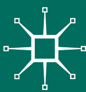

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British Pioneers in Arts Education from 1890 to 1950

Edited by
John Howlett · Amy Palmer

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John Howlett • Amy Palmer
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Unfolding Creativity

British Pioneers in Arts Education from 1890 to 1950

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Siân Roberts is Lecturer in Education and Social Justice at the School of Education, University of Birmingham, UK. Her research interests include British Quaker women active in progressive education and humanitarian issues, refugee educationalists who arrived in the UK in the first half of the twentieth century and the use of art and creativity in educational interventions with children and young people in contexts of war or displacement. Roberts is a member of the Executive Committee of the History of Education Society, UK, and a co-convenor of the History of Education Doctoral Summer School.

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Introduction: Themes in Arts Education, 1890–1950

John Howlett and Amy Palmer

This is a book about arts education in England from 1890 to 1950 and nine individuals who made significant contributions in the subject areas of drama, music and the visual arts. The use of 'creativity' in our book title thus refers, as would be expected for this period, to expressive practices and cultural learning embedded in the teaching of these arts subjects, rather than to the more expansive ideas of creative teaching and creative learning that became fashionable under the New Labour government from 1997 to 2010 (Cottle, 2019). We have used the word British in our title to describe the pioneers themselves, as we have included Seonaid Robertson, who was Scottish, but it is in all cases primarily the contribution to the arts in England which is under examination. The

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time period straddles the late Victorian era to the founding of the welfare state, via two world wars. It saw not just an expansion of the formal system of state-funded schooling, established in 1870, but also significant paradigmatic changes pertaining to how the child was viewed. This changed perspective was strongly affected by concurrent scientific developments such as the rise of psychology, which offered new understandings regarding how children learnt and made sense of the world around them. The people who are the focus of the book both contributed to and were influenced by these wider developments.

The book is written in the belief that the study of history of education can give us insight into the issues affecting education today. Its discussion of arts education intersects with a number of current concerns about the state of the modern curriculum and the 'creative subjects' in particular. Many of these concerns have centred upon the increasing marginalisation and demotion of music, drama and art within schools. This change in status is associated with policies such as the English Baccalaureate, or EBacc, (introduced in 2010) and Progress 8 (introduced in 2016), which have been seen as undermining creative subjects. The EBacc is a measure of how many pupils achieve good passes across five core subject areas whilst Progress 8 is a measure of the progress made by pupils between the end of primary school and the end of secondary school. Significantly, no creative subjects are currently included in the EBacc whilst Progress 8 carries double weighting for English and mathematics. The Cultural Learning Alliance reported in 2018 a 35% decline in pupils being entered for arts subjects at General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) since 2010 (Cultural Learning Alliance, 2018). An investigation into the development of these curriculum areas would therefore appear to be timely. Understanding their origins and what helped and hindered their growth in the past might help us understand the current malaise and point some ways forward.

The book is part of Palgrave's series of studies into alternative education. The term 'alternative' is a broad one and recent large edited collections by Helen Lees and Nel Noddings (2016) and Mustafa Yunus Eryaman and Bertram Bruce (2015) have suggested something of this breadth through the range of topics and areas they cover. These editors and their contributors demonstrate that alternative education can encompass a range of facets including experiential learning; learning through

discovery; the project method and social reconstructionism. Within this broad understanding, a discussion of the pioneers of arts education in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century can fit snugly. Arts education in and of itself offered an alternative to the staid, utilitarian education of nineteenth-century elementary schools. It was by its nature participatory and based on first-hand experience. For this reason, the majority of its proponents were strongly interested in or indeed identified with the new, or progressive, education movements which were challenging current mainstream practice with innovative pedagogies and a strong focus on the needs of children and how these connected with the wider community.

This introduction considers the history of arts education in England during the period under investigation. It then justifies our biographical approach with reference to the work of other scholars in the field of history of education. The themes which have underpinned our thinking are then presented and discussed. Finally, we offer a summary of each of our chapters.

