



Journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Curriculum Studies

- » JAAACS Home
- » Article Archive
- » Editorial Statement
- » Call for Manuscripts
- » Author Guidelines
- » Editorial Board
- » Review Board

- » Submit An Article
- » Contact JAAACS

Volume 2

February 2006

The Formation and Function of Histories of Education in Continental Teacher Education Curricula¹

Daniel Tröhler

University of Zurich for Applied Sciences: Teacher's College
Pestalozzianum Research Institute for the History of
Education

In this paper, I predominantly examine the function of the "history of education" in the context of the curricular structuring of teacher education in the late nineteenth century in continental Europe. In doing so, "History of Education" is considered as the most important part of a curricular definition of general professional teacher training, which is complemented by *teacher training in specific subjects*. What I call *general professional teacher training* is that part of the teacher education curriculum that does *not* deal directly with later job activities, that is, teaching school subjects.

In part one (1.) I describe how and why general professional training as a rule is not defined very clearly and is often characterized by the use of a lofty rhetorical style of language. Both – the lack of clarity and the rhetorical appeal to high ideals – are understood as consequences of the tension between the collective, public demands on the teaching profession on the one hand, and the actual possibilities of teaching on the other. As actors within this field of tension, teachers as a rule attempt to reduce this tension by adopting these same semantics, which represent much more the dominant discourse of society than they do the actual job of teaching. In the second part of the paper (2.), I will show that at the beginning of professionalized teacher education towards the end of the nineteenth century, the dominant societal discourse essentially laid down a national semantic within teacher education that can be described as religious. This is the reason why "history of education" became so central in teacher's education. However, through the course of the twentieth century – which I will discuss briefly in part three (3.) – psychology successfully replaced history in the teacher education curriculum as the most important subject in general professional teacher training, but this did not contribute towards eliminating semantic fuzziness.

As it can be assumed the public-collective demands on the teaching profession always far exceed what is possible in teaching and that teachers themselves tend to adopt these semantics. At the end of my paper (4.), I make a plea for an understanding of general professional teacher training that sets as its goal to make just *these*

collective and public demands a topic for discussion and reflection. This plea is connected with the hope that teachers, due to insights gained, will become able to withstand the unavoidable siren call of the public and collective expectations, so that they may focus all the more on their core task, namely, teaching.

Two types of subjects in the curriculum of professional teacher education

As is the case for many other professions, in continental Europe, professional teacher education entails theory and practice. The theoretical teacher education curriculum is divided into two parts; the one part is focused directly towards later occupational activities. In the trades, for example, hairdressers are taught some chemistry or the science of hair and scalp; chimney sweeps are taught home venting technologies. The other part of the curriculum, however, is directed towards that which is called "general," that is, it refers to "general education." This general education is in no way random, and it is also not oriented to the humanistic ideal; what is taught here in occupational training is not astronomy or dental medicine, not Latin or Greek, but rather correspondence, civics, legal studies, bookkeeping, and native language. Obviously, the attempt is to cover educational needs in the sphere surrounding the "actual" work on the job, for all tradesmen can be faced with having to put a bid in writing (whether they are carpenters, floor layers, or mechanics), they all have to – at least to the opinion of the lawmakers – keep their books, and they need to have elementary knowledge of the legal and procedural guidelines of their jobs.

The subjects in the teacher education curriculum pertaining to the "actual" occupation of teaching are those that teachers will later themselves teach: mathematics, native languages, natural history, music, and so on, whereby in continental Europe, a distinction is made in teacher education between academic knowledge relating to specific subject areas (such as mathematics or geography) and principles of teaching specific subjects, or "didactics" (such as methods of teaching mathematics, methods of teaching geography). These subjects having to do with the "actual" work of the profession, that is, teaching, show stability across time and national borders. In relation to *this* group of subjects, we could almost speak of a "grammar of curriculum."

However, in the other part of the teacher education curriculum, the subjects aiming towards the "general" differ greatly, depending on historical point in time and geographical location. The differences do not pertain so much to the structure of the curriculum or the weighting of individual subjects within the curriculum. They are differences in content, which find expression in teaching goals and especially in teacher education textbooks. In teacher education, again, you do not find astronomy, dental medicine, or classical philology. This group of subjects includes in the main education, psychology, sociology (in Germany and German-speaking Switzerland complemented by "general didactics"),² but also – and some of these subjects appeared in the curriculum for short periods only – hygiene, weaponry, civics education. This type of subject is

considered required for teachers in training by law makers, *without* these subjects appearing in the curriculum of the primary or secondary school. In other words, they do not relate to the "actual" job of teaching, but rather to the context of the job.

