.

²Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', January 1912.

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This article continues the discussion initiated by Sarah Mills,³ who illustrated that the boundaries between informal and formal education in citizenship training espoused by early twentieth-century youth organisations were not static but complex and fluid. By addressing the question of Baden-Powell's associations with reputed educationalists, the present study contributes a novel perspective to the discussion on how the Scout scheme relates to contemporary social and educational initiatives. Following the structuralist tradition in educational history and the works of Cunningham, del Pozo Andrés and Braster,⁴ the article also contributes to ongoing scholarship on the role of networks in disseminating educational ideas.

The Scout scheme was developed to appeal to multiple audiences representing different social groups. Hence, classic scholars of early twentieth-century British educational reforms have experienced difficulty placing Baden-Powell. He has been introduced variously in the contexts of conservative imperialism, the child-centred approach to education and romantic anti-urbanism.⁵ More recently, he has received only sporadic attention in educational historiography.⁶ Baden-Powell developed the Scout scheme after returning from the second Boer War (1899–1902). His interest in improving the health and character of youth was partly motivated by the poor performance of British soldiers during the war and by fears about the possible decline of Britain's imperial power.⁷ Knowing this background, the role of military and social goals behind the establishment of the movement has prompted discussion and several interpretations.⁸ Baden-Powell's scheme aimed to promote 'good citizenship', which consisted of two components: everyone's duty to contribute with their individual resources to the benefit of the country, and the aspiration of equality of all citizens regardless of their backgrounds.⁹ While these goals have been acknowledged by many observers as timely and appropriate, some authors have queried the extent to which the promises of self-realisation and adventure were merely a smokescreen to disguise the purpose of strengthening social control in the context of the growing political awareness of the working class.¹⁰ During his lifetime, Baden-Powell was questioned about the originality of his ideas, which has affected the

³Sarah Mills, 'Geographies of Education, Volunteering and the Lifecourse: The Woodcraft Folk in Britain (1925–75)', *Cultural Geographies* 23, no. 1 (2016): 105–6.

⁴Peter Cunningham, 'Innovators, Networks and Structures: Towards a Prosopography of Progressivism', *History of Education* 30, no. 5 (2001): 433–451; María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster, 'The Power of Networks in the Marketing of Pedagogical Ideals: The Dalton Plan in Great Britain (1920–1925)', *History of Education* 47, no. 6 (2018): 840–64.

⁵Richard Selleck, *The New Education: The English Background 1870–1914* (Melbourne: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1968), 303–4; William Boyd and Wyatt Rawson, *The Story of the New Education*; (London: Heinemann, 1965), 33; W. A. C. Stewart and W. P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators, Volume II: Progressive Schools 1881–1967* (London: Macmillan, 1968), 69–70.

⁶John Howlett, *Edmond Holmes and Progressive Education* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 143; John Howlett, 'The Formation, Development and Contribution of the New Ideals in Education Conferences, 1914–1937', *History of Education* 46, no. 4 (2017): 475.

⁷Sarah Mills, 'An Instruction in Good Citizenship: Scouting and the Historical Geographies of Citizenship Education', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 38, no. 1 (2013): 124–5.

⁸A summary of the discussion is available at David Macleod, 'Original Intent: Establishing the Creed and Control of Boy Scouting in the United States', in *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, ed. Nelson Block and Tammy Proctor (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), 16, n.12.

⁹Sophie Wittemans, 'The Double Concept of Citizen and Subject at the Heart of Guiding and Scouting', in Black and Proctor, *Scouting Frontiers*, 56–73.

¹⁰Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory* (New York: Pantheon, 1986), 104; Piers Brendon, *Eminent Edwardians* (London: Pimlico, 2003), 244; Robert MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement 1890–1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 11; for a balanced view of coexisting intentions, see: Allen Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900–1920', *English Historical Review* 101, no. 399 (1986): 390–1.

source material. In his seminal work, Tim Jeal found that many studies on Baden-Powell's educational influencers referred to documentation that was created to defend against claims of plagiarism rather than to record the actual situation.¹¹ In order to control his public image, either people who influenced Baden-Powell's thinking were seldom mentioned in his books, or their acknowledgement was removed from subsequent editions. Moreover, parts of his correspondence were destroyed either by himself or by his widow.¹² Martin Dedman, calling them 'invisible contributors', supposed that if Baden-Powell 'had been readier to acknowledge in print his debts to those who influenced him, notably educationalists and other writers from non-military fields, the "militaristic" charge would surely not have persisted'.¹³ Uncovering some of the 'invisible contributors' is one of the contributions this article makes to the scholarship of Baden-Powell's aims and thought.

Even before Baden-Powell made any concrete preparations, he discussed his plan with Arthur Pearson, founder of the *Daily Express*, a national middle-market newspaper, and a philanthropist whose charity work included establishing the Fresh Air Fund to give underprivileged East End children days out in the countryside. Pearson provided the initial funding for the Scout movement and acted as the editor of its publications. As a public relations expert, he could support Baden-Powell's promotion campaign, which included giving over 50 public lectures on the Scout scheme between November 1907 and February 1908.¹⁴

This collaboration not only enabled the movement's initial growth but also bothered the public and Baden-Powell himself. After the launch of *The Scout* in 1908, he lamented to the editor that he received a 'great deal many letters' from readers who began to view the magazine as 'entirely a money-making concern for Pearson and Co.' and condemned the prize competitions it used to encourage one-year subscriptions.¹⁵ As the movement's sole financier Pearson also had the final say on policy matters until 1909, when the Scout Association formed a nationwide organisation and opened its first offices in Westminster, London.¹⁶

This article focuses on the educational network built by Baden-Powell based on his writings in another Scout magazine, the *Headquarters' Gazette* (hereafter *HG*). Because this magazine was published monthly by the Scout Association, it was less exposed to any external attempt to control the content. Baden-Powell wrote a column that was published in almost every issue between 1909 and 1922 under the title 'Outlook', in which he also commented on current educational matters. The *HG* was Baden-Powell's main channel for keeping the fast-growing movement on the desired track. Moreover, he repeatedly commented that reading the *HG* should

¹¹Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 581–3.

¹²Martin Dedman, 'Baden-Powell, Militarism and the Invisible Contributors to the Boy Scout Scheme 1904–1920', *Twentieth Century British History* 4, no. 3 (1993): 213; Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 79.

¹³Dedman, 'Baden-Powell, Militarism', 213.

¹⁴Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 376, 390; Luke McKernan, 'Pearson, Sir (Cyril) Arthur, First Baronet (1866–1921), Newspaper Proprietor and Philanthropist', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, September 23, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35441> (accessed February 28, 2021).

¹⁵Baden-Powell to Peter Keary, October 17, 1908, in *The Founding of the Boy Scouts as Seen Through Letters of Lord Baden-Powell*, ed. Paul C. Richards (East Bridgewater, Standish Museums and Unitarian Church, 1973), sec. 56.