A History of Arts Education, 1890–1950

In order to put the lives and achievements of our nine chosen pioneers in context, it will be helpful to first give a brief introduction to the history of arts education in schools during the period covered in the book, focusing on visual arts (and crafts), music (with some reference to dance) and drama. This overview draws on existing literature, which is very rich for music, with Gordon Cox's work being key (e.g., Cox, 1993); indebted to a few seminal texts in drama (Bolton, 1998; Hornbrook, 1998) and surprisingly elusive in relation to the visual arts, where many of the most frequently cited titles are mainly about art schools (Carline, 1968; Macdonald, 2005). The work of Mike Fleming (2010) stands as a rare attempt at producing a combined arts history. We agree with Fleming that attempting to unify the branches is worthwhile: whilst there are significant differences in the directions taken in different subject areas, there are nonetheless 'common threads [that] can be discerned' (Fleming, 2010: 11). All areas, for example, have seen debate between those

educators who gave priority to self-expression and those who instead emphasised the development of skills and/or cultural appreciation (ibid.).

The underlying trajectory of all the arts subjects in this period was of a growing enthusiasm for their inclusion in schools. This resulted partly from changes in thinking about the purposes of education (particularly that of working-class children) which moved from a focus on basic and technical skills to a more liberal arts perspective. One key inspiration for the change was the school inspector and poet Matthew Arnold (1822–1888), who argued that 'each generation should be inducted into "the best that has been thought and said in the world"' (Finney, 2011: 45). The Board of Education in the early twentieth century was however reluctant to be prescriptive about teaching methods and curriculum content, choosing instead to express its views through various Handbooks of Suggestions which teachers could use or not use as they saw fit (Yeandle, 2015). Official encouragement did not therefore necessarily result in tangible action in the classroom. Books and articles produced by early twentieth-century enthusiasts frequently claimed that whilst their subject areas had been widely acknowledged as worthwhile and were developing well, they were not yet fully established as a regular part of the curriculum (cf. in relation to craft activities Neal, 1914; Elcombe, [1923]; Berry, 1930). This allowed space for pioneers to emerge, experiment and disseminate ideas (Fleming, 2010).

The history of (visual) art (and crafts) education demonstrates the continuing debates between utilitarian and aesthetic approaches very clearly. In the mid-nineteenth century, there were sharp distinctions between the subject as taught to middle-class and working-class children (when these had access to education at all). Middle-class children were taught art for the purposes of 'cultural enrichment'; by contrast, the working classes were taught drawing and 'mechanical design' for the purposes of enhancing their productivity as adults (Addison, 2010: 13). Nineteenth-century drawing lessons for most children consisted of drawing 'lines of varying proportions' which were then 'developed into cubes, pyramids and prisms' while curved lines were 'developed into spheres, cylinders and cones' (Tomlinson, 1934: 13). Copying drawings and diagrams was commonplace (ibid.). Such practice was questioned by thinkers such as the art critic John Ruskin (1819–1900), who believed a liberal education was

essential for the nation's moral development (Field, 1970). In the late nineteenth century, educators such as Ebenezer Cooke and T.R. Ablett became interested in the role that art could play in supporting children's broader education and began experimenting with less rigid approaches (ibid.). They drew on the ideas of the German pedagogue Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852) who had seen art as an important medium through which the child could express his or her inner being (Sutton, 1967).

An interest in 'child art', where children express their ideas freely, developed further in the early twentieth century. The Austrian educator Franz Cižek (1865–1946) is usually cited as the key figure in this movement. His first British exhibition of children's art was in 1908 but it was a 1920 event that really captured the interest of many educators (Roberts, 2009). Marion Richardson (Chap. 8) played an important role in translating these ideas into changes in classroom practice (Holdsworth, 2005). The fact that this child-centred movement was so well-established in the early twentieth century meant that 'art education could claim to be progressive and in the forefront of educational development' (Field, 1970: 72).

Another prominent feature of art education in this period was its entangled relationship with craft education. The division between art on the one side and craft on the other came increasingly to be seen as artificial. The Board of Education's 1927 Handbook of Suggestions, for instance, emphasised the 'intimate relationship' between art and craft (Board of Education, 1927: 330) and by 1937, the two subjects were covered together in one section (Board of Education, 1937). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, handicrafts, such as paper cutting and weaving, were taught to younger children as sanctioned Froebelian occupations and to the oldest children as manual training to support transition into work. This left a gap in the junior school age range that many were keen to breach (Sutton, 1967). The justifications for craft education were many and various. Enthusiasts argued that craft was of value because 'the hand and mind should work together' in the ideal learner (Neal, 1914: 11) but also, echoing arguments for art education more generally, because it was spiritually enriching (Turner, 1922). The idea that craft education was essential training for work remained important to some educators (Tomlinson, 1935). The industrialist and

businessman Harry Peach (Chap. 7) is an example of a campaigner for craft education on grounds both of its cultural importance and its necessity for the economic wellbeing of the country. Seonaid Robertson (Chap. 9) is strongly associated with encouraging creativity through craft because of its therapeutic value.