History reveals that these "general" subjects as a rule are the ones that are by far the most controversial, because they absorb high expectations and, for this reason, *must* be fuzzy. These subjects can be called "soft" subjects, as they take on the function of a buffer zone. This mediating function, as I would like to call it, results from fundamental tension between societal, or public, expectations placed on the school on the one hand, and the options that the "grammar of schooling" allows, on the other.³ These subjects "cushion," or "absorb," the discrepancy between the dominant discourse regarding the school and the real options of teaching. This function carries the price of semantic exorbitance, rhetorical platitudes, and fuzzy concepts and phraseology.

In the *German* discussion, for instance, this is the case with the concept of the exemplary "person of the teacher" [*Lehrerpersönlichkeit*], which springs from the interaction between collective, public expectations of the profession as a whole on the one hand, and the collective profiling of the profession, on the other. Evidently, the expectations of society elicit a corresponding promise by teachers to be effective, the fulfillment of which – despite its high priority – cannot be observed and demonstrated, precisely because it is worded so unclearly. The person of the teacher became a national symbol of inward unity as well as the defining of boundaries outwards. *Persönlichkeit* [personhood] was supposed to be primarily a German phenomenon, as its own proponents, at least, were convinced. In his retort to William James' characterization of the educational goals of European universities in the fourth chapter of *Talks to Teachers*, "Education and Behavior" (1899, published in German translation 1900), Günther Jacoby, the Greifswald philosopher, wrote:

The German university does not make it its task to teach a German *Herr* how to *behave* as a German *Herr*. In our tradition, that is exclusively a matter for the nursery. In contrast, the German university, to an outstanding extent, makes it its task to educate the German student to become a *Persönlichkeit* – a fact that William James, of course, does not take into account but that is nonetheless important and true. England is the land of gentlemen; Germany is the land of *Persönlichkeiten*. Gentleman and *Persönlichkeit*, however, stand essentially in hostile opposition to one another. This does not at all mean that a gentleman cannot have something *Persönliches* about him or that a *Persönlichkeit* cannot be a gentleman. But the ideal of the gentleman clashes with the ideal of the *Persönlichkeit*, and the ideal of the *Persönlichkeit* clashes with the ideal of the gentleman" (Jacoby 1912, 217; freely translated here).⁴

It is very evident that the interaction space between public-collective demands on the teaching profession and teachers' view of themselves had a markedly nationalistic stamp, which – shown again by the German example – manifested itself in the cult around Kaiser Wilhelm II, who became emperor in 1888. Wilhelm's "personality" was extolled in the pedagogical media as an "awe-inspiring role model of loyal fulfillment of one's duty" (König, 1904). In the axis of the highest personality of the Kaiser, the exemplary person of the teacher, and the personalities of pupils that were to be formed, culminated national agreement on the particular value of teacher education, which both reflected and strengthened the national hubris. Upon this background, it was no coincidence that one of the later great lights of German pedagogy, Eduard Spranger, held a speech addressing youth (*An die Jugend*), in which he points to the need for a "spirit of duty and self sacrifice," as the historical situation – the start of the First World War – had revealed one thing: "There is something for which one can die!" (Spranger 1914, 393, 386).⁵

The function of the history of education in teacher education curricula

These general subjects, that is, these buffer subjects within the teacher education curriculum, have been in existence since the beginnings of the professionalization of teacher education in continental Europe. Professionalization began – with the exception of Switzerland, where it began in 1832 – in Germany in 1871, with the founding of the German Empire, when Germany consolidated as a nation-state after military victory over France. The German Empire, as a new united state, the new (Second) German Reich (after being defeated by Napoleon in 1806), immediately erected a new educational system in order to stabilize the new state. In the core of this new education a new teacher education was erected. The most important of these "soft subjects" within the new teacher education curriculum was the "history of education." Taking this subject as an example, we can demonstrate impressively – namely, on the basis of the teaching materials – how societal, or collective-public, visions of and ideas on the teaching profession found expression. The dynamics of textbook production just after the founding of the German Empire gives evidence of the importance that was placed on the textbooks.

I will give you a brief overview of the textbook production in the first three years of the new German Empire, when four "histories of education" were published. All of these textbooks enjoyed large numbers of copies in publication, precisely because they were used as textbooks in teacher training:

1871: Friedrich Dittes' *Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts: für dt. Volksschullehrer* [History of education and instruction: For German public school teachers]

1872: Lorenz Kellner's *Kurze Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichtes mit vorwaltender*

Rücksicht auf das Volksschulwesen [Short history of education and instruction with special consideration of the public school]

1873: August Schorn's *Geschichte der Pädagogik, in Vorbildern und Bildern* [History of education in examples and pictures]

1873: Joseph Kehrein's *Überblick der Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts: für Zöglinge der Lehrerseminare und zur Vorbereitung auf die Allg. Bestimmungen angeordnete Prüfungen* [Overview of the history of education and instruction: for pupils of the teachers' seminar and in preparation for teachers' general requirements examinations]

Examination of these textbooks reveals that they all follow a very similar pattern. The histories all believe in an identifiable starting point of the history that leads to a certain goal. In other words, they are structured chronologically as one big narrative of progression; they divide history into divisions called epochs or ages – usually Antiquity, the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Modernity. The epochs are represented by "great figures of education," heroes, or patron saints, if you will, and all of them, surprisingly or not, are men. And, interesting enough, the educational heroes of the *modern* epoch all represented Germany.