¹⁶Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 400–9.

be compulsory for all Scout leaders.¹⁷ The material is supplemented by Baden-Powell's main monographs and letters, which enabled the tracking of his network relationships from 1900 through to 1939.

Baden-Powell first became acquainted with the educational debate through his mother. Mrs Henrietta Grace Smyth was fascinated by female education and served as a central committee member in the Women's Education Union. She was also a founding member of the Girls' Public Day School Company. These roles provided a vantage point for educational reform and contacts with prominent educationalists, such as James Key-Shuttleworth and the Shirreff sisters, who were also involved in the then popular Froebel movement.¹⁸

After graduation from Charterhouse public school in 1876, Robert Baden-Powell failed to follow his father's footsteps to Oxford, instead applying for a military career. Excused from training at the Sandhurst military academy, he went straight into service at various colonies of the British Empire and remained overseas for over 25 years. After returning to England, Baden-Powell, who was promoted to Lieutenant General, published his Scout programme in *Scouting for Boys* in 1908 and dedicated himself to the fast-growing youth movement.

According to the biographer William Hillcourt, who knew Baden-Powell personally, he was not much of a 'joiner' during his later career. Hillcourt explained, 'The only groups (outside of scouting) with whom he associated regularly were the officers of his old regiment – 13th Hussars – and the surviving officers of his Mafeking staff'.¹⁹ Except for giving occasional addresses at educational conferences and fulfilling presumably ceremonial roles in little-known organisations, his circle of acquaintances consisted mainly of persons whom he met in connection with his duties as the Chief Scout or with whom he corresponded.²⁰

Construing the affiliation network

Over the first quarter of the twentieth century, Britain saw mushrooming movements to address the defects of the schooling system and the 'three Rs' curriculum. From 1912, the Montessori method for teaching infants spread rapidly through the UK. Distinctive in this process was early patronage by influential members of the educational establishment and new opportunities to spread the word caused by the expansion of the periodical press. Maria Montessori kept tight personal control over training and certification and gave well-attended lectures on her method during her visit to Britain in 1919, thus having an active role in securing the method's rapid dissemination.²¹ In 1920, Montessori's confidant Helen Parkhurst introduced the Dalton Plan scheme to be used for individual instruction in schools. Developed in the USA, the scheme was applied and distributed in

¹⁷Robert Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', January 1913, February 1921.

¹⁸Edward Ellsworth, *Liberators of the Female Mind* (London: Greenwood Press, 1979), 174–8; Josephine Kamm, *Indicative Past: A Hundred Years of The Girls' Public Day School Trust* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971), 87, 205.

¹⁹William Hillcourt to Hans E. Gerr, November 1, 1979, in Hans Gerr, *Baden-Powells Entwurf einer Erziehung durch Scouting. Einflüsse und Entwicklungstendenzen* (Bad Kissingen: Julius-Maximilians-Universität zu Würzburg, 1981), appendix 2. Mafeking was the location of a siege battle during the Second Boer War.

²⁰'Clubs associations etc. with which the Chief Scout was connected': Scout Association Archives, Gilwell Park, London (hereafter SAA), Box 95, Folder 16. Parts of the collection have been made available at <https://lib.byu.edu/collections/lord-baden-powell-papers/>

²¹Cunningham, 'Innovators, Networks and Structures', 433, 442.

the UK the same year by local promoters. When trying to explain the rapid expansion of the plan, del Pozo Andrés and Braster concluded that the Dalton Plan became a ‘pedagogical product’ that was exploited in ways similar to the work of Maria Montessori. They argue that pedagogical products are promoted, publicised and sold to the most appropriate sector of the population, an objective that requires designing communication strategies and seeking out the most suitable channels for distribution and dissemination.²²

Due to the scholarly interest in the dissemination of educational concepts, the network metaphor has long been applied in the history of education.²³ While the concept of network was found useful to construe widespread movements, authors have preferred to use descriptive rather than formal approaches. Network and networking have often remained rather general concepts to describe the interconnectedness of the actors. The use of measurement-based network methods of analysis, which were increasingly applied in various fields of historical studies, has been considered to disregard the effects of the actors’ intentions, values and mutual orientation.²⁴ In the present study, a middle ground regarding these methodological considerations was sought in two ways.

First, the study was based on a sequential explanatory design in which the analysis of structural data was followed by a qualitative strand. Formal social network analysis is used to elucidate the overall structure of a network and to locate the people to be examined. There is sporadic evidence that Baden-Powell was occasionally influenced by educational reformers and that his educational thought evolved over time.²⁵ Because he was a non-professional educator, his channels to contemporary educational thought are unclear, except perhaps for family members. It also remains unclear how these networks helped to spread the movement. To address these questions, the reputational approach to data collection was applied in this study. Among the hundreds of people whom Baden-Powell cited or with whom he corresponded or cooperated, only those identified as relevant to educational reform in some of the most widely recognised sourcebooks were selected for closer examination.²⁶

The second way of keeping the aspirations of the actors at the centre of the present analysis was to measure no other connections than educationalists’ memberships and employments in organisations. This information was sought in biographies, histories and the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* until no new connection was found. The connection list comprised 26 people and 21 organisations. In some cases, the date when the membership ended was undefinable or unavailable. Memberships in general were long-lasting, and eventual resignations did not cause any direct changes in the underlying aspirations of the people. Therefore, memberships that were active in 1890 or later were included in the data collection. The data were then treated as an affiliation network, or

²²del Pozo Andrés and Braster, ‘The Power of Networks’, 840–4.

²³Eckhardt Fuchs, ‘Networks and the History of Education’, *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2007): 193.

²⁴del Pozo Andrés and Braster, ‘The Power of Networks’, 2; Marcelo Caruso, ‘Disruptive Dynamics: The Spatial Dimensions of the Spanish Networks in the Spread of Monitorial Schooling (1815–1825)’, *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 2 (2017): 272.

²⁵Warren, ‘Sir Robert Baden-Powell’, 392–3; Eduard Vallory, *World Scouting: Educating for Global Citizenship* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 21.