For most of the nineteenth century, the purpose of music education was also different for middle-class and working-class children. Whereas music was seen as an important 'cultural pursuit' for the former, particularly for girls, music lessons for working-class children focused on improving their ability to sing in church, which was seen as likely to be of benefit for their morals (Plummeridge, 2013: 157). Children were taught sight singing using the tonic solfa method, a written system which was effective in quickly enabling children to sing songs from printed pages but which denied them access to the wider world of music which learning standard stave notation could offer (Whittaker, 1922).

As with art education, a shift occurred in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from this 'utilitarian' model to a 'broader, more liberal aesthetic tradition' (Cox, 1991: 1). Attention was paid to the cultural heritage which could be imparted through song. In the early twentieth century, teachers were encouraged by the Board of Education to teach both 'national' songs (popular composed songs, often with patriotic sentiments) and folk songs (Cox, 1993). Cecil Sharp (Chap. 1) was a significant promoter of the latter. Another development in this period was the musical appreciation movement, associated above all with Stewart Macpherson (Chap. 2), where children were introduced to and taught about 'great' music, sometimes with the aid of gramophones or the wireless. Clearly, the choice of the songs and the music that children were taught to appreciate reflected a particular class-based view of what culture was and, crucially, was not.

The number of musical pursuits promoted by enthusiasts grew considerably—so much so that concern was expressed in the 1937 Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers that 'teachers generally find it impossible to include in the Music syllabus all the new branches of the subject that may be recommended as educationally sound' (Board of Education, 1937: 175). In addition to the listening activities discussed above, the handbook extolled the benefits of rhythmic activities, percussion bands, and

pipe making and playing. Dancing, 'especially folk dancing' (ibid.: 205), was also seen as part of the subject. Stephanie Pitts has argued that the state of music education in the 1930s was 'confused … with so much of its character dependent on the beliefs and interests of individual teachers and the often isolated contexts in which they worked' (2000: 38). This meant that local figures, such as the Manchester musical adviser Walter Carroll (Chap. 3), had an important role to play in shaping practice in the field.

Music differed from art education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in one key respect: progressivism and the promotion of children's creativity manifested themselves in different and perhaps less obvious forms. Despite Froebel's interest in engaging children with music, for example in his 'mother songs', it was not clear to educators in the period exactly how music could be made child-centred and creative, although many aspired to make it so. It generally remained an activity where classes of children took instruction from the teacher and it was not until after World War II that more recognisably child-centred practice emerged (Pitts, 2000).

The story of drama does not match the pattern from utilitarian to liberal education quite so neatly, although some of the same tensions can be observed. The first dramatic activity in the elementary schools for poorer children was the use of Froebelian action rhymes (Bolton, 1998). Alice Gomme (Chap. 4) and others were interested in this practice, and encouraged receptive educators to also use traditional folk rhymes, thus employing drama for the purposes of preserving national culture. As child-centred educators, Froebelians were deeply interested in the question of whether asking children to perform rhymes and playlets written by adults was good pedagogical practice, and they experimented with ways in which children's creativity and individuality could be brought into the process (Palmer, 2017). Other progressive educators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also became interested in allowing children to create their own dramas for educational purposes, most notably Harriet Finlay-Johnson (Chap. 5) and Henry Caldwell Cook (Chap. 6).

The Board of Education gave official sanction to drama in the early twentieth century, but saw it as subsumed largely under the English curriculum. The 1937 Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers suggested that

infants should be encouraged to express their own ideas through 'miming and dramatic action' (p. 357) and that there was a place for doing this with older children too. However, the main purpose of dramatic activities was to develop children's appreciation of the classics of English literature and also to 'improve the clarity and fluency' of their speech (ibid.: 375). In the inter-war period, 'play productions became the teacher's goal; the subject of speech and drama became a vehicle for training children to act' (Bolton, 1985: 153).