But this phenomenon is not restricted to Germany. In France, the nation defeated in war,⁶ professionalized teacher education began with a delay of ten years,⁷ and there again, the "history of education" stood at the center of general education for teachers, and there again, textbooks went into production:⁸

1883: Gabriel Compayré's *Histoire de la Pédagogie* [History of pedagogy, Boston 1888]⁹

1885: Pierre Vincent's *Histoire de la pédagogie: suivie d'extraits pédagogiques* [History of education, with educational extracts]

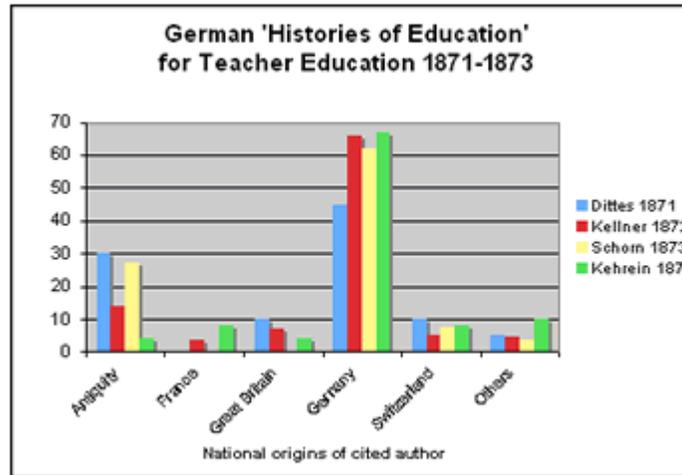
1886: Cyprien Issaurat's *La pédagogie et son histoire* [Education and its history]

1891: Paul Rousselot's *Pédagogie historique d'après le principaux pédagogues, philosophes et moralistes* [Educational history according to educational, philosophical, and moral principles]

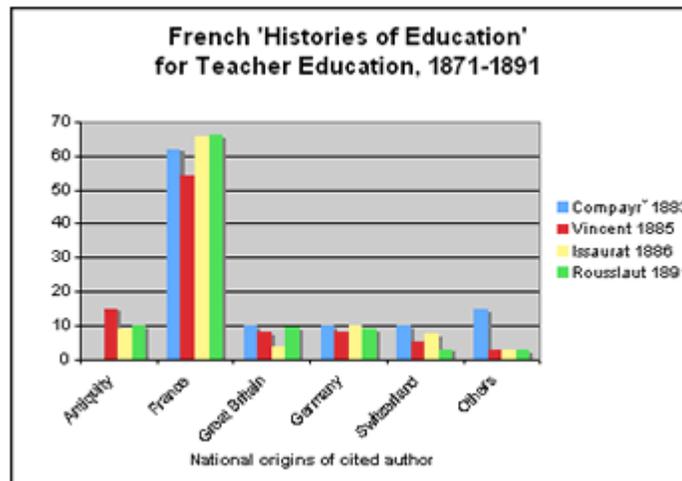
Now, at first glance, analysis of these textbooks does *not* appear to confirm the thesis that the "soft" subjects are, so to speak, the "interaction pool" between public-collective demands and the self-understanding of the profession. At first glance, we see that the formal structures of the earlier German histories of education are absolutely identical with the French; we recognize a narrative of *one* progress of education; it is divided into epochs or ages, and these

are represented by great figures in education, the heroes, and at the end of the historical accounts we find only the representatives of the nation the author is from.¹⁰

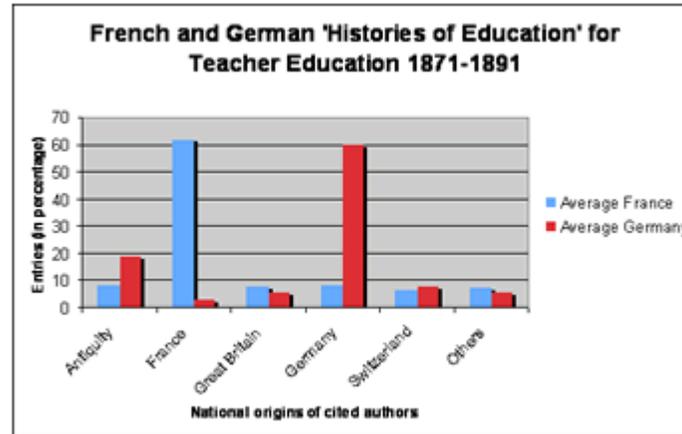
But there are some surprises, too, and that is what is interesting. The picture changes when we look at the heroes in the histories. Let's turn to the tables of contents of the German histories of education and focus on the significant names in education appearing there and on their national origins. I am working on the methodological assumption that the persons that the authors find truly important will appear in the table of contents, so that we can avoid getting trapped by name-dropping with the body of the texts.