²⁶The sourcebooks consulted include Selleck, *The New Education*; Robert Skidelsky, *English Progressive Schools* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969); William Stewart, *Progressives and Radicals in English Education, 1750–1950* (London: Macmillan, 1972); Boyd and Rawson, *The Story of the New Education*; and Richard Selleck, *English Primary Education and the Progressives, 1914–1939* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972). For further details regarding reputational sampling, see John Scott, *Social Network Analysis* (London: Sage, 2017), 48ff.

two-mode network, which is a special network in which there are two sets of actors: people and the organisations they attended. This approach is especially applicable in situations where information concerning direct relationships between people cannot be gathered, which is often the case when they are deceased.²⁷

Since the material consists of relationships that were worthy of mentioning in biographical texts, these relationships often had more wide-ranging manifestations than just attending the organisation's meetings. Thus, Annie Besant, the theosophist and women's rights activist, who helped Baden-Powell to initiate Scouting in India, not only attended the same societies as educationist Maria Montessori and liberal journalist W. T. Stead, but they were also described as personal friends.²⁸ Former school inspector Edmond Holmes and professors Michael Sadler and Percy Nunn were the most interconnected persons in the sample. Besides being members of the Dalton Plan campaign team, the interaction included Nunn attending a dinner at Holmes's home and referring to Holmes's work in his book.²⁹ While fully acknowledging that the social relationships between the people discussed here were more multifaceted than the parameters used in the network analysis, in an era of 'a struggle between competing and even contradictory interest groups',³⁰ the affiliation network provides a good overview of their social structure. In this respect, the present work follows the tradition of historical two-mode network studies of joint corporate board memberships³¹ and people co-participating in the same social events.³²

Structuralist findings on Baden-Powell's contacts

The material was analysed using UCINET,³³ software for analysing network data. Because the focus was on how the sampled people were connected with each other and Baden-Powell had a relationship with all of them, he was not included in the analysis.

There are several ways to describe the roles that actors, or nodes, have in a network. Centrality is a property that indicates a node's position in the network and the contribution it makes to the structure of the network. However, there are several conceptions of centrality, each of which includes associated measures. The usefulness of each measure depends on the data and the research question to be addressed.³⁴ Tables 1 and 2 show two different measures of centrality that were calculated for the people and organisations in the present study using the affiliation centrality routine in UCINET.

²⁷Stephen Borgatti, Martin Everett and Jeffrey Johnson, *Analysing Social Networks* (London: Sage, 2018), 268ff.

²⁸Anne Taylor, *Annie Besant: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 67; Rita Kramer, *Maria Montessori: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 341–2.

²⁹del Pozo Andrés and Braster, 'The Power of Networks', 854; Percy Nunn, *Education: Its Data and First Principles* (London: Edward Arnold, 1920), 92.

³⁰Cunningham, 'Innovators, Networks and Structures', 433.

³¹John F. Wilson, Emily Buchnea and Anna Tilba, 'The British Corporate Network, 1904–1976: Revisiting the Finance–Industry Relationship', *Business History* 60, no. 6 (2018): 779–806.

³²Sam Field et al., 'Identifying Positions from Affiliation Networks: Preserving the Duality of People and Events', *Social Networks* 28, no. 2 (2006): 97–123.

³³S. P. Borgatti, M. G. Everett and L. C. Freeman, *Ucinet 6 for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis* (Harvard, MA: Analytic Technologies, 2002).

³⁴Borgatti et al., *Analysing Social Networks*, 190–1.

Table 1. Centrality measures of the organisations

	Degree	Betweenness
New Ideals in Education	0.231	0.206
Toynbee Hall	0.192	0.166
Montessori Society	0.154	0.243
New Education Fellowship	0.154	0.107
Froebel Society	0.115	0.149
National League of Workers with Boys	0.115	0.106
King Alfred's School	0.115	0.056
Parents' National Educational Union	0.115	0.073
British Boy Scouts	0.115	0.149
Gordonstoun	0.115	0.086
Friends of Brantwood	0.077	0.062
Guild of St George	0.077	0.041
St George's School	0.077	0.023
Theosophical Society	0.077	0.131
Order of Woodcraft Chivalry	0.077	0.044
Law and Liberty League	0.077	0.086
Alpine Society	0.077	0.038
Abbotsholme	0.077	0.044
Charity Organisation Society	0.077	0.003
Fabian Society	0.077	0.127
Kibbo Kift Kindred	0.077	0.044

Degree centrality indicates the number of connections that the node has to second-mode nodes divided by the maximum possible value. Highly central people share several memberships and probably have some common interests with the rest of the group regarding social education approaches. In the case of organisations, the measure addresses their popularity among this sample of people.³⁵

Betweenness centrality is a measure of how often a given node falls along the shortest path between two other nodes. The measure indicates the potential for controlling the flows through the network. Organisations with high betweenness might gather people who would otherwise be disconnected, while people who have high normalised betweenness scores are links between organisations, thus allowing information and ideas to reach new audiences.³⁶

Three-quarters of the people contributed to two or three organisations but did not indicate more general activity, as shown by the density scores in Table 2. Some people served as well-connected hubs. Both centrality scores showed that two people were of the greatest interest: Professor Michael Sadler and John Howard Whitehouse, Liberal MP and founder of Bembridge School. They are more connected to the rest of the network than anybody else. Baden-Powell, who was quick to sense any opportunity to advance his cause, tried to hire both to play roles within the Scouts, which will be discussed later in this article.

Among the organisations, the most central was New Ideals of Education, a reformatory group that held conferences between 1914 and 1937. Baden-Powell gave a presentation at the 1916 conference and took part in the discussions.³⁷ Other highly central organisations included educational and social initiatives with diverse agendas and no obvious links to each other. In the cases of the Montessori and Froebel societies, their

³⁵Ibid., 191–2.

³⁶Ibid., 201–2.

³⁷Howlett, 'The Formation, Development and Contribution', 475.

Table 2. Centrality measures of people in Baden-Powell's network

	Degree	Betweenness
Michael Sadler, professor	0.381	0.472
John Howard Whitehouse, MP	0.333	0.363
Edmond Holmes, inspector of schools	0.190	0.134
John Ruskin, art critic and writer	0.190	0.090
J. J. Findlay, professor	0.143	0.093
Percy Nunn, professor	0.143	0.107
Annie Besant, educationist	0.143	0.186
Maria Montessori, educationist	0.095	0.158
Edward Lyttelton, headmaster	0.095	0.012
A. S. Neill, headmaster	0.095	0.007
Francis Vane, writer and politician	0.095	0.024
W. T. Stead, journalist	0.095	0.108
John Gorst, politician	0.095	0.013
Geoffrey Winthrop-Young, inspector of schools	0.095	0.036
H. G. Wells, writer	0.095	0.087
William Byron Forbush, reverend	0.048	0.000
Norman McMunn, educationist	0.048	0.000
Homer Lane, schoolmaster	0.048	0.000
Henry Bompas Smith, professor	0.048	0.000
Ernest Young, headmaster	0.048	0.000
Charlotte Mason, educationist	0.048	0.000
Cyril Jackson, educationist	0.048	0.000
Kurt Hahn, headmaster	0.048	0.000
Ernest Thompson Seton, author	0.048	0.000
Alexander Devine, headmaster	0.048	0.000
John Hargrave, author	0.048	0.000

mutual relationship was described as one of tension.³⁸ To understand the commonalities among the people to whom Baden-Powell was connected, it is essential to go beyond the properties of individual actors and examine the entire network.

