

Equal education for all?

A case study on differences in primary education between urban and rural areas and public and confessional schools in Amersfoort and Baarn between 1901 and 1911

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Abstract: In the nineteenth century legislation uniformed primary education in the Netherlands step by step. In 1900 primary education became compulsory too and every child would, theoretically, receive a similar education. If this was really the case in the first decade of the twentieth century is tested in this study on differences in primary education in comparable public and confessional primary schools in the urban municipality of Amersfoort and the rural municipality of Baarn. After investigating differences between schools it is studied why these differences existed. Were they caused by the differences in the funding or location of these schools? Or were the differences in tuition requested in schools, and thus the social background of the children attending them, the most important variable?

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Introduction

Equal education for all children has long been, and still is, a concern of governments worldwide. Most West-European countries expanded their educational systems and worked towards modern mass schooling during the nineteenth century.¹ This modernization can be explained from the interaction between social economic, cultural, ideological and political determinants.² Some countries, like Germany, led the way, while others, like England, lagged behind.³ Dutch educational history follows a similar line.

The turn of the twentieth century marked a new era for education in the Netherlands. It was a close call in 1900: 49 politicians were against and 50 were in favor of a law that made primary education compulsory for children between seven and thirteen years old.⁴ Other laws on education had passed the Dutch parliament already in 1857, 1878 and 1889. These laws regulated what classes a public school had to teach, how many children could be under supervision of one teacher and the amount of subsidy schools could get.⁵ The law on compulsory education, that came into force in 1901, can be seen as a last step towards equal education for all Dutch children. Education was already uniform and now it became mandatory too. It was a last step towards a modern education system.⁶

The combination of the first three laws on primary education with the law on compulsory education gives the impression that from 1901 on most children in the Netherlands received a similar education and would thus have learned the same skills once they left school.⁷ But if this was the case immediately after implementing all laws, is questionable. Regional differences were still common in the Netherlands.⁸ Because local municipalities and the market played an extensive role in forming the practical aspects of primary schooling, local differences in education were even amplified.⁹ There are

¹ P.H. Lindert, *Growing Public. Social Spending and Economic Growth since the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 2004) 87-88.

² Th.W.M. Veld, *Volksonderwijs en leerplicht. Een historisch sociologisch onderzoek naar het ontstaan van de Nederlandse leerplicht 1860-1900* (Leiden, 1987) 18.

³ Lindert, *Growing Public*, 87-88.

⁴ P. Th. F. M. Boekholt, E.P. De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland. Vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Assen/Maastricht, 1987) 153-155.

⁵ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 150-153.

⁶ Veld, *Volksonderwijs en leerplicht*, 18.

⁷ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 167-173.

⁸ H. Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1986) 230.

⁹ P. Th. F. M. Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden. Over eenheid en verscheidenheid van het Nederlandse onderwijs* (Utrecht, 1998), 5-24.

therefore reasons to assume that, despite a great deal of national legislation, the experience and participation of children in education differed between regions and between different types of primary schools. For example; even in 1900, attendance in the province Groningen was ten percentage points higher compared to the province Limburg.¹⁰

The legislation that uniformed primary education in the nineteenth century Netherlands was implemented by local authorities and could thus, theoretically, be implemented differently in different municipalities. Differences in local financing, local politics and local supervision could arguably lead to differences in and between local primary schools. Public and confessional schools were financed in different ways and every school requested different tuition fees. Even public schools differed from each other because they were subdivided in classes depending on differences in tuition fees and curriculums. The differences in the experience of schooling and quality of education offered to children will be studied in this thesis by answering the question 'how and why differed the primary education children received in the Netherlands between 1901 and 1911?' To answer this question different types of schools of the adjacent municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn will be investigated.

The time period of 1901 to 1911 is interesting to study, because all important legislation that secured the unity of education in the entire nation had passed parliament by 1900. Then, all this legislation was supposed to be put into practice.¹¹ But little research has been done if education was really uniform in every school in the first ten years after implementing the legislation. Therefore, it is an interesting period to test the common assumption that by 1900 the Dutch educational system was modernized and secured a decent education for all children between seven and thirteen years old.

Amersfoort and Baarn are interesting municipalities to study on this topic. Both municipalities are adjacent to each other and are situated right in the center of the Netherlands. The center of the Netherlands was not a region where children received particularly more or less education than in other regions.¹² Amersfoort and Baarn are thus a good representation of the rest of the Netherlands in terms of education

¹⁰ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 134.

¹¹ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 155.

¹² Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 229-236.

provision. As historian Meijer describes in his history of education in Amersfoort, around 1900 Amersfoort was a city where the division of confessional and public schools was fifty-fifty.¹³ This gives the opportunity to compare both types of schools. Baarn, on the other hand, was a more rural village at the time. Both municipalities knew a diverse population. The rural village with a lot of farmers welcomed a lot of wealthy residents that exchanged the contaminated city of Amsterdam for the clean and richer of nature village of Baarn after the construction of the train link with the Dutch capital city.¹⁴ Here the division of public and confessional schools was also almost equally divided. In both municipalities public schools with different tuition fees existed. Those can be compared to each other so that the socio-economic background of children and their parents can be roughly eliminated. Baarn was a fairly wealthy rural municipality. This makes it less comparable with other rural municipalities in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, Amersfoort and Baarn will be compared in this study to test the assumptions historians made about the entire nation.

To start researching, the current academic debate on Dutch educational history will be outlined in the first chapter. After that an overview of the educational laws that were coined by the Dutch government until 1900 will be presented. The third chapter will give an insight in the life of people in and around Amersfoort and Baarn between 1901 and 1911. What were differences in the lives of people that lived in the city and of people that lived in more rural areas? Did big differences exist between the lives of catholic and protestant people in those areas? This could have had an influence on the participation of children in primary education. In the fourth chapter reports of local school inspectors will be analyzed to investigate how primary education differed between public and confessional schools in rural and urban areas. In the last chapter of this thesis the differences between public and confessional schools in urban and rural areas will be explained. It will be studied if the differences between schools in both regions derived from differences in funding, location or tuition of the pupils. After the questions are answered in five chapters, the conclusion will answer how and why the education of Dutch children differed from public to confessional schools in rural and urban areas at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹³ M.L.J. Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920. Een voorwerp van aanhoudende zorg* (Amersfoort, 2004), 196.