If we look now at the French "histories of education," we see the following, not very dissimilar pattern:



Direct comparison of these "histories" reveals almost mirror-inverted congruence, which is highly significant:



Evidently, then, barring all structural and national-euphoric similarity, the *language*, or *discourse*, of the histories of education in Germany and France are completely different, namely, according to their own nations.¹¹ It is the public and collective wish for national identity that finds expression in the textbooks, so that the histories of education acquire a national pedagogical character – and thus, totally different characters in Germany and France.

This difference becomes very apparent in the differing interpretations of historical progress, which is attributed, among other things, to education. Gabriel Compayré – who stood in the Protestant, liberal republican tradition – views history as "showing the progress of education as it has gradually risen from instinct to reflection, from nature to art"; History "exhibits to us the beautiful spectacle in a state of ceaseless growth" (Compayré, 1888, xvi). The progress that arises from the histories has in the end to be evaluated according to a yet-to-be established "Science de l'éducation" (see Charbonnel, 1999). The final passages of Compayré's textbook reveal how he saw this progress. Rejecting hopes in an (incorrectly understood) theory of evolution, Compayré believed in the power of correct education and upbringing. Mankind's progress was to arise from rational reflection on appropriate education, which would be more comprehensive, more complete, more serious, and more liberal than education previously. The only condition was that it be founded on empirical psychology, so that a *science de l'éducation* might emerge. Based on historical examples, Compayré wrote that psychology was in a position to formulate a comprehensive theory of education, once it was well written: "This is, that the psychology of the child be written, and well written, and that reflection draw from this psychology all the consequences which it permits" (Compayré, 1888, 568).

Hayden White¹² has taught us time and time again what can be gained from reading and studying opening and closing passages. If we look at the closing passage of Friedrich Dittes' history of education, namely, we quickly understand why. Despite all similarity that paradoxically resulted from the national opposition of the French and the Germans, Dittes' concluding sentences reveal how very different the thinking of Compayré and Dittes was. Dittes' final paragraph reads as follows:

Still nowhere are all of the chief demands of pedagogy fulfilled, and even now some reforms that have been recognized as necessary exist only on paper. But let us compare the present with the past, and we may rejoice in our hearts at the progress won. ... The science and art of pedagogy is sufficiently advanced, not to rest, but indeed to be able to fulfill its mission (Dittes, 1871, 216, freely translated here).

The Christian semantics of redemption that show up here are unmistakable. August Schorn's book, for instance, concludes with the words: "May the new, now already proven course of the school of the Fatherland, whose task is always growing, remain under God's blessing" (Schorn, 1873/1884, 361, freely translated), and Kellner's history of education ends with the call:

He who leaves out of the program of education the awakening, the lifting, and the deepening of the religious sense, he who does not absolutely with determination and in full consciousness of existing differences put that in first place, no matter how favorable people and circumstances may be, will still not achieve anything truly helpful, truly pleasing to God, or truly lasting. That is and remains the moral of the history of education! (Kellner, 1872/1885, 261, freely translated here).

In contrast to this, consider the final passage in the textbook by Cyprien Issaurat:

Now, the spirit of teaching that should reign in national teaching in the schools of the state, which as the only one that fulfills the needs of the times, and, to quote a learned person, which is suited to every day more strongly satisfying needs – that is the spirit of the sciences in its very highest meaning/sense, the absolutely laic [secular], that is, materialistic science (Issaurat, 1886, 493f., freely translated here).

In other words, the textbooks, which bundle the knowledge of the subjects defined by the curriculum and order them for instructive purposes, show in the case of the histories of education how national-religious contents are transported into teacher education. This was done with the intention to communicate to teachers – as a complement to, or better said, in order to frame their actual occupation, teaching – a publicly recognized ideology. Here it is only too apparent that the German historiographers followed Lutheran visions of redemption (this holds as well for Kellner, who was Catholic!), whereas the French historiographers used strictly secular argumentation or, following laborious Jansenist or Calvinist efforts,¹³ took an orientation based on the child's nature, which, however, was not longer understood to be sinful. The result of the development in the French interpretation – as in also Condorcet's history of philosophy (1794),¹⁴ which has an extraordinarily important place in French historiography – thus appears to be predestined, namely, the idea of reason and morale through public