Factioning is a procedure in which the entire network is divided into cohesive subgroups, and every actor is placed into one subgroup. The division of Baden-Powell's connections into two factions is demonstrated in [Figure 1](#) as a projection in which the names of the organisations are omitted. In [Figure 1](#), people with one shared affiliation are connected by a dotted line. A solid line indicates two or more shared affiliations. Because there may be several alternative partitions, the algorithm was run several times to assess the agreement between the solutions.

The goodness of fit in the grouping shown in [Figure 1](#) was demonstrated through density, which means the proportion of possible ties between the actors that are actualised. Both people and organisations were placed into one of the factions. Ideally, there was high density within the faction and low density in terms of the people's cross-faction connections. The first faction had a density of 0.17, and the cross-faction density was 0.01. In the second faction, the densities were 0.23 and 0.03, respectively. The density of the network was not high because of the nature of the data. It would be unthinkable that somebody would have been an active member in all 21 organisations. There was, however, a clear tendency among the people to prefer affiliating with same-faction organisations. This observation was strengthened by the fact that one-half of the cross-factional affiliations were by Professor Michael Sadler.

³⁸Cunningham, 'Innovators, Networks and Structures', 433.

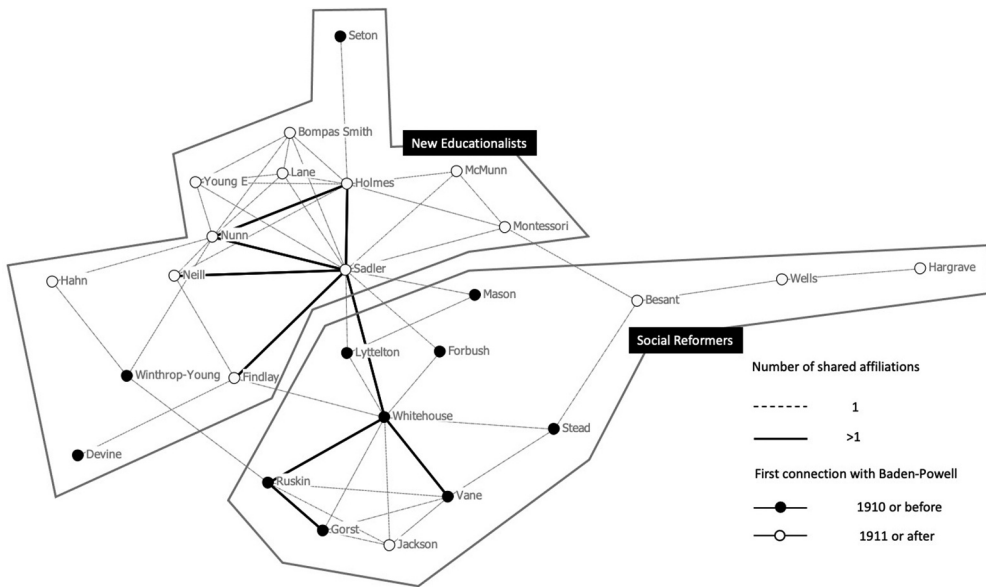


Figure 1. Baden-Powell's connections divided into factions based on shared memberships in organisations. People with whom he had a connection during the first years of the Scout movement are emphasised.

The first faction was called the 'Social Reformers'. The goal of many organisations, such as the Charity Organisation Society or the Toynbee Hall settlement, was social rather than educational. Among the members there was a leading social critic of the time, John Ruskin, who died at the beginning of the study period but remained influential through his followers. The most central organisations in the second faction were the Montessori Society, New Ideals in Education, and the New Education Fellowship. Therefore, this group was aptly named the 'New Educationalists'.

As shown in Figure 1, there was a temporal change in the network. Many members of the Social Reformers, especially those who shared several connections, had already been affiliated with Baden-Powell in 1910 or earlier. The members of the New Educationalists, particularly those with several shared connections, became affiliated later.³⁹ Thus, from the structuralist point of view, it can be hypothesised that, during the early years of the Scout movement, Baden-Powell preferred to seek support from people with social aspirations, but from 1911 onwards the role of educational reformers was expanding. Whitehouse was at the centre of the previous group, and Sadler was at the centre of the latter group. These points are discussed further in the following sections.

³⁹The first year in which Baden-Powell either mentioned, or co-operated with, key individuals are as follows. Gorst, Mason and Forbush were first referred to in *Scouting for Boys* (1908), Devine in *Yarns for Boys Scouts* (1909), and Wells in *Rovering to Success* (1922). The first connection with Whitehouse was a letter (Eagles, *After Ruskin*, 239). The first letters to Sadler and Hahn are cited in this article. Stead was referred to in a letter to a third person (Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 583, n9). Baden-Powell personally met Ruskin, Winthrop-Young and Vane (Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 42, 351, 403). His first contacts with Seton, Ernest Young and Hargrave are described respectively in H. Allen Anderson, *The Chief: Ernest Thompson Seton and the Changing West* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1986), 152–3; Barry Blades, *Roll of Honour: Schooling and the Great War 1914–1919* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2016), 13; Cathy Ross and Oliver Bennett, *Designing Utopia: John Hargrave and the Kibbo Kift* (London: Museum of London, 2015), 17–27. Others first appeared on the pages of HG.

Social reformers and early days of Scouting

The Scout scheme and some of its supporters were ideologically close to Baden-Powell's family. Social reformer John Ruskin was a family friend of Baden-Powell, and his ideas regarding the defects of industrialism impressed Mrs Baden-Powell, who influenced her entire family.⁴⁰ According to Elleke Boehmer, *Scouting for Boys* was a product of John Ruskin's pre-modern nostalgia and the Arts and Crafts Movement's respect for manual skills and vernacular forms.⁴¹ Moreover, Ruskin's views on educational empowerment, which in Lynda Strudwick's words prefigured those of Paulo Freire a hundred years later,⁴² were well in line with and probably influenced Baden-Powell's agenda.