¹⁴ F. Booy, 'Leren en studeren in Baarn', in: F. Booy, G. Brouwer, *Duizend jaar Baarn. Geschiedenis van een Eemlands dorp van circa 1000 tot circa 2000* (Baarn, 2014) 156-165.

I: Dutch educational history

Before researching to answer the main question, an overview of the existing literature on Dutch educational history will be presented to position this study in the current academic debate. Also the method used in this case study will be explained in detail.

1.1 Literature

The existing literature on primary education in the Netherlands knows some weaknesses, making this an important topic for study. Most of the literature is quite dated, descriptive and written from a national perspective. The most up to date survey of Dutch education was written in in 1987.¹⁵ Most literature focused on policies and institutions and most historians used a macro-view. Because of their general approach, local differences in education might have been missed. That is why in this thesis differences in the quality of education will be studied on a local level by researching how and why education children received differed between 1901 and 1911 in a case study on the municipalities of urban Amersfoort and rural Baarn.

The nineteenth century is seen by historians as an era in which education in the Netherlands became uniform and the law on compulsory education was the closing piece that made it accessible for every child.¹⁶ Every child could now receive similar education. This assumption is tested in this study. Between 1860 and 1920 the Dutch educational system extended. The three laws on education that came into force after 1857, and that will be discussed in detail later in this study, gave local municipalities the responsibility for primary education in their region and at the same time demanded more equality in what children learned in every school. Local authorities could design the educational system as they wished, but had to keep more national rules in mind that regulated curriculums, the state of classrooms and a maximum amount of pupils. At the turn of the century, education became compulsory by law. Most children would receive their education in schools, although home schooling was still allowed.¹⁷

Despite the law that forced compulsory education on children, which is seen as a final moment in a broader process of modernization from local towards a national

¹⁵ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 167.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 149-155.

education system, not every child attended school regularly.¹⁸ Child labor was still not totally banned in the Netherlands. Law forbade only child labor in industry, but working in agriculture or services was still very common around 1900.¹⁹ As historian Boekholt shows, although it might seem that the Dutch government played an increasingly bigger role in the educational system in all of the nation, local municipalities and the market played the biggest part when it came to the practical aspects of primary schooling.²⁰ It is thus very well possible to see differences in the practice of education in comparable schools in different municipalities.

In the same time period the '*schoolstrijd*' dominated political discussions about education. The *schoolstrijd* was the struggle for Catholics and Protestants to get their schools subsidized by the government like the public schools.²¹ This dispute colored every debate about education in the Netherlands during this time, historians believe. Therefore it is not possible to study Dutch educational history without paying attention to this subject.²² In this thesis, the *schoolstrijd* is important because the difference in subsidizing and financing public and confessional schools might have influenced the quality of education children received in these schools. Attention will be paid to the differences between confessional and public schools and it will be tested to which extent the underfinancing of confessional schools influenced the level of education in these schools.

A different approach towards studying educational history than the descriptive history of education and its policies is shown by geographer Knippenberg. In his extensive analysis he shows that the participation rate in schools increased during the nineteenth century, but the 1900-law was not the main reason for this rise of attendance. In the beginning of that century 50 percent of the Dutch children between five and fourteen years received some kind of primary education. Around 1900 this had already increased to 90 percent. The legislation on compulsory education added a percentage point of five to this. The law apparently did not change much in how many children attended schools, as the participation rate of children in primary education was

¹⁸ Veld, *Volksonderwijs en leerplicht*, 18.

¹⁹ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 232.

²⁰ Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 5-24.

²¹ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 155.

²² Veld, *Volksonderwijs en leerplicht*, 7-8.

already high.²³ This is one reason Dutch educational history is not studied much; education was working fairly well already in early times in comparison to other Western countries.²⁴ Nevertheless, Knippenberg also shows that the participation rate in primary education differed between regions in the Netherlands. The northern provinces were long ahead of the rest of the nation. In these regions children attended schools on a younger age. Knippenberg suggests that this difference depended on the difference in religion, the standard of what was a common age from which or until one received education, and the changes society experienced in the nineteenth century.²⁵ In another study, on the influence of the financial equalization of public and confessional schools in 1920, Knippenberg shows that regional differences also existed in the division of public, Catholic and Protestant schools in rural and urban areas in the north and south of the Netherlands.²⁶ Perhaps participation was fairly equal, but the quality of the received education may not have been.

Although the figures Knippenberg shows are encouraging, they do not show if children were given a 'good' education at school. Children who went to schools with overcrowded classrooms and poor teaching materials did receive an education, but the quality of this education left much to be desired. Because of the macro-approach of most historians of education in the Netherlands local differences in education might have been missed; education and primary schooling is only looked at from a national and very wide point of view. There has not been done much research on education on a local level or for every region. As Knippenberg shows, in participation rates big differences existed between regions. This might also be the case for the whole school experience of children. In this thesis that will be the focus and comparisons between schools will be made on a local level.

As this brief summary of the historical work on education in the Netherlands shows, studies on the practice of education are lacking for some regions. Although some analytical research has been done for Amersfoort (in which historian Meijer shows that the development of education in Amersfoort was in line with the national development),

²³ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 229-230.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 33-39.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 230-236.