education, whereas in Germany, idealistic histories of philosophy such as Hegel's shimmer though: redemption through the German spirit – and this also to the welfare of the whole world. The German intellectuals certify themselves as being "the soul of man," as Nobel Prize winner Rudolf Eucken wrote at the start of the war (Eucken, 1914, 23), and as having a mission task in the "certainty of being God's people," as sociologist Werner Sombart, mentioned above, wrote with conviction (Sombart, 1914, 143). National economist Johann Plenge, therefore, saw in the First World War a Christian-spiritual mission of the Germans: "We must fight this crusade to the end in the service of the world spirit. God wants this. For our salvation and the salvation of the world!" (Plenge, 1915, 200, freely translated here). Although the French celebrated their nationalism to a much lesser degree and all in all did not view themselves as the people of God, but rather as a nation of rational morals and progress, the slogans were not dissimilar, as can be seen in a work by Henri Bergson of the same year – 1915. Following a very critical analysis of the German understanding of the state and reminding his fellow citizens of Jeanne d'Arc and the glorious deeds of the French Revolution, Bergson concludes *La Significance de la Guerre* with the words: "Tomorrow, when we have made definitive peace, we will take up the march again, always in the same direction and ever higher, always for justice and truth, always for the well-being of humanity as well as for France " (Bergson, 1915, 29). The progressive idea of political and moral freedom, which was seen to be based in the French Revolution, was contrasted by Émile Durkheim to German idealism, which was viewed as abnormal and which led to nationalism of the *Volk*: "German idealism contains something abnormal and harmful that is damaging to the whole of mankind" (Durkheim, 1915, 42). But also Durkheim had no doubt concerning the course of history and the development since the end of the eighteenth century:

Germany cannot fulfill its destiny without hindering mankind from living in freedom, but life does not allow itself to be enchained forever. While life can be held back by a mechanical action and paralyzed for a time, it always ends with it again taking up its course, in that it throws overboard obstructions standing in the way of its free development (Durkheim, 1915, 47, freely translated here).¹⁵

The twentieth century: psychology in the place of history (outline)

With this, the curricular value of "history of education" does not lie primarily in that which we call "historical consciousness," but rather in the national-pedagogical and national-religious moralization of teachers. The fundamental semantic inflating of the teaching profession made of teachers not just transmitters of knowledge, but rather national educators, a role that the teachers all too willingly wanted to fulfill, and thus they were also able to push through demands furthering the interests of their profession that would have been inconceivable in the eighteenth century. It should be noted that academic pedagogy at the universities also

profited massively from this religious semantic of the nation.

Through the course of the twentieth century, however, the "history of education" lost its importance in the curriculum of teacher education, while psychology became ever more dominant. Frequently even, the subject "education" was dropped and replaced by the theoretically less than convincing word combination "education/psychology." This combination in particular represented the fuzziness to a very high degree; thus child-centered education, Maria Montessori, and Lawrence Kohlberg's moral development psychology could be taught as educational-psychological doctrine, which was supposed to give the core business of the teaching profession, namely, teaching, an "elevated" claim. Replacing the prominent curricular status of "history of education" with psychology, however, merely reflects the shift in the dominant societal discourse. As Nikolas Rose (1996) demonstrated in his article *Power and Subjectivity: Critical History and Psychology*, in the metaphysical crisis of the twentieth century, statistics and the experiment were elevated to new foundations of truth. These, as the basis of psychology, led methodological aids to be confused with the object of psychology – the psychological subject. "In effect, the research tools became objectified within theories about mental functioning" (Gergen and Graumann, 1996, 10). Rose writes that this mistaking of the one for the other in turn led to a prevailing psychological discourse in most of the various societal practices, "in which psychology comes to infuse and even to dominate other ways of forming, organizing, disseminating, and implementing truths about persons" (Rose, 1996, 113). But as psychology lacked a coherent paradigm, this did not entail a total determination of views; however, there was certainly a general trend towards psychological expounding of the problems in different areas of society. "Psychological ways of seeing, thinking, calculating, and acting have a particular potency because of the *transformations* that they effect upon such problem spaces" (Rose, 1996, 115). These ways of seeing simplify potential options for acting and reflecting and reduce them to a particular angle of vision – the psychological perspective. Rose (1996, 115) takes the example of the transformation of "social work" and person-centered approaches in the medical field as clearly showing the way in which psychology, through the psychological "rationalization" of medical practice, reduced medical practice to a few task fields, in that it trivialized everything to the "person" ("personhood") of the patient.

In other words, in the twentieth century a psychological person arose out of the national person of the nineteenth century without making national modes of thinking vanish entirely. This shift did not change anything in the social role of "the person of the teacher" that was supposed to absorb the tension between public demands and the occupation of teaching. It would probably be interesting to examine statistically whether the percentage of teachers that have complained of burn-out in the last thirty years (as a consequence of the now dominant psychological language) is comparable to the percentage of teachers that in 1914, caught up in nationalistic euphoria, goaded youth into military service (as a consequence of the then dominant nationalistic language).