Exploring History Through Biography

The use of biography and the biographical method has long been an integral part of the discipline of history and a key mechanism for exploring the relationship between the individual and wider societal movements. Its application to the particular context of history of education has been justified by writers such as Michael Erben (1998) and Craig Kridel (1998). These authors have seen educational biography as a productive way to re-consider many aspects of the past, allowing for 'new ways to examine how one describes the behaviour of others, new ways to appraise the impact of the pedagogical process on students and teachers [and] new ways to explain how educational policy manifests itself in the lives of individuals' (Kridel, 1998: 4). Important scholarship, such as that produced by Jonathan Croall (1983), Gary McCulloch (2007), Jane Martin (2010) and R.J.W. Selleck (1995), has served to validate the centrality of biography to the field, with educational philosophies and theories often seen as connected to aspects and events of an individual's life. Croall's (1983) discussion of the Summerhill founder A.S. Neill provides a case in point, with Neill's lifelong opposition to oppression stemming from his formative experiences as both a pupil and student-teacher in an environment where forms of vigorous child punishment were commonplace.

Collective biography, or prosopography, has also established itself as a useful approach within history of education. Examples of key publications which employ this method include *Women and Education, 1800–1980* by Jane Martin and Joyce Goodman (2004) and *Practical Visionaries: Women, Education and Social Progress 1790–1930*, edited by

Mary Hilton and Pam Hirsch (2000). This method allows for the resurrection of a greater range of historical actors, many of whom have been largely forgotten. As history traditionally commemorated the 'great man', this type of collective biography often acts as a corrective, uncovering the stories of oppressed groups, most notably women, for whose lives relatively little evidence survives. Collective biography has also allowed for a greater understanding of the connections which have often formed between individuals, and the influence of such connections and networks in both public and private realms. Peter Cunningham has suggested that the approach has particular benefits for histories of progressive education, arguing that it allows more focus on the '"anonymous" practitioners, on the everyday work of teachers as distinct from … policy makers' (Cunningham, 2001: 436). In addition, collective biography places an emphasis on the need to 'account for human intercourse and activity in the promotion of educational reform' (ibid.: 450). This aspect is pertinent in our volume, given the direct interactions between a number of our subjects. Many of them were alive to the schemes, ideas and possibilities inherent in each other's work and some worked together directly (e.g., Carroll and Macpherson, and Sharp and Gomme).

Our choice of biographical subjects calls for some justification. There is no point in denying that we have of course been led by our personal interests and enthusiasms and there were many alternative figures who could equally well have featured. We have, however, chosen people who are pertinent to an exploration of our key themes, as set out below. We have striven to achieve a degree of balance in the choices. The subjects vary in the extent to which they are familiar names: some are very well known to educational historians and to some extent to the public at large (e.g., Cecil Sharp); some are reasonably well known to educational historians of the specific period or the subject area (e.g., Henry Caldwell Cook) and some we deem to be considerably less familiar to everyone (e.g., Seonaid Robertson). We aimed for a roughly equal split between men and women. We chose three pioneers to represent each of three creative areas—drama, music and art. Dance has not been included as a separate subject, but nonetheless features heavily in the work of Cecil Sharp.

We have concentrated exclusively on British pioneers working in England. This narrow focus seemed to us the most meaningful way to explore how individuals could influence their own particular education system and shape how the subject areas progressed. However, we believe that the book remains important for scholars, students and interested readers elsewhere. Indeed, one of the values of the case-study approach lies in its ability to 'allow generalisations either about an instance or from an instance to a class' (Adelman et al., 1980: 59). In seeking to interrogate not just the lives of specific individuals but also the varying ways that they have contributed to the development of arts education in England, the book will provide an example of a historical narrative which can be potentially compared with national contexts elsewhere.