For Ruskin, education was primarily an ethical process, and moral education was at the centre of reform. He criticised reformers for their futile attempts to remedy effects rather than causes. 'Let us reform our schools', Ruskin stated in *Unto This Last*, 'and we shall find little reform needed in our prisons'.⁴³ Baden-Powell's objection to the traditional 'three Rs' curriculum was not grounded in the need to teach instrumental subjects that were relevant to the changing economic structure. He was convinced that wider application of his scheme for instructing good citizenship would solve Ruskin's dilemma regarding schools and prisons. In 1913, he described the situation as follows:

At present the country spends so many millions on education – but we have to look at the other side of the balance sheet as it actually exists. Here we find that we spend an equal number of millions on punishing our 'educated' people for failing to be the good citizens they ought to be, or on trying to remedy their defects in this direction.⁴⁴

In addition to the obvious motive to maintain social control, Baden-Powell's considerations, like Ruskin's, include the aspiration of empowerment. In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, Baden-Powell returned to Ruskin's question of the object of education, concluding, 'We want so to equip the boy, especially the poorest, that he may get a fair start in life with a fair chance of succeeding and of enjoying his time upon earth'.⁴⁵

In promoting his moral education agenda, Baden-Powell relied mainly on children's own agency. He repeatedly expressed his disapproval of the direct moral education provided by the Sunday Schools, instead suggesting that religious upbringing should follow the principle of 'giving a definite objective and setting the child to learn and practise for himself'.⁴⁶ Doing one's duty to God by doing daily good turns to other people provides an illustrative example of this principle.⁴⁷

Studying nature as a means of forming a person's religious views was one of Baden-Powell's central tenets, which he introduced in *Scouting for Boys* and expressed repeatedly thereafter in various forms. In 1927, he expanded this point by re-referring to

⁴⁰Helen D. Gardner, *The First Girl Guide* (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2010), 29; Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 42–3.

⁴¹Elleke Boehmer, 'Introduction', in Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: The Original 1908 Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), xxiv.

⁴²Lynda Strudwick, 'The Contribution of John Ruskin to Adult Education', *International Journal of Lifelong Education* 5, no. 4 (1986): 319.

⁴³Cited in Sara Atwood, *Ruskin's Educational Ideals* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 2.

⁴⁴Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', October 1913.

⁴⁵Robert Baden-Powell, 'Healthy, Happy Citizenship', *Daily Telegraph*, December 13, 1921.

⁴⁶Robert Baden-Powell, *The Wolf Cub's Handbook* (London: Pearson, 1916), 213; Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', January 1912.

⁴⁷Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', January 1912.

Ruskin's romantic views on the unity of nature and man. Baden-Powell concluded, 'ugly environment builds ugly dispositions, while a fuller perception of beauty – raises thoughts to higher ideals – and brings a man nearer to God'.⁴⁸

Baden-Powell's opposition to direct moral instruction, although consistent with his idea of man, was not original. The debate on the superiority of indirect over direct education divided the moral education movement at the time. Michael Sadler, then president of the Moral Education Congress, summarised the conflict in 1908, stating that the differences extended to social policy. While both groups were interested in social reform, direct instructors believed that genuine improvement was made through the reform of individuals. Indirect instructors, many of whom were advocates of self-governing schools where classroom activities were likely to be repeated in the world outside the school, relied on the effects of group action.⁴⁹

From the beginning, the Scout scheme appealed to like-minded organisations. The Parents' National Educational Union (PNEU), an organisation founded in 1887 by the renowned liberal educationalist Charlotte Mason to support home schoolers, was the earliest supporter. Having adopted Baden-Powell's observation exercises in its training programme even before *Scouting for Boys*, Mrs Mason was the only person with whom Baden-Powell willingly shared some credit for founding the Scouts. During the first years of Scouting, the PNEU showed remarkable interest in the movement, asking Baden-Powell to address its meetings and organising mixed-sex Scouting as part of their training.⁵⁰ Mason believed that children had the potential for good or evil, and they should be allowed to experience other people and things relatively freely in an educative atmosphere.⁵¹ This basic notion was well in line with that of Baden-Powell. Moreover, the structure of the Scout scheme, which was a set of exercises used by trainers, met the needs of home schoolers. Mason's work, applied by the home schoolers of well-off families on a coeducational basis, was quite removed from Baden-Powell's social goals. For him, the value of cooperation with PNEU lay in enhancing the educational credibility of the Scout movement.

Another early ally was the university settlement movement, which was influenced by the ideas of John Ruskin and social reformer T. H. Green. In settlement houses located in economically depressed areas, volunteers from the middle classes and universities resided with the underprivileged and supported them with the goal of alleviating poverty. After the great success of *Scouting for Boys*, in his subsequent book, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, Baden-Powell commented on many social questions and expressed worry about lads above school age who were becoming 'not merely unemployed, but unemployable'. He commended the work by the university settlements, who had 'succeeded in taming and civilising some of them'.⁵²

⁴⁸Robert Baden-Powell, *Life's Snags, and How to Meet Them: Talks to Young Men* (London: Pearson, 1927): 80–1; Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 243.

⁴⁹Selleck, *The New Education*, 320–2.

⁵⁰Rose Kerr, *Story of the Girl Guides 1908–1938* (London: Girl Guides Association, 1984), 2; E. L. Franklin to Robert Baden-Powell, March 5, 1908, SAA, Box 1, Folder 6.

⁵¹Margaret A. Coombs, *Charlotte Mason: Hidden Heritage and Educational Influence*. (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2015), 216–17.

⁵²Robert Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1910), 201.

The first university settlement, Toynbee Hall, ran Scouting from the beginning. The first Stepney Toynbee troop was inaugurated in May 1908, which was the same month that *Scouting for Boys* was published in book form. Later in the year another troop was organised, and many of the residents of the settlement were involved. At a Scout Rally the following year, Baden-Powell selected the Toynbee troop as the most efficient troop present.⁵³

John Howard Whitehouse, a devoted disciple of Ruskin, who was central in Baden-Powell's pre-1911 network, was residing in Toynbee Hall when he became involved with youth work. He organised boys' clubs, which had aims similar to those of the Scouts and achieved reasonable success. In 1906, Whitehouse formed the National League of Workers with the Boys as a coordinating body for the boys' clubs, with many Ruskinian figures as board members. It was in the League that Baden-Powell first got to know Whitehouse, and in 1909 he made an unsuccessful attempt to hire him as the editor of *The Scout* magazine. This episode has been well documented elsewhere.⁵⁴ Francis Vane, who served briefly as Baden-Powell's Commissioner for London, was a friend of Whitehouse and shared his Quaker and settlement background.⁵⁵ Baden-Powell's choice of aides indicates much about his leanings at the time as well as his inability to recognise that others were not as ready as he was to unite people who held different views. In 1910, Whitehouse and Vane founded the British Boy Scouts, which was an independent pacifist scout organisation, and their cooperation with Baden-Powell was discontinued. The division was so contentious that the Boy Scouts' Headquarters announced publicly in a newspaper that those who joined the newly founded organisation would have 'no official recognition'.⁵⁶ Toynbee Hall, once the base of the most efficient Scout troop, served as the London base for another Quaker-backed independent scout organisation, the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, from its founding in 1916.⁵⁷

By the end of 1910, Baden-Powell, who, according to his biographer, 'shared Seton's romanticism, but was also a practical man who knew a lot about persuasion',⁵⁸ learned that in order to advance his educational goals, he had to de-emphasise any anti-urban overtones and make his programme more relevant to the contemporary political agenda. Although Baden-Powell's basic tenets and social vision remained constant throughout his career, his implementation of them evolved.