Brief Outlook

However, in conclusion, better, "professionalized" teacher education cannot be expected through simply eliminating these "soft" subjects – alone because collective-public demands will *always* be placed on the school, and they will *always* project excessively high expectations, and because teachers would actually like to fulfill these expectations – without the "grammar of schooling" allowing such a thing or even being capable of doing so. The solution to the problem is not elimination, but rather "confrontation," meaning that the social and semantic context of future teachers should be made a defined topic for discussion within the curriculum. General professional teacher education would then be linked in a complementary way to specific professional training, if it becomes self-reflective. Self-reflection would entail formulating and discussing the inherent dangers in general teacher education, namely, the adoption of public semantics that can never be fulfilled, and it would thus support teachers in developing competency in professional self-reflection. For, in fact, teaching is "only" the core task of the teaching profession, that is, it is embedded in a societal context. The societal context is, however, far less focused on redemption than are the public semantics concerning the school. Instead, it has much more to do with contingency, power, authority, and democracy. If one day general teacher education places this context at the center of its canon of subjects, it will be an indication that education and the school have finally emancipated themselves from their theological roots.

Endnotes

1. Individual Presentation at the American Educational Research Association (AERA) 2005 Annual Meeting from April 11-15, 2005, Montreal, Canada, for Division B, Section 4 (Curriculum History). I thank Bernadette Baker (University of Wisconsin, Madison) for organization and the invitation to this session.
2. This subject could be compared to what is called "instructional design" building on (or believing in) *general* principles of learning and instruction. At least in the German tradition, *Allgemeine Pädagogik* is highly interwoven with the Lutheran ideology of the two Kingdoms and its inward-outward dualism; the core term is, not surprisingly, *Bildung* (see Tröhler 2004; see also note 5).
3. See Tyack and Tobin 1994; Tyack and Cuban 1995.
4. This reproach was directed not only at the British, but also at the Americans. In his famous analysis of the question of why there was no socialism in the United States, one of the "fathers" of German sociology, Werner Sombart, said that the Americans' striving after money exclusively led to a leveling out of character: "What disappears is a sense of immeasurable uniqueness of personhood, of the scent of the individual" (Sombart, 1906, 19, freely translated here). The

Americans were restless *per se*, from their endless greed for money, and thus could never achieve "the beautiful harmony of personhood at rest within itself" (Sombart, 1906, 21).

5. The very same Eduard Spranger belittled a half a year later John Dewey's work, which he reduced to the economic and the technical. He assessed it as vastly inferior to the "latitude (breadth) of German education" (Spranger, 1966 [1915], 30). For Spranger, Dewey's work represented – in stark contrast to the higher ends woven into the German mind – a despicable kitchen and handyman utilitarianism that had to be countered by the "theory of the ideal *Bildung*" (Spranger [1915b], 1966, 37). *Persönlichkeit* and *Bildung* thus became correlated concepts that could be used to express national superiority. On the connection between *Bildung* and ideas on individual and national totality, see Tröhler (2003).
6. The French defeat at Sedan on 1 September 1870 paved the way for the end of Emperor Napoléon III, who had seized power through a coup. After difficult inner political arguments, in which Catholic-conservative monarchists stood opposed to liberal republicans (many of them Protestant), the latter achieved a narrow victory and, with the Constitution of 1875, stabilized the Third Republic of France, which lasted up to 1940 and formed the basis of France today. Complete separation of church and state was officially decreed in 1905; it had already been instituted in the schools, however (see note 7). Paradoxically, by defeating the French Empire, Germany itself emerged as an empire (and, thanks to receiving a war indemnity of 5 billion francs was able to, among other things, build up a school system and modernize industry), while the defeated Second Empire of France became a modern liberal republic, whose exponents, following the model of the French Revolution, saw themselves as realizing a civil and rational-moral society in France and the world. France's political and economic difficulties after the defeat of 1870/71 also explain why France was ten years behind Germany in setting up a new system of teacher education.
7. The new laical school law of 1882, forced through by the republican-minded minister of education Jules Ferry, was decisive. It nationalized schools across the board and led to a new system of teacher education, for which purpose pedagogy became an academic field. As the law had mainly taken into account a desired political objective, it paid little attention to content issues. Laicism, republicanism, and French nationalism subsequently mixed (see note 8). Soon the attempt was undertaken to make a claim for the independence for French pedagogy through a psychological (Compayré) or sociological (Durkheim) basis.
8. Efforts directed towards a national pedagogy of France had begun already in 1868, at the time when tensions developed between Prussia and France regarding the Spanish throne, which was empty due to the Spanish revolution. The *Academie des Sciences morales et politiques* launched a prize competition, because in its opinion, pedagogical reflection in France was too strongly oriented to "chez les

nations étrangères" and thus the "tradition de notre histoire", and the "génie national", was in danger of becoming forgotten (Gréard, 1877, 345ff.). The winner, published in Paris in 1879, was a two-volume work encompassing almost 1,000 pages titled *Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Éducation en France depuis le Seizième Siècle*. The author was Gabriel Compayré, who at this time held a chair at the University of Toulouse. As a confessed republican and French Protestant, Compayré worked towards laicization of the French school system. In the foreword to the book, he wrote that the historical volumes had been written for the purpose of discovering abiding truths ("vérités durables") and to make them fruitful for a theory of pedagogy (Compayré, 1879, I). Already in the second paragraph, it is clear that this effort also contained polemics against Germany: "Ne laissons pas croire que la pédagogie soit la propriété exclusive de l'Allemande" [Let us not believe that pedagogy is the exclusive property of Germany] (ibid., I).