²⁶ H. Knippenberg, H.H. Van der Wusten, *De financiële gelijkstelling van openbaar en bijzonder onderwijs in 1920 en haar gevolgen op lokaal niveau* (Amsterdam, 1991) 68-70.

more than only descriptive studies on education in Baarn do not exist.²⁷ What actually happened in local classrooms a hundred years ago has not been investigated to a great extent. The most used macro-view of historians on education in the Netherlands creates a gap in the literature, thus our understanding of educational change is possibly insufficient. This thesis will fill up this gap by focusing on the practical and local level of primary education. This way, the existing literature with a macro view on education can be tested and this can be a starting point for more research on this topic in other parts of the Netherlands.

Despite national legislation on education, local authorities had a huge hand in the local implementation of the laws. Thus it is expected to see differences between education in different municipalities. It is expected to see differences between education received in subsidized public schools and unsubsidized confessional schools, because both types of schools were not financed equally. It is also expected to discover differences in enrollment rates between urban and rural areas. Possibly less children attended school in the summer in rural areas. In urban areas, on the other hand, industries existed. Although working in factories was not allowed for children, supervision of the law on child labor lacked and children did work in factories or on farms just outside the city. Thus school absence also occurred to a certain extent.²⁸ All these disputes can be explored by researching how and why education differed between public and confessional primary schools in the urban municipality of Amersfoort and rural Baarn between 1901 and 1911, because all of these variables can be tested in those municipalities.

1.2 Method

To answer this main question reports of local school inspectors from the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn are explored. From the moment the responsibility for education shifted from cities to the state, a national inspection was founded. Governments regulated the requirements and the inspection of schools and teachers from 1801 on.²⁹ All of the information this inspection gathered was welcomed; the

²⁷ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 192-197; Booy, 'Leren en studeren in Baarn', 156-165.

²⁸ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 61-64.

²⁹ N.L. Dodde, "Een speurtocht naar samenhang". *Het rijksschooltoezicht van 1801 tot 2001* (Utrecht, 2001) 12.

Dutch government became increasingly attached to statistical information on schooling and the educational system. This mindset was at its highest point during the reform of education between 1850 and 1940. Discussions about schooling were largely informed by statistical knowledge the state collected. All of these statistics are very informative for research on education in earlier times, but remember that these statistics can be characterized by the political disputes in those times.³⁰

The national inspection got its information from local school inspectors. As was forced by law, the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn founded organizations in respectively 1832 and 1878 that sent inspectors to all local schools to find out what was happening in classrooms.³¹ Around 1900 local school inspectors would visit classrooms frequently, checked teachers and schools and reported if education in their region was at the appropriate level as set out by the government.³² This annual report was handed to the local authorities, which consisted of the mayor and his councilors, to keep track of the state of education local children received and was sent to The Hague to help the government gain insights in education in the Netherlands. Historian Braster, who studied these reports, notes that in early years, school inspectors wrote subjective reports about the practice in classrooms when visiting the schools. During the years this slowly changed and reports became more objective, standardized, centralized, empirical and scientific.³³

For this research the semi subjective reports of school inspectors give a valuable insight into the level of education offered in schools in Amersfoort and Baarn and are the best measure to evaluate the quality of education in this region. The local school reports are representative for almost all children, because a very large part, wealthy or poor, received their education in schools. Although the law on compulsory education gave children the opportunity to be home schooled, Knippenberg shows that almost all children went to a primary school and were not home schooled.³⁴ The

³⁰ H. Knippenberg, K. Mandemakers, 'Education policy and the growth of a statistical mindset', in: J.G.S.J. Van Maarseveen, P.M.M. Klep, I.H. Stamhuis (eds), *The Statistical Mind a Modern Society Volume 1* (Amsterdam, 2008) 157-182.

³¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

³² Dodde, "Een speurtocht naar samenhang", 254-255.

³³ S. Braster, 'Passie en Pragmatisme. De onderwijsinspectie en de opkomst en ondergang van het klassikaal onderwijs. Een essay op basis van de Onderwijsverslagen 1801-2011' in: *Inspectie van het Onderwijs* (September 2011) 66.

³⁴ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 105 and 135.

percentage of children that did not go to school is so small that this aspect of education will be disregarded in this study.

One of the biggest weaknesses of the local reports that will be studied, is that they are not complete anymore. That is why it is decided to extend the period examined to ten years. This longer period also gives the opportunity to investigate how all legislation worked out some years after its implementation. Another thing to keep in mind when studying these sources from the early 1900's is the fact that all notes and reports are written by hand. This makes them harder to read.

The reports of local school inspectors will be analyzed to find out which schools existed in Amersfoort and Baarn and what education pupils received in these schools. In the analysis of the sources most attention will be paid on the number of pupils and teachers. This will explain how crowded classrooms were and how much time a teacher could spend on an individual pupil. Differences in curriculums will show if all children learned the same subjects in school. Attendance levels or enrollment rates will tell if children went to school regularly and thus if they learned enough in one school year. The condition of the building and materials shows in what kind of learning climate pupils received their education. And last, the opinion of school inspectors shows how the inspectors, who visited all schools in the municipality, compared one school to the rest of the schools in the municipality. Because school inspectors noted their comments on all these subjects in the annual reports, the reports give modern readers the opportunity to study the quality of education in different schools and thus compare different schools to each other.

Public schools were divided in schools of the first, second and third sort, based on the amount of tuition and curriculum in these schools. This way, children of poor families went to other schools than wealthy children. This division only existed in cities like Amersfoort, but can also be made for villages like Baarn.³⁵ After analyzing the sources, a comparison can be made between public and confessionnal schools in rural and urban areas. Following, it will be studied what could have caused possible differences between these schools in both areas. Explanations for differences in education offered to children derived from the literature described above.³⁶ Differences in education could be

³⁵ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 107-109; Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 85-86.