Michael Sadler and educational awakening

Michael Sadler, Professor of Education in Leeds, was a leading educational authority in the UK of the early twentieth century. He served as a vice-president of the National League of Workers with Boys, which might be where he first met Baden-Powell. Their active collaboration began in a previously undiscovered letter from Baden-Powell, which deserves to be quoted at some length:

⁵³Asa Briggs and Anne Macartney, *Toynbee Hall, The First Hundred Years* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 78.

⁵⁴Stuart Eagles, *After Ruskin: The Social and Political Legacies of a Victorian Prophet, 1870–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 238–40; Stewart, *Progressives and Radicals*, 234.

⁵⁵Eagles, *After Ruskin*, 238–40.

⁵⁶'Boy Scout Movement', *Daily Telegraph*, December 8, 1909.

⁵⁷John Scott and Ray Bromley, *Envisioning Sociology* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2014), 151.

⁵⁸Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, 381. Born in England, Ernest Thompson Seton was a North American naturalist who inspired progressive scoutmasters in the UK.

I want to ask your help as an advisor in the relation of Boy Scout training to education, I have for some time been hoping that it might be found applicable in some way. Suddenly a coincidence of events appears to make it possible. My article in the XIXth century [journal]⁵⁹ (which I am sending you) on ... [illegible] of education has brought me in letters of approval: some education offices have been approaching me on the subject of practical application of Scouting to Education. I have returned this week from a tour abroad and have met education authorities in Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium who are in favour of it (In Belgium practical steps are already being taken in the shape of sending 18 school teachers to go through a course of two months training in scouting at govt. expense). The Education Committees of Liverpool and Warwickshire are considering practical means of applying Scouting in their syllabus. I do not feel myself competent as an amateur to deal with such an important question as now arises, and I venture therefore to write and ask you whether you could care to join our council and give us the benefit of your ripe experience in this direction. It shall not make a great demand upon your time beyond giving us an occasional word of advice.⁶⁰

Sadler's reply has not survived, but in the next month he was included in the membership list of the Council. In increasing the relevance of Scouting in school education, Sadler appeared to have been an ideal partner. As an official of the New Ideals of Education and Moral Education Congresses and author of the remarkable *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*, he was involved in all the issues in which Baden-Powell showed interest in the years to come. They continued correspondence until the 1930s, and Baden-Powell asked Sadler's opinion on various subjects. Their collaboration, although intimate and long-lasting, has gone unnoticed in previous studies on Baden-Powell.⁶¹

Regarding the letter, Baden-Powell contextualised the situation in the following issue of *HG*. His tour to inspect Scout organisations overseas covered six European countries. His hosts had arranged first-class receptions. In Norway, he had supper with Prime Minister Wollert Konow and in Sweden a 'long talk' with King Gustaf V. In addition to meeting scouts, he also visited schools and had discussions with local educationalists. The tour, as the letter to Sadler indicates, opened his eyes to the possibilities of aligning with authorities as well as practical examples of cooperation. In Denmark, for instance, he noticed that both the education department and high schools were represented on the board of Danish Boy Scouts. The Scouts ran the Aid Corps, which resembled the Fire Brigade but dealt with all kinds of accidents. He summarised, 'everywhere I found that the Educational Authorities are looking upon Scouting with a favourable eye now that they see there are educational possibilities about it. This is a new step and a big step.'⁶²

The topic was widely discussed in *HG* in late 1911. Baden-Powell encouraged commissioners and scoutmasters to contact their Local Education Authorities to help fulfil their role in the character development provided by the Scouts movement. Practical experiments were also presented. In London, at County Education Council Schools, technical instruction was provided to Boy Scouts in evening classes, and issues of age

⁵⁹At that time, the journal was officially named *XIXth Century and After*. Baden-Powell did not publish anything in that journal at the time. He must mean W. Cecil Price, 'The Boy Scout Movement', *XIXth Century and After* (July 1911): 135–44.

⁶⁰Robert Baden-Powell to Michael Sadler, September 19, 1911, University of California Los Angeles Library, Collection 414.

⁶¹Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell', 380–1. Warren had observed similarities between Sadler's and Baden-Powell's aims, but was unaware of their collaboration.

⁶²Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', October 1911.

limits and other practicalities were discussed in detail. Baden-Powell noticed, perhaps disparagingly, that Local Education Authorities 'have been most sympathetic and, in most cases, more enthusiastic than the scoutmasters themselves'.⁶³

Although the idea of engaging in formal education was not new, 1911 was a tipping point in this respect. Two years later, when Baden-Powell provided a summary of progress and the 'public recognition of our educational powers', the results included 184,000 merit badges awarded to boys to encourage their participation in continuation classes. He again referred to the process as 'big step', using the expression introduced after his European tour.⁶⁴

In addition to forming alliances with the authorities, he conducted other experiments. The sharing of authority with the young is distinctive in Baden-Powell's educational thought. Patrol leaders, whose role was similar to that of school prefects, were chosen among the boys, and Baden-Powell advised his scoutmasters to put 'power and responsibility' into their hands.⁶⁵ The patrol leaders and the adult scoutmaster formed a Court of Honour that 'decides rewards, punishments and other questions' of a Scout troop.⁶⁶ When he learned that far more radical forms of self-governance were applied to delinquent boys in the United States, it became one of the most widely commented-upon educational phenomena in the *HG*.

In 1911, the Boy Scouts opened a School Farm in Buckhurst, Sussex. This self-governing residential school, which was led by a pupil-elected Mayor, Council and Court of Honour, formed 'a community somewhat on the lines of Boys' Republics' in the United States, although the scouts were not delinquent. Inspiration was also drawn from the model Dutch dairy farm Oude Busson, which Baden-Powell had visited in the same year. Each patrol was given a small field of its own and was expected to learn how to run a farm through expert advice and their own book-keeping, and eventually to practise this profession in the homeland or the dominions overseas.⁶⁷ Buckhurst Farm, which was in operation until 1916, was disregarded by previous authors writing on Baden-Powell's educational thought.⁶⁸ Because he was personally involved in the experiment, the school provides insights into Baden-Powell's views on an ideal school. In general, he emphasised that the role of the Scout movement was to help the schools and complete their role. Buckhurst Farm was anomalous in Baden-Powell's way of acting. It might have been a test field where he could experiment with his ideas on applying the Scout method in schools, including the self-governance that clearly excited him.

The year after the founding of Buckhurst Farm, during his stay in the United States, Baden-Powell visited George Junior Republic, a famous self-governing institution. He described its opportunities for lads with bad habits and concluded that the visit provided him with 'a most encouraging confirmation of the theory by which the Boy Scout

⁶³Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', October 1911, November 1911.

⁶⁴Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', October 1913; 'Educational Conference and Exhibition at Aylesbury', *Bucks Herald*, October 4, 1913.

⁶⁵Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', June 1910; Roland Philipps, *The Patrol System* (London: Boy Scouts' Association, 1914).