9. Compayré's book was published by D.C. Heath in Boston in 1888, translated and annotated by William H. Payne. Remarkably, the English translation makes a small, but typical, change to the table of contents. Whereas the French edition (also the editions following the publication of the English translation) titles the final chapter "Leçon XII. La science de l'éducation. Herbert Spencer et Alexandre Bain," naming only the two British theorists, the American edition adds the names of two Americans in the chapter title: "Chapter XII: The Science of Education. – Herbert Spencer, Alexander Bain, Channing, and Horace Mann." The text of the chapter is, however, the same in both.
10. This is true not only for Germany or France, but for almost any other histories of education of the time throughout the world (and often even up to our times). The only exception I have found is Philobiblius' (Linus Pierpont Brockett's) *History and Progress of Education from the Earliest Times to the Present*. It is not by accident that this book was published 1860, quite a while before the European nationalistic histories of education were published, and it is not surprising that this book did not have a great impact on the American productions of histories of education.
11. This also becomes evident when we examine the new editions. In Germany, which was rather federalistic when it came to educational issues, all of the mentioned histories of education appeared in numerous editions. Friedrich Ditte's book appeared in eleven editions up to 1903; Lorenz Kellner's book in eleven editions up to 1899; Schorn's book was the absolute bestseller, appearing in thirty-two editions up to 1922; Kehrein's book appeared in sixteen editions up to 1922. In contrast, works following Compayré's history had no chance in centralistic France: Vincent's, Issaurat's, and Rousselot's histories of education never went beyond the first print, while the 33rd edition of Compayré's study appeared after 1930. The English translation appeared in a 9th edition in 1918.

12. See, for example, White (1978) and White (1987).
13. The most crucial efforts to establish pedagogy as an academic discipline for the benefit of teacher education in France began not by chance in Bordeaux, a former stronghold of French Protestantism. Almost all of the educational policy exponents were both Protestant and republican, which means that their school policy was strongly laical (compare Gautherin, 2002, 18ff.). Emile Durkheim began his academic career in 1887 in this context in Bordeaux before moving to Paris in 1902. From 1883 to 1888, "Science de l'Éducation" or "Pédagogie" was established for purposes of teacher education at the following universities: Paris, Bordeaux, Lyon, Montpellier, Nancy, Toulouse, Douai, Lille.
14. Condorcet (1743-1794) was one of the decisive school politicians of the French Republic who wanted to build the school essentially based on rationality, knowledge, and the rational public. Before the plans for reform could be realized, Condorcet had to flee when the Jacobins took power in 1792. Condorcet wrote his optimistic philosophy of history, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain*, in the underground, and it was published in the year of his death, 1794. As early as 1795, the book was published in English translation in London 1795 under the title *Outlines of an historical view of the progress of the human mind*; it appeared in America in 1796 in Baltimore and New York. For many school reformers in France in the eighteenth century, Condorcet remained the relevant theorist, because he supported a laical school that was also largely autonomous vis-à-vis the state, that is, it was supposed to be controlled by the rational public – an idea that was implemented in the United States and in Switzerland by the establishment of local school boards. With these two demands, Condorcet was for the discussion in France after the 1871 French defeat by the Germans the ideal historical figure to put forward in opposition to the Germans dominating the pedagogical discourse, who never truly made the secular turn; this was especially so for the French Protestants, who found themselves in the minority.
15. If we follow the American historian Carl L. Becker, then the French thinking of the Enlightenment and in particular the topos of perfectability – beyond all criticism of theology and theocracy in the eighteenth century – was much more strongly connected to Christian ideas than it itself wished to acknowledge. "The picture of salvation in the Heavenly City [of St. Augustine, DT] they toned down to vage impressionistic age of a 'future state', 'immortality of the soul', or a more generalized earthly and social *félicité* or *perfectibilité du genre humain*" (Becker, 2003 [1932], 48f). At and following the turn of the twentieth century, the French intellectuals contrasted *this* topos of rationally based moral and political perfectability to the German philosophy of history.

References

Becker, Carl L. (2003 [1932]). *The heavenly city of the eighteenth-century philosophers*. Second edition. With a new foreword by Johnson Kent Wright. New Haven & London: Yale Nota Bene.