³⁶ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 149-178.

due to differences in funding and locations of schools, and the tuition of pupils in these schools. In a graphic way, the research in this study will be as following:

	Urban Amersfoort		Rural Baarn	
<i>Variables showing differences in education</i>	Public	Confessional	Public	Confessional
Pupil-teacher ratio				
Curriculums				
Buildings and materials				
Enrollment rates				
Opinion school inspectors				
<i>Variables underlying differences in education as found in analysis of school reports</i>				
Funding				
Location				
Tuition				

II: Legislation in the Netherlands on primary education until 1900

To answer the main question of this thesis, it is imperative to discuss the legislation concerning primary education between 1901 and 1911 and what preceded it. In this chapter a short summary of the laws on education that were implemented in the last half of the nineteenth century will give an overview of the legislation concerning primary education. Altogether they uniformed primary education in the Netherlands.

Attention will also be paid to the *schoolstrijd*. The debates on this topic were a big part of discussions on education in the national government and politics in general. Especially liberal politicians wanted compulsory education for all kids. Confessionals wanted this only when their children would receive education based on their own religion, whereas the government tried to establish neutral schools. These neutral, public schools were subsidized by the government, the confessionals were not so.³⁷ In the nineteenth century public primary schools were present in all parts of the Netherlands. In the constitution of 1848 it was stated that public schools and confessionals schools both could coexist. Who should finance which schools would remain a big question for the next seven decades.³⁸

2.1 Law on primary education of 1858

The first law on primary education came into force in 1858.³⁹ During the second half of the nineteenth century it became clear for Dutch politicians that more children should receive an education. This was necessary for the development of society in a whole, they believed. Until 1858 the purpose of primary education was 'raising children with Christian and social virtues'.⁴⁰ From 1858 on, the national government captured clearly what this meant. The first law on primary education was focused on the improvement of the quality of education in the existing schools.⁴¹

The national government set out compulsory teaching subjects: reading, writing, mathematic and Dutch were already commonly taught in primary school, but history,

³⁷ P.Th.F.M. Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis* (Zutphen, 1991) 36-41.

³⁸ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 150.

³⁹ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 21.

⁴⁰ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 150.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 150.

geography, biology, geometry and music became mandatory too. A lot of other, optional subjects were also listed. Schools that offered these subjects, like modern languages, gymnastics or arts, were part of the M.U.L.O., the more extensive primary education. A maximum of 70 children per teacher was set out in this law as well.⁴² For modern standards this is still very high, but for children in some schools, this law improved their chance of getting better educated.

Also the working conditions for teachers were set to higher standards. A minimum wage was set and all teachers could retire at the age of 65. The law also set out how head teachers and helping teachers should be educated themselves.⁴³ It is possible to argue that these better conditions and rules on education of teachers attracted more and better educated teachers who could give children a better educational experience in primary school.

Local governments were given greater authority over primary education in their regions, but were also given more duties. Local municipalities received the power to decide which schools would open in their regions and could influence the daily routine at these schools.⁴⁴ They appointed teachers and determined their salaries. But it was also the task of municipalities to fully finance the existing and new established schools. The national and provincial governments only helped out in situations of exceptional need. This change was difficult for the less wealthy municipalities, because it was an extra expense.⁴⁵ Financing of schools by the local authorities and government was only available for public schools. Confessional schools would have to finance their buildings and education in another way, such as grants from the church and community or by raising tuition fees. Because of this regulation, the subsidized public schools long had an advance over the not subsidized confessional schools.⁴⁶ This is why it is expected to see differences in the quality of education in public and confessional schools in this thesis.

⁴² Ibidem, 150-152.

⁴³ Ibidem, 151.

⁴⁴ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 27.

⁴⁵ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 151.

⁴⁶ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 37.

2.2 Law on primary education of 1878

Only twenty years later it seemed necessary to update the first law on education, because it did not guarantee an appropriate level of education in practice.⁴⁷ Although a lot of confessionals were against the second law on primary education, Boekholt and De Booy argue this law was very beneficial for the development of education.⁴⁸

The second law assured that classrooms became less crowded; in schools with only one teacher, maximum 30 pupils were allowed. For every 40 children an extra teacher had to be appointed. Mass schools, that were still very common around the last decennia of the nineteenth century, were forbidden to welcome more than 400 pupils. Stricter rules on school buildings, teaching materials and teachers were laid down.⁴⁹ Especially the latter provision of the law made the gap between subsidized public schools and non-subsidized denominational schools greater.⁵⁰ More up-to-date teaching materials and renovation of buildings cost more money that confessional had to finance themselves.

All restrictions and requirements improved the time a teacher had for a pupil. Theoretically, one-on-one time with a teacher will improve the education a child receives - a view shared by educators of 1900 and those of today.⁵¹ It seems thus that this law, again, had a positive influence on the development of education for Dutch children. Because of this law, the pupil-teacher ratio, curriculums, school buildings and teaching materials that will be investigated through the reports of local school inspectors were improved and this improved education in primary schools as a whole.

In the first law on education the national government handed over responsibilities of the financing of public schools to local authorities, but it now seemed that many municipalities were struggling with financing primary education. Since education was still regarded as very important for the development of society, the

⁴⁷ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 21.

⁴⁸ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 152.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 152.

⁵⁰ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 37.

⁵¹ Braster, 'Passie en Pragmatisme', 67.

government confirmed to subsidize at least 30 percent of the costs of public primary schooling.⁵²

Liberals in the government hoped to find ways to send all children to school, so forbid child labor and improve society. In 1874 child labor in industries was already forbidden, but in the countryside children under the age of twelve still helped their families. To send also these children to school, local governments got the permission to punish parents who did not send their children to school. They also could reward parents and children who went to school regularly.⁵³ This way, the government tried to prevent truancy and unauthorized absence, but this had little effect, Knippenberg shows.⁵⁴ As mentioned, the participation rate of children in primary education was already relatively high in the Netherlands by the end of the nineteenth century and this increased progressively.⁵⁵ The first and second law on primary education, although they improved education in the Netherlands, did not have a great influence on the participation rates, Knippenberg shows.⁵⁶

2.3 Law on primary education of 1889

After the elections of 1888 confessionals won more influence in the government. In the third law on primary education their influence can be recognized. Besides a small addition to the compulsory subjects (arts and gymnastics), a first step was taken towards financial equality of public and confessional schools. From 1857 on, parents of children that were in public schools did not have to pay (much) tuition, because the local authorities and the government financed the public schools. By 1889 this privilege was taken away and only the very least fortunate, who would not visit public schools of the first sort, could attend a public primary school for reduced tuition or free. This made the choice to send children to a public or confessional school for parents less depending on their financial situation, although tuition was not equal. From 1889 on, confessional

⁵² Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 152.