Underpinning Themes: Progressive Education

One pervading theme in the book is progressive education and its relationship to arts education. There is no clear consensus about the term 'progressive education' either in relation to its specific meaning or its origin. David McNear (1978), writing over forty years ago, made the point that, 'In a survey of definitions of progressive education, many problems become apparent. … Although varied constructs are emphasized, the definition appears to be primarily purposive or contingent in nature' (p. 37). Progressivism thus was understood as either something giving particular benefits to children—for example, the development of imaginative creativity ('purposive')—or else as occurring only when particular sets of conditions were in place such as a free and democratic classroom environment ('contingent'). This problem of characterisation has persisted with the noted American educator Alfie Kohn (2015) stating that, '[a]ny two educators who describe themselves as sympathetic to this tradition may well see it differently, or at least disagree about which features are the most important' (p. 2). Laura Tisdall has recently made a distinction between 'utopian and non-utopian progressivism' (2019: 29) and argued that in the inter-war period, these two groups were often in intellectual conflict with one another. For her, non-utopian, child-centred education was as '"traditional" as it was "progressive"' (ibid.: 45).

There is nevertheless a core set of principles and ideas which underscore progressivism both in theory and in practice. Notwithstanding Nikolas Rose's warning over the 'myth of origins' (Rose, 1999: 183), many writers in the field such as Robin Barrow (1978) and Geva Blenkin and Albert Kelly (1981) have argued that these ideas originated in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's seminal novel *Emile* (1979, first published 1762). He placed emphasis on a raft of concepts, later identified as progressive, which included learning in the outdoors, the importance of self-discovery and the role of play in learning. John Darling (1994) perhaps puts it best in arguing that 'modern [progressive] educational theory [is] a series of footnotes to Rousseau' (p. 17).

Although in Rousseau's novel the role of the arts was understood somewhat negatively as being simply a source of entertainment for the wealthy, they nevertheless enable Emile to gain 'an exquisite sensibility and a delicacy of taste' (Bloom, 1979: 23). This principle that the arts could be important for developing wider characteristics and virtues, and were thus central to a child's learning, became integral to Romantic ideas about education. Arthur Efland (1983) (albeit discussing the American context) and Clive Ashwin (1981) have identified the work of Johann Pestalozzi as being especially important in this regard. Pestalozzi actively encouraged the creative arts, especially drawing and singing, which remained key planks of his popular teaching method. Similarly, the novelist Maria Edgeworth (Edgeworth & Edgeworth, 1798) suggested that creative and playful activity should be a direct replacement for book-learning amongst the young.

Creative activities became however more widely established with the spread of the ideas of Friedrich Froebel, founder of the kindergarten movement. Froebel connected educational ideas grounded in the work of Rousseau and Pestalozzi more explicitly to notions of creative activity and strove to embed such activity within an education system that was suitable for all young children and not just those from the leisured classes. His 'gifts' (solid objects) and 'occupations' (activities, often involving changeable materials) enabled children to develop fine motor skills and an understanding of three-dimensional shapes and intricate patterns. Norman Brosterman (1997) has pointed out Froebelian echoes in the work of the artist Paul Klee and the architect Frank Lloyd Wright.

Towards the end of his life, Froebel became interested in the beneficial influence of the Altenstein Festival which was a back-to-the-land celebration of music, dance and folk song (Liebschner, 1991). Froebel's ideas were spread by his disciples within Prussia/Germany but also further afield, including to England, where the Manchester Kindergarten Society was established in 1873, with the London Froebel Society following two years later (Nawrotzki, 2006).

This overlap between progressive education and the arts was furthered by a number of peripatetic groups established to bring together educators, teachers and politicians, such as the New Education Fellowship (NEF) and the New Ideals in Education group. The 1919 New Ideals conference for example had creativity as its theme, whilst the 1922 conference was entitled 'Drama in Education' and involved two of this book's biographical subjects, Henry Caldwell Cook and Harriet Finlay-Johnson, the former contributing via a written statement and the latter delivering a paper (Finlay-Johnson, 1922). Creative arts were understood by progressive educators as having psychological and cognitive benefits for the individual and as being important for the wider wellbeing of society.

It should also be remembered that much progressive and creative practice in the period in question took place in private schools, either those like Bertrand Russell's Beacon Hill, created deliberately as an educational experimental laboratory (Hustak, 2013) or else those like the Perse School (where Henry Caldwell Cook was a teacher) that were already established but which were highly receptive to these new ideas. Driven by their charismatic headteachers, such schools were beacons for the creative arts: 'They emphasized creativity and fulfilment at the expense of intellectual discipline, an emphasis heightened by the very "romantic" interpretation they gave to the New Psychology' (Skidelsky, 1969: 151). Often, such pursuits were explicitly connected to anti-industrial feelings, as well as the democratic structures many of these schools were vigorous in promoting.