⁶⁶Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 33.

⁶⁷Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', October 1911, November 1911; Judith Stinton, *A Dorset Utopia* (Norwich: Black Dog Books, 2005), 15–16.

⁶⁸Farrell erroneously claimed that Baden-Powell 'never intended to influence or change the schools, as he regarded them as irretrievably bad for learning and unchangeable': J. Farrell, 'Education in the Years to Come: What We Can Learn from Alternative Education', in *Changing Education: Leadership, Innovation and Development in a Globalising Asia Pacific*, ed. P. Hershock et al. (Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong, 2007), 213.

Movement is directed'.⁶⁹ Two years later, a similar institution called the Little Commonwealth began operating in Dorset in the United Kingdom. Having paid a visit to the colony, Baden-Powell devoted a full page in the *HG* to his observations, pointing out 'the Scoutmasters, schoolmasters, and others charged with the care and instruction of boys, the Commonwealth method is full of suggestion and help'.⁷⁰ The story of the Little Commonwealth ended unhappily. It had to close four years later when two female 'citizens' accused its superintendent Homer Lane of sexually assaulting them. However, it provided Baden-Powell with a tempting utopia which demonstrated his idea that educational institutions could take new forms. In the *HG*, he later referred to Lane's disciple A. S. Neill, who was to found Summerhill School. He observed that 'Neill was caught by the school inspector playing out in the road with his pupils', and continued: 'this attitude of "elder brother" and the practice of directing the young mind through sympathy and fellow feeling instead of through fear is what brings results and is the secret of success amongst Scoutmasters'.⁷¹ Because many of the scoutmasters were military officers, readers might have considered this opinion radical.

At the time, there were other attempts to redefine the role of schools although they did not receive much attention from Baden-Powell. Abbotsholme, an independent progressive school that was the earliest to use the outdoors as a learning environment, has been likened to the Scouts.⁷² The school, which focused on promoting the leadership of the 'directing classes', was never referred to by Baden-Powell. In general, prominent progressivists had reservations about Baden-Powell's military background, and in 1916, when the Order of Woodcraft Chivalry was founded as a progressive alternative to Baden-Powell's Scouts, some of them joined its council.⁷³

Baden-Powell's main link to the progressive school movement was Alexander Devine, the founder of Clayesmore School. Devine had organised summer camps for public school and working-class boys in 1887 when camps, other than those for military purposes, were still unknown and 20 years before the first experimental Scout camp was held. Baden-Powell acknowledged his pioneering work in *Yarns for Boy Scouts*. Devine then gave credit to Baden-Powell's pursuits in increasing the cooperation between boys from different social classes, which is the vision that seems to have brought the two men together. They continued occasional correspondence for almost 20 years.⁷⁴

A later attempt to introduce outdoor experiences as part of the curriculum was made by Gordonstoun boarding school, which was founded by the German-born educator Kurt Hahn. In addition to Gordonstoun, Hahn initiated Outward Bound, an international network of outdoor education schools, and the Moray Badge, awarded to school pupils who passed certain tests in athletics, expeditions and service. Hahn reached some goals that Baden-Powell had not attained, such as offering adventure programmes to attract older boys from less privileged backgrounds. It did not go unnoticed. 'You don't know me but I know of you', Baden-Powell humbly began his letter to Hahn in 1936, in

⁶⁹Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', April 1912.

⁷⁰Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', April 1914.

⁷¹Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', April 1921.

⁷²Stewart, *Progressives and Radicals*, 207; Lynn Cook, 'The 1944 Education Act and Outdoor Education: From Policy to Practice', *History of Education* 28, no. 2 (1999): 159.

⁷³Scott and Bromley, *Envisioning Sociology*, 153.

⁷⁴Alexander Devine to Robert Baden-Powell, August 5, 1910, SAA, Box 23, Folder 3; Baden-Powell, *Yarns for Boy Scouts*, 97.

which he acknowledged the latter's work and Moray Badge scheme. This letter was probably the only connection between the two educators, whose worldwide organisations still coexist.⁷⁵

In 1912, the Montessori Society was organised, as well as the publication of *The Montessori System of Education* by Edmond Holmes. The following year, the Montessori system was widely discussed in the United Kingdom, but on the pages of the *HG* it was not mentioned until late 1914. A keen opponent of the traditional 'three Rs' curriculum, who stressed values and personal growth, Baden-Powell did not feel an affinity with Montessori although they shared some ideals regarding the roles of students and teachers; they even corresponded briefly in the 1930s. Montessori considered it a chief limitation that Scout activities were generally not linked to those of the school.⁷⁶ Baden-Powell regarded educational reform as a vehicle for social change, and he often considered in-depth pedagogical discussions of instrumental value. Whenever recognised educators supported Scouting, he used this to increase the credibility of his scheme. In addition to Montessori and Holmes, Professors J. J. Findlay and Percy Nunn publicly supported the educational possibilities of Scouting, which was quickly reported in the *HG*.⁷⁷ Nunn regarded Scouting as the most impressive example of applying make-believe to education, and Findlay considered that Baden-Powell had 'diagnosed with rare insight the qualities that distinguish boys between the ages of ten and fourteen'. They both recommended using the Scout method in school education.⁷⁸

However, it is unlikely that Baden-Powell, who has been criticised for citing books he had not actually read,⁷⁹ had familiarised himself with the thoughts of the educators named above. There were few if any personal connections with them, and the citations in *HG* appear to have been extracted from newspapers, which often reported the discussions held at educational conferences.

Campaign for compulsory continuous schooling

Instead of building strong links with like-minded educators, Baden-Powell seemed to rely on the formal chain of command, such as the Ministry of Education and Local Educational Authorities. In the United Kingdom, the debate about raising the school leaving age from 12 to 14 years and introducing compulsory continuation classes for youngworking people began even before the World War I. When the liberal David Lloyd George formed a government in 1916, the question was high on the political agenda, and Baden-Powell intensified his efforts in promoting it. It was predicted that Michael Sadler, Baden-Powell's educational adviser, would join the government as the President of the Board of Education. When the seat was awarded unexpectedly to H. A. L. Fisher, Baden-Powell wrote to Sadler expressing his regret:

⁷⁵Baden-Powell to Hahn, December 30, 1936, SAA, Box 44, Folder 15. For Hahn's reaction to the letter and differences between Baden-Powell's and Hahn's membership profiles, see Skidelsky, *English Progressive Schools*, 218–20.

⁷⁶Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', August 1914; E. M. Standing, *Maria Montessori: Her Life and Work* (London: Penguin, 1998), 355.

⁷⁷Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', October 1921, February 1917, February 1915.

⁷⁸Nunn, *Education*, 85; Findlay, *The School: An Introduction to the Study of Education* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1912), 244.

⁷⁹Boehmer, 'Introduction', xxxv.