⁵³ Ibidem, 152.

⁵⁴ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 82-83.

⁵⁵ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 34.

⁵⁶ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 250-251.

schools could also get subsidy from the local government under certain circumstances.⁵⁷ The local authorities could decide so after an advice of the committee that advised them.

As will be shown in the next chapters, this did not happen often in Amersfoort and Baarn. That might make it easier to see differences between public and confessional schools in both municipalities. On the other hand, it makes the outcome of this study less representative to municipalities that did subsidize confessional schools in this time period.

2.4 Law on compulsory education of 1900

Although parliament discussed about a law on compulsory education for years, at the turn of the twentieth century this discussion reached its conclusion. Opponents of the law were against the nurturing of the state, did not see positive effects of mandatory education in other Western countries, were not convinced it would attract more children to the schools, were afraid families would face a hard time when children could not work anymore or did not want to force children to go to a public school.⁵⁸ Mostly confessionals and socialists were firmly against compulsory education.⁵⁹ With only a narrow margin the supporters of compulsory education won.⁶⁰ In July 1900 the law passed parliament and primary education was compulsory for children between seven and thirteen years old from the first day of 1901.⁶¹

As mentioned, the law did not attract many more children to school. The participation rate of children in primary schools was fairly high in the years prior to the new law and the number of children receiving education was rising gradually.⁶² As historical sociologist Theo Veld shows in his dissertation on the rise of compulsory education, the 1900-law can best be seen as a final moment in a broader process of transformation from a locally anchored education into a more national education system.⁶³ For this thesis, this means that the law did not have much influence on the

⁵⁷ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 153.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 150-154.

⁵⁹ Veld, *Volksonderwijs en leerplicht*, 211.

⁶⁰ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 154.

⁶¹ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 21.

⁶² Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 229-230.

⁶³ Veld, *Volksonderwijs en leerplicht*, 18.

actual school going of children, but in combination with the other laws on education it influenced that from now on each child should receive the same schooling. It is assumed that most children went to school, although not all of them went to school regularly.

In the Netherlands, the process of modernization of education took place in the whole of the nineteenth century. Legislation on compulsory education is the closing in a process of modernization of education. In most Western nations, the debate prior to the forming of laws on compulsory education and the building of a national education system is highly controlled by opponents from religious and rural backgrounds.⁶⁴ This was nothing different in the Netherlands.

2.5 Schoolstrijd: public versus confessional schools

The debate about the law on compulsory education went on for years and the actual introduction of the law was late, compared to other nations. This was partially due to the *schoolstrijd*.⁶⁵ This was the struggle of confessionals to found their own schools and get them subsidized by the government.⁶⁶

From the first laws on education on, the Dutch government created schools based on Christian values, but anything that divided the Christian churches in the Netherlands was not allowed to be a part of schooling. Religion played a big part in peoples lives and thus in primary education. Theoretically, the public schools were religious, but not confessional, what was problematic in practice. The general Christian schools that the government imagined were slightly more based on protestant values. No wonder Catholics and more orthodox Protestants did not feel at home in this educational system.⁶⁷ After a long struggle and debates on local and national level the government decided, in the constitution of 1848 and law on primary education of 1857, confessionals were allowed to found primary schools based on their own values, as long as the education met the requirements of the government.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Ibidem, 18.

⁶⁵ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 155.

⁶⁶ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 36.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, 36.

⁶⁸ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 144-145.

Confessional schools were not subsidized by the government. This is a reason to expect that the quality of the education given in them was lower than in public schools or that they were more expensive. Confessional schools had to ask for tuition and thus were inaccessible. Financial equalization would be a next struggle. Especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the question of subsidizing confessional schools played an important part in the debates about education. As mentioned, the law on primary education of 1889 took a first step towards subsidizing confessional schools, but complete financial equalization of public and confessional schools was reached in 1920.⁶⁹

The 1920-law greatly influenced schools in the Netherlands. Geographers Knippenberg and Van der Wusten show that around 1900 70 percent of all primary schools in the nation were public schools. The confessional schools, from which some received financial support from the government, were clearly a minority. By the year of financial equalization public schools made up 56 percent of all primary schools in the Netherlands. Ten years after the new law, in 1930, the public schools were a minority with 44 percent of the total schools and their amount would decline the years after that.⁷⁰ The amount of Catholic and Protestant schools was, nationwide, almost equally divided.⁷¹ Seen from a local perspective, big differences existed. In northern provinces Protestant schools were already before the financial equalization in the majority. In southern provinces, Catholic schools were established after the law of 1920. In rural areas confessional schools were commonly in the majority.⁷²

After summarizing and analyzing the legislation on primary and compulsory education and the literature on the *schoolstrijd* it is possible to see the state of education in the Netherlands in 1900. Because of the legislation that uniformed primary education and made it compulsory for every child, children between seven and thirteen years old should, theoretically, have received similar and equal education from 1901 on. Because of differences in subsidizing public and confessional schools it is expected to see

⁶⁹ Boekholt, *Onderwijsgeschiedenis*, 37.

⁷⁰ Knippenberg, *De financiële gelijkstelling van openbaar en bijzonder onderwijs in 1920 en haar gevolgen op lokaal niveau*, 18.

⁷¹ Ibidem 20.