Bergson, H. (1915). *La Signification de la Guerre*. Paris: Bloud et Gay.

Charbonnel, N. (1999). La pensée pédagogique de Gabriel Compayré: ou la longue marche (de l'éducation) vers le moderne. In J. Oelkers, & F. Osterwalder (Eds.), *Die neue Erziehung. Beiträge zur Internationalität der Reformpädagogik*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Compayré, G. (1879). *Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Éducation en France depuis le Seizième Siècle*. Paris: Hachette.

Compayré, G. (1901 [1883]). *Historie de la pédagogie*. Paris: Delaplane.

Compayré, G. (1888). *History of pedagogy*. Translated, with an introduction, notes, and an index by W.H. Payne. Boston: D.C. Heath & Co.

Dittes, F. (1871). *Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts: für dt. Volksschullehrer*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt .

Durkheim, É. (1915). "L'Allemagne au-dessus de tou". *La mentalité allemande et la guerre*. Paris: Armand Colin.

Eucken, R. (1914). *Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung des deutschen Geistes*. Stuttgart/Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt.

Gautherin, J. (2002). *Une discipline pour la République. La Science de l'éducation en France (1882-1914)*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Gergen, K. J., & Graumann, C. F. (1996). Psychological discourse in historical context: An introduction. In K. J. Gergen, & C. F. Graumann (Eds.), *Historical dimensions of psychological discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gréard, Octave: Rapport sur le concours ouvert dans la section de morale (Prix Bordin). Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le XVIIe siècle a nos jours. *Séances et travaux de l'adadémie des sciences morales et politiques*, 37, 345-388.

Jacoby, Günther (1912): William James und das deutsche Geistesleben. *Die Grenzboten. Zeitschrift für Politik, Literatur und Kunst*, 71, 212-220.

James, W. (1899). *Talks to teachers on psychology: and to students on some of life's ideals*. London: Longmans Green.

James, W. (1900). *Psychologie und Erziehung: Ansprachen an Lehrer*. Leipzig: Engelmann.

Kellner, L. (1885 [1872]). *Kurze Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichtes mit vorwaltender Rücksicht auf das Volksschulwesen*. Freiburg i.Br.: Herder.

Kehrein, J. (1887 [1873]). *Überblick der Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichtes: für Zöglinge der Lehrerseminare und zur Vorbereitung auf die Allg[emeinen] Bestimmungen angeordnete Prüfungen*. Paderborn: Schöningh.

König, C. (1904). Die Persönlichkeit Kaiser Wilhelm II im Lichte der Arbeit, ein erhabenes Vorbild getreuer Pflichterfüllung. *Pädagogisches Archiv*, 46, 193-211.

Philobiblius [Brockett, L. P.] (1860). *History and progress of education from the earliest times to the present*. New York: A.S. Barnes & Burr.

Plenge, J. (1915). *Der Krieg und die Volkswirtschaft*. Münster i.W.: Bergmeyer.

Rose, N. (1966). Power and subjectivity: Critical history and psychology. In K. J. Gergen, & C. F. Graumann (Eds.), *Historical dimensions of psychological discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schorn, A. (1884 [1873]). *Geschichte der Pädagogik, in Vorbildern und Bildern*. Leipzig: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft.

Sombart, W. (1915). *Händler und Helden. Patriotische Besinnungen*. München/Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.

Spranger, E. (1915). An die Jugend. *Der Säemann: Monatsschrift für Jugendbildung und Jugendkunde*, 5, 386-393.

Spranger, E. (1966 [1915a]). Brief an Georg Kerschensteiner vom 14.3.1915. In L. Englert (Ed.), *Georg Kerschensteiner [-] Eduard Spranger. Briefwechsel 1912-1931*. München/Wien: Oldenbourg, 30-31.

Spranger, E. (1966 [1915b]). Brief an Georg Kerschensteiner vom 22.3.1915. In L. Englert (Ed.), *Georg Kerschensteiner [-] Eduard Spranger. Briefwechsel 1912-1931*. München/Wien: Oldenbourg, 35-38.

Tröhler, D. (2003). The discourse of German *Geisteswissenschaftliche Pädagogik* – A contextual reconstruction. *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education*, XXXIX, 759-778.

Tröhler, D. (2004). Allgemeine Didaktik revisited. *Beiträge zur Lehrerbildung*, 22, 157-170.

Tyack, D., & Tobin, W. (1994). The "grammar" of schooling: Why has it been so hard to change? *American Educational Research Journal*, 31, 3, 453-479.

Tyack, D., & Cuban, L. (1995). *Tinkering toward utopia: A century of public school reform*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

White, H. (1978). The fictions of factual representation. In H. White, *Tropics of discourse: Essays in cultural criticism*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

White, H. (1987). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. In H. White, *The content of the form: Narrative discourse and historical representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Copyright for articles published in this journal is retained by the authors,
with first publication rights granted to the journal.