It has been a great disappointment to a very large number of us and especially to myself, that you were not put in as the head of Education; but we must be thankful for small mercies and I think that the step which they have taken is a big move in the right direction and things will go ahead now.⁸⁰

The emerging positivity expressed in the letter was strengthened after the exposition of Fisher's scheme for improving education in the House of Commons. 'For the first time in history', Baden-Powell commented in the *HG*, 'education has been put under a Minister selected for his educational experience and not for his deserts as a party politician.' Baden-Powell's greatest expectations were to raise the school age and improvements to the teaching career 'with an enhanced degree of freedom, responsibility and efficiency, and with a fitting reward attached to it'. Through compulsory continuation schooling, Baden-Powell believed, 'progress to the University will be open for all deserving cases and every individual child – will get his chance'.⁸¹

During the year, the educational possibilities of Scouting were discussed in several issues of the *HG*. Baden-Powell reported on the talks he had with Fisher. The government's ambitious educational reform programme was implemented in the 1918 Education Act. When the Bill was discussed in the House of Commons, Fisher mentioned Scouting as an example of a society that could collaborate with the continuation schools. Baden-Powell, convinced that educational reform was best advanced in legislative chambers, would have wanted more. Much later, he expressed regret that only by a margin of eight votes did the Bill fail to include Boy Scout training in its provisions as an example of practical character education.⁸²

When the Act was passed in March 1918, Baden-Powell considered the possibilities and difficulties entailed in the new continuation scheme. 'The great difficulty', he considered, 'will be finding sufficient capable teachers to carry it into effect and possibly a greater difficulty will be that of getting the older boys practically to go back to school again.' He called for experiments where groups of Scouts could achieve proficiency badges under expert local instructions; for example, 'In a village Troop the boys might go in for, say, the Blacksmith's Badge under the village blacksmith or in a town the tests for the Cook's Badge might be taken up under a capable cook'.⁸³

These expectations proved to be unfounded. The Act could only be implemented in part because of cuts in public expenditure. Moreover, exceptions were made to the obligation to provide continuation classes to ensure political support for the reform.⁸⁴ The post-war recession redirected Baden-Powell's efforts towards securing an alternative path to education in an environment 'where so often school-good is destroyed by the gang evil'. Considering the growing need for education and the diminishing resources available for elementary schools, Baden-Powell called on voluntary agencies such as the

⁸⁰Robert Baden-Powell to Michael Sadler, February 10, 1917, SAA, Box 23, Folder 3; Lynda Grier, *Achievement in Education: The Work of Michael Ernest Sadler* (London: Constable, 1952), 190.

⁸¹Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', May 1917.

⁸²HC Deb, vol. 104, col. 397, March 13, 1918; Robert Baden-Powell, *Scoutmastership: A Handbook for Scoutmasters on the Theory of Scout Training* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), 147.

⁸³Baden-Powell, 'Outlook', April 1918, January 1916.

⁸⁴Tom Woodin, Gary McCulloch and Steven Cowan, *Secondary Education and the Raising of the School-Leaving Age: Coming of Age?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 51–2.

Boy Scouts to help. He believed that they ‘have their several ways of attracting and dealing with the lad’ and could offer ‘different kinds of bait to catch each different kind of fish. These all go into the same basket in the end.’⁸⁵

Conclusion

Although it was acclaimed by many educationalists at the time, little has been written about Baden-Powell’s Scout scheme in history of education journals. Not only did Baden-Powell himself engage in debates on a wide range of issues around citizenship training, but the Scout scheme was also – through its multi-million global membership – the most successful contemporary example of marketing a ‘pedagogical product’. This term was recently introduced in this journal by del Pozo Andrés and Braster regarding the expansion of the Dalton Plan and the Montessori method.⁸⁶

The present article is, rather than an exhaustive analysis of Baden-Powell’s educational thought, an overview of his network connections and the common educational and social interests that brought the network together. As the trajectories described here share the same temporal and geographical space with the expansion of the Montessori method and the Dalton Plan, the comparison of these three campaigns helps extract key points from the analysis of Baden-Powell’s networks. In an era of concerns over education, they all presented a key solution to a problem. From 1908, the Scout scheme aimed to encourage the development of ‘the whole person’ in a manner that appealed to boys from different social classes. From 1912 onwards, the Montessori method was applied to child-centred learning without discarding traditional school subjects. In the 1920s, the Dalton Plan was developed to organise individual working in schools. The Scout scheme, the earliest campaign, demonstrated some features of subsequent campaigns by turning educational innovation into a product that was efficiently marketed to practitioners at conferences by taking advantage of its famous inventor’s name. During the initial years of the Scout movement, the role of the periodical press in spreading the message was also significant.

All three campaigns tried to hire educational influencers for support. Professors Michael Sadler and Percy Nunn and former school inspector Edmond Holmes supported all three. However, Baden-Powell’s approach is distinctive because he used a traditional approach to advance his cause. With the exceptions of Sadler and Member of Parliament John Whitehouse, who were the most central figures in his network, as well as a few second-tier educationalists, Baden-Powell did not invite his supporters to be actively involved in the movement. Instead, he promoted his plan through the organisation’s efforts. From 1911 onwards, Baden-Powell tried to have Scout training included in continuation classes for young working people, first through collaboration with Local Educational Authorities and later by attempting to influence the 1918 Education Act. These goals were realised only partially.⁸⁷

This study was conducted as a combination of social network analysis and a qualitative strand. This combined analysis indicates a change in 1911, when Baden-Powell’s network connections were increasingly with a group of new educationalists to the detriment of the

⁸⁵Baden-Powell, ‘Outlook’, January 1922.

⁸⁶del Pozo Andrés and Braster, ‘The Power of Networks’.

⁸⁷The discussion is limited to developments in the UK during Baden-Powell’s lifetime. Other national Scouts organisations’ relationship with schools and formal education might be different.

social reformers. It does not appear that Baden-Powell had significantly changed his agenda but rather the ways in which it was implemented. The shift can be summarised in three developments. First, there was a break in relations between Baden-Powell and the leading social reformers, especially John Whitehouse in 1910. Second, collaboration with Michael Sadler and the practices of the foreign Scout organisations, which Baden-Powell became aware of during his European tour in 1911, showed him the possibilities of aligning with educational authorities. Third, in the early 1910s, the establishment of self-governing schools and emerging public debate on the ‘new education’ reforms were of interest for Baden-Powell and made new potential allies, who shared Baden-Powell’s advocacy for young people’s agency. The first point is well covered in the existing literature, but there has been little discussion on the two latter points.

This study has demonstrated the applicability of affiliation network analysis for studying educational movements and their supporters. The observations were relatively clear-cut in terms of their network properties and could be validated using archival data, which diminishes the risk of overinterpretation that always exists when mutual affiliations are used as an indication of shared interests or collaboration.

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

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