⁷² Ibidem, 68-70.

differences between the quality of education received in both sorts of schools. Because of the decision making on the practice of education by local authorities and the differences in school going between urban and rural areas due to child labor and seasonal absence it is expected to differences between the education received in urban and rural areas. This also applies to Amersfoort and Baarn. In the next chapter life and education in those municipalities are investigated to get a better understanding of the historical context between 1901 and 1911.

III: Life in Amersfoort and Baarn between 1901 and 1911

Before studying the reports of local school inspectors, it is useful to outline the historical context of the urban environment of Amersfoort and the more rural village of Baarn around 1900. In this chapter the geographical location, the demographic composition of the population and the education systems in Amersfoort and Baarn will be discussed briefly. This will help to interpret the reports of local school inspectors that are analyzed in the next chapter.

Amersfoort and Baarn are adjacent municipalities in the very middle of the Netherlands. Industrialization developed relatively late in the Netherlands compared to its neighboring countries. Large parts of the nation were still focused on agriculture in the last part of the nineteenth century. Still in 1910 30 percent of the Dutch worked as a farmer or fisherman.⁷³ This was no different for the province of Utrecht in which Amersfoort and Baarn are situated. However, Amersfoort can be termed a city, whereas Baarn was a smaller town. Both municipalities existed of more towns. Besides Amersfoort some small townships, that are nowadays districts of the city, were part of the municipality of Amersfoort.⁷⁵ In addition to Baarn the small village of Lage Vuursche and the township Eembrugge were, and still are, part of the municipality of Baarn.⁷⁶ The municipality thus had the duty to provide education for children in these villages as well and they had to spend money and time on facilitating schools.

3.1 Life in Amersfoort

The city of Amersfoort experienced an enormous growth of its population and size between 1850 and 1930.⁷⁷ During the ten years important to this study the city was in the middle of a long process of change. The population of the city grew from 13,000 inhabitants around the middle of the nineteenth century to 40,000 inhabitants by 1930.⁷⁸ Between 1901 and 1911 the city welcomed 4,400 new inhabitants. Among them

⁷³ F. Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland. Van de Opstand tot heden* (Amsterdam, 2012) 255.

⁷⁴ Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland. Van de Opstand tot heden*, 257.

⁷⁵ R. Kemperink, 'Grondgebied en milieu', in: R. Kemperink, E. Burchard (eds.), *'Bruit van d'Eem'.* *Geschiedenis van Amersfoort* (Utrecht, 2009) 32.

⁷⁶ Archief Eemland, 'Baarn' (versie 2016), <http://www.archiefeemland.nl/de-regio/baarn/> (17 april 2016).

⁷⁷ M. Heurneman, Y. Tanke, *Het A'foort boek* (Bussum, 2009) 6.

⁷⁸ Heurneman, *Het A'foort boek*, 6.

many children.⁷⁹ From the turn of the century on, Amersfoort expanded and houses were built outside the medieval city walls.⁸⁰ Also schools had to expand to facilitate education for new children in the municipality. Public as well as confessional schools were established in decades preceding and following the turn of the century and this cost the local authorities lots of money.⁸¹

Until its connection to the national railroad network in 1863, Amersfoort was a 'sleepy provincial town where regarding commerce and industry was little to do'.⁸² In the second half of the nineteenth century this changed: modern factories settled in the city, attracted by the central location in the Netherlands and the easy access to roads, railways and a river between the east and west of the nation. The factories in the city were relatively small.⁸³ In particular, the metallurgical and food industries grew.⁸⁴ Child labor was, contrary to what is believed for the most of the Netherlands, relatively high in the city.⁸⁵ This could have influenced the participation rates in schools in Amersfoort, as will be investigated in the next chapter. Amersfoort was home to workers of the factories, but it was not an industrial city like Amsterdam, Rotterdam or cities in Twente. The expansion of the military garrison around Amersfoort around 1890 heralded the establishing of more governmental administrations in the city.⁸⁶

Despite more industry and commerce in the city, agriculture was one of the key industries around Amersfoort until well into the twentieth century. Until 1900 many inhabitants of the city worked on farms, but their part declined rapidly in the years after the turn of the century.⁸⁷ Concerning the decade after 1901 the population of the municipality of Amersfoort existed for the largest part of farmers and workers. They were not rich, which is illustrated by their living conditions. Still in 1911 the local authorities mentioned in a report that the amount of 'substandard housing in our community is very large'.⁸⁸ The majority of the population in the city did not belong to the upper class, but their wealth would grow steadily. The upper class of the city was

⁷⁹ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 23.

⁸⁰ Heurneman, *Het A'foort boek*, 6.

⁸¹ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 84 and 194.

⁸² Heurneman, *Het A'foort boek*, 15.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, 18.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, 232.

⁸⁵ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 27.

⁸⁶ Heurneman, *Het A'foort boek*, 232.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, 242.

⁸⁸ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 27.

relatively small and this had its effect on education in the municipality. Where in cities with a larger elite, like the very close city of Utrecht, this elite insisted on improvement of education, in Amersfoort the small elite did not so much. Traditionally the churches were committed to improve education in Amersfoort and this resulted in many more confessional schools than public schools in the last decades before 1900.⁸⁹

Social life in Amersfoort was strongly organized around religion. Just before 1900, only 0.25 per cent called themselves not religious. At the turn of the century, almost half of the population was Protestant, 38 per cent was Catholic, and a handful of inhabitants of Amersfoort were reformed, Jewish or part of another Christian church.⁹⁰ This division of believers may have influenced the amount of public and confessional schools in the city of Amersfoort.

3.2 Life in Baarn

Baarn was the largest settlement in its municipality. Although it received city rights in the Middle Ages, it never became a 'real city' as we think about nowadays.⁹¹ For a long time, Baarn was a small farming village where fortunate nobles owned their country houses.⁹² More wealthy residents settled in Baarn after the railway connection with Amsterdam was established in 1874. They wished to escape the crowded and polluted capital. Before the railroad connections, the population of Baarn did not reach the number of 3,000 inhabitants.⁹³ This increased when more wealthy families moved to Baarn to live there all year. In 1900 the municipality of Baarn knew around 7,000 inhabitants.⁹⁴ In comparison to Amersfoort this number of inhabitants is still very low. Nevertheless, because of the rich newcomers the municipality of Baarn must have been

⁸⁹ Ibidem, 194-196.