The volume aims to further explore the relationship between progressive education and arts education in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century through the work of specific pioneers, considering how strong underpinning educational principles were used to support and nurture the creative arts. Such a project seems very relevant for the situation today, where arts education is under renewed pressure, threatened once again by utilitarian views of what schools are for.

Underpinning Themes: Ideology

A second theme which underpins the book is ideology and how this relates to arts education. An ideology is a nexus of 'assumptions, principles and beliefs about what it means to be a good person' (Haynes, 2006: 769) and thus includes both conscious opinions and unconscious biases. The term is associated with the collective belief of a group (from a nation or class to a small self-defined interest group or other organisation), although individuals within the group may form modified or deviant versions of the dominant ideology (Van Dijk, 1998). An education system is necessarily founded on the ideology of the social and/or political group that designed/designs and delivered/delivers it. Decisions about which knowledge and which skills should be embedded in the curriculum and which should not—in Michael Apple's terms which 'cultural capital' should be accessed by which pupils (2004: 2)—are therefore ideologically driven. Arts education is perhaps one of the sites in which ideological choices are most evident. In some of the most extreme examples, it has been linked to the worst propaganda campaigns of the twentieth century: François Matarasso (1997) for instance cites its use in the USSR and in Maoist China to support state positions. Nazi Germany used much the same tactics. In a particularly striking piece of research, Noriko Manabe (2013) has analysed Japanese children's song books during World War II and concludes that, 'they assert the superiority of Japan over other nations, the glory of dying for one's country, the romantic imagery of conquered territories and the joys of toiling in weapons factories' (p. 96).

Felicity Haynes (2006) has argued that 'what we include as *content* in the curriculum will depend on how we think we know the world' (p. 769, emphasis in the original). Although progressive educators in the early twentieth century concerned themselves more with method than content (Apple, 2004), content is always present, as teaching cannot occur in a vacuum. Explicitly or implicitly, some art (visual art, music, drama, dance) is held up as worthy of study and emulation and some is not. The choices here relate strongly and obviously to beliefs about what cultural capital is worth having and reproducing across the generations. Ideology also reveals itself in educators' beliefs about what arts education can and

should achieve. These beliefs have been many and various. Matarasso (1997), drawing upon a research project into community arts, has a particularly long list, which includes: 'personal growth'; 'social cohesion'; 'benefits in other areas such as environmental renewal and health promotion' and strengthening 'Britain's cultural life' (p. vi). In the face of increasing international concern about climate change, the idea that arts can educate children and others to care about the environment is particularly prominent at the moment. Jennifer Publicover and colleagues, for example, claim that the arts 'can help provide some of the affective components of environmental education—emotions, values and motivations driving pro-environmental behaviour' (Publicover et al., 2018: 925). Another contemporary concern is arts education's ability and responsibility to reflect an inclusive society by giving curricular prominence to the work of female artists as well as artists with disabilities or from marginalised communities. Roger Clark and Ashley Folgo's survey of American art history textbooks, undertaken in 2006, revealed an increase in the number of female artists included over the preceding 15 years. They noted that this increase was more significant in high school rather than college textbooks, which they ascribed to a greater degree of pressure from the relevant school boards (Clark & Folgo, 2006).

There are ideological positions that have particularly strong relevance for the late nineteenth/early twentieth century. One of these was the belief that creativity and the appreciation of beauty are essential for moral development, an idea associated with John Ruskin (Atwood, 2016). Implicated in such a view is a conviction that children should be continually developing powers of discrimination or, more simply, good taste in order to become better human beings. There are many examples throughout our period of educators trying to elevate, as they saw it, the artistic preferences of the young, through introducing children to Shakespeare or the great composers. Gordon Cox (2010) has argued, for example, that a perceived need to battle the 'pernicious effects of popular culture' was universal among the music education élite in the early twentieth century (p. 22). As has been frequently noted, the choice of what is good and what is bad culture can never be objective—indeed, it has been described as 'culturally arbitrary' (Goodman & Jacobs, 2008: 686). Arts education could therefore be seen as the attempts of the upper and middle classes to