⁹⁰ Ibidem, 29.

⁹¹ D. Van der Meulen, 'Ontginningen, kastelen en stadsrechten in de Middeleeuwen', in: F. Booy, G. Brouwer, G., *Duizend jaar Baarn. Geschiedenis van een Eemlands dorp van circa 1000 tot circa 2000* (Baarn, 2014) 18-19.

⁹² F.J. Lammers, 'De Oranjefamilie op Soestdijk', in: F. Booy, G. Brouwer, *Duizend jaar Baarn. Geschiedenis van een Eemlands dorp van circa 1000 tot circa 2000* (Baarn, 2014) 88-96.

⁹³ W. Hordijk, 'Van boerengehucht naar villadorp', in: F. Booy, G. Brouwer, *Duizend jaar Baarn. Geschiedenis van een Eemlands dorp van circa 1000 tot circa 2000* (Baarn, 2014) 69.

⁹⁴ G. Brouwer, 'Markante middenstanders', in: F. Booy, G. Brouwer, *Duizend jaar Baarn. Geschiedenis van een Eemlands dorp van circa 1000 tot circa 2000* (Baarn, 2014) 194.

relatively more wealthy. This might have had an influence on the participation in education and on the money available for subsidizing schools in the municipality.

As social geographer and '*Baarnaar*' Hoekveld argues in his dissertation on the history of Baarn, until 1918 wealthy inhabitants were practically the rulers of the town, because industries and a middle class were nonexistent.⁹⁵ Most inhabitants of Baarn worked as farmers or in services for wealthy families. No industry could mean less child labor, but children working on farms was even more common than children working in factories in the years around 1900. Compared to Amersfoort, it is expected to see more seasonal differences in absence.

Regarding religion, the municipality of Baarn knew a great diversion. All religious upheavals of the centuries can be detected and all denominations of Christianity were present around the turn of the twentieth century.⁹⁶ This is comparable to the situation in Amersfoort and the rest of the Netherlands.

3.3 Amersfoort: education in the city

Education in Amersfoort, according to Meijer, followed the national trends briefly discussed in previous chapters. Both regarding participation rates and national legislation, as well as the founding and division of public and confessionnal schools.⁹⁷ From 1900 on schooling became more important to a lot of inhabitants of Amersfoort, but the local authorities did not 'excel in zeal'.⁹⁸ The councilmembers did not immediately found new public schools when the demand for them grew. Partially because of financial reasons, but also because the need was not felt, Meijer discusses. The reason for this lack in addressing the issue could be the missing upper class in the city. Commonly, socially conscious members of the upper class would be leaders in pressure groups demanding better schooling. But they were not as much present in

⁹⁵ G.A. Hoekveld, *Baarn. Schets van de ontwikkeling van een villadorp* (Utrecht, 1964) 203-205.

⁹⁶ J. Hut., 'Kerken in Baarn na 1700', in: F. Booy, G. Brouwer, *Duizend jaar Baarn. Geschiedenis van een Eemlands dorp van circa 1000 tot circa 2000* (Baarn, 2014) 88-96.

⁹⁷ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 192-196.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 194.

Amersfoort.⁹⁹ Together with less money available for education in this municipality, this might have influenced the quality of education in Amersfoort negatively.

Local authorities were according to legislation concerning education that was formed in the last half of the nineteenth century, but especially the division of public (subsidized) and confessional (not subsidized) schools was not always clear in practice. This was the case in Amersfoort too. Some confessional schools did receive subsidies from the municipality.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, in the years studied here this was not the case.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately, sources of the local authorities on financing of public schools or sources of churches on financing of confessional schools were not found.

After implementing the law on compulsory education, the amount of children in the existing primary schools rose. According to the literature on education in Amersfoort and the reports of local school inspectors, this was due to the rise of the population in general and it did not lead to any problems in classrooms.¹⁰² According to Knippenbergs study on participation rates in primary education, the middle of the Netherlands, and thus Amersfoort, knew a relatively positive participation rate. The north of the Netherlands knew a high participation rate, the south a low participation rate and the middle was in-between.¹⁰³ To facilitate education for all children, local authorities first tried to renovate existing school buildings, but when this was not sufficient new primary schools were founded.¹⁰⁴

By 1911 six public school and six confessional schools existed, according to the reports of local school inspectors.¹⁰⁵ The public schools were divided in schools of the first, second and third sort. This division was based on the tuition fees and the curriculum offered in the school. The public schools of the first sort were for the most fortunate children, the schools of the third sort were attended by poor children.

⁹⁹ Ibidem, 195.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, 41.

¹⁰¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁰² Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 23; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁰³ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 230.

¹⁰⁴ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 64-65.

¹⁰⁵ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

Officially this division only existed in cities.¹⁰⁶ However, in Baarn a division like it can be made for this study, so it is possible to compare schools of the same caliber to each other.

All the primary schools, public as well as confessional schools, were inspected at least twice a year by local school inspectors who informed the local committee on primary schooling. Monitoring the compliance of the laws, advising the mayor and city council members and hiring new personnel were some the duties of this *Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort*. The committee thus had quite some power in the municipality of Amersfoort. The tone of voice in the annual school reports they wrote is optimistic, but criticism can be found in each of them.¹⁰⁷

3.4 Baarn: education in a town.

For a long time only one school existed in the municipality of Baarn. The ‘*dorpschool*’ was the only place to learn some reading and writing for children living on the country side until 1863. After that year more private schools were founded in the municipality that welcomed many wealthy families. Their children needed to receive an education as well as the children of the local farmers. The existing school was not longer enough and new schools were founded. Those first schools were all public schools. Confessional schools were first founded in 1881.¹⁰⁸

Like in Amersfoort, sources on the financing of schools are not found. Baarn was a fairly wealthier municipality than Amersfoort by 1900.¹⁰⁹ It is thus very well possible that the local authorities had more financial resources to spend on the public schools. According to Knippenberg, the participation rate in primary education in Baarn was not significantly higher or lower than average in the Netherlands.¹¹⁰

Just like in Amersfoort, the municipality of Baarn established a local committee that supervised primary education. It had the same tasks as the one in Amersfoort and was known as *Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn*. School inspectors visited the

¹⁰⁶ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 107-109; Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 85-86.

¹⁰⁷ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 48-49.

¹⁰⁸ Booy, ‘Leren en studeren in Baarn’, 156-159.

¹⁰⁹ Hoekveld, *Baarn*, 203-205.

¹¹⁰ Knippenberg, *Deelname aan het lager onderwijs in Nederland gedurende de negentiende eeuw*, 230.

existing eleven schools in 1911. Only one of them was located outside of the town of Baarn: the school of Lage Vuursche. Five of them were public schools, six of them were confessional schools.¹¹¹ Only four confessional schools will be taken into account in the analysis of the local school reports in the next chapters. This is because *Instituut Middenbosch* was a boarding school and *De Nieuwe Baarnsche School*, founded in 1908 by wealthy parents of the pupils there, was at the time studied in this thesis still a private school. In 1911 six teachers taught eight girls at *Middenbosch* and only 30 pupils attended *De Nieuwe Baarnsche School* where eight teachers were appointed.¹¹² Furthermore, the pupils of the boarding school lived in the villa where the school was housed and pupils of the new private primary school were brought to school in horse drawn carriages.¹¹³ This illustrates why both schools are not comparable to the other nine primary schools in the municipality of Baarn.

In the next chapters reports of the committees on primary education, drawn by the local school inspectors, will answer the question how and why the education children received differed from public to confessional schools in rural Baarn and urban Amersfoort at the beginning of the twentieth century.

¹¹¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹¹² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹¹³ Booy, 'Leren en studeren in Baarn', 161.

IV: Primary education in urban Amersfoort and rural Baarn between 1901 and 1911

In this chapter the findings of the analysis of the reports of local school inspectors of the committees of primary education in the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn will be presented. A division is made between Amersfoort and Baarn and another division is made between public and confessional schools.

The subjects analyzed derive from the reports and, according to the literature, will help to answer the main question of this thesis. Subjects analyzed are teachers and pupils, buildings and materials, curriculums, enrollment rates and the opinion of the school inspectors.

4.1 Public schools

Public schools were subsidized by the local authorities and the government.¹¹⁴ All of these schools were visited by local school inspectors in both municipalities. A comparison between public schools will be made to find out how education received in comparable schools differed between urban Amersfoort and rural Baarn.

4.1.1 Amersfoort

As mentioned, the archives that are used for this study are not complete anymore. Not all annual reports on the state of primary education of the *Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort* have survived. For the time period studied here, 1901 until 1911, only the reports of the years 1901, 1902 and 1911 are available and complete.¹¹⁵ For the years 1903, 1904 and 1905 notes of school inspectors and head masters of most of the schools in the municipality are available.¹¹⁶ Because the reports

¹¹⁴ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 150-153 and 173-175.

¹¹⁵ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹¹⁶ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0083; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0082.

of 1901 and 1911 are complete and fairly similar, the gaps in this archive do not hinder the research too much.

Five public schools existed in Amersfoort in 1901. Two of them were of the first sort, one of the second sort and two were of the third sort.¹¹⁷ After the start of the twentieth century the population of the municipality was still rising and schooling became more important to inhabitants of Amersfoort.¹¹⁸ In the years following, new schools were founded. The rise of children in schools had not only to do with the new implemented law on compulsory education, but was largely due to the fact that the population expanded. Local school inspectors noted for all schools that ‘influence of the law on compulsory education was not to detect’.¹¹⁹ By 1911 the number of public schools in Amersfoort had increased to six public schools, from which two were of the first sort, one of the second sort and three of the third sort.¹²⁰ All schools were located in or very close to the medieval city center of Amersfoort. The schools at the Beekstraat and Puntenburg, both schools of the third sort, were located most far outside the city center.

Schools of the first, second and third sort requested different tuition fees:

<u>Public schools Amersfoort:</u>	<u>Tuition 1910:</u>
Meisjesschool, 1st sort	32-92 guilders a year
Jongensschool, 1st sort	32-68 g/y
School of the 2nd sort	5-7.50 g/y
Schools of the 3rd sort Beekstraat, Koningstraat and Puntenburg	1.80-4.80 g/y or free

The local authorities of Amersfoort were in favor of a ‘progressive tuition system’ and let ‘who had a higher income, pay a larger part of the costs of education.’¹²¹ Schools of the

¹¹⁷ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹¹⁸ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 194.

¹¹⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹²⁰ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹²¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0002.01, Stads-c.q. gemeentebestuur Amersfoort, 1811-1945, inventarisnummer 2956, Memorie van toelichting 1910.

third sort cost parents, depending on their estimated income, 15 to 40 cents per month per child.¹²² Attending the school of the second sort in Amersfoort cost 1.25 guilders per two months. A second child of a family got a reduced fare of 80 cents less.¹²³ The poorest children could attend these schools for free. In the girls' school of the first sort a tuition of 8, 13, 18 or 23 guilders per four months was paid depending on how many courses one followed.¹²⁴ For the boys' school this was 8, 13 or 17 guilders.¹²⁵

Teachers and pupils

The number of pupils and teachers differed from school to school.¹²⁶ In 1911, when all six public schools in the municipality existed, the number of children attending the *Meisjes- or Jongensschool* of the first sort was with respectively 166 and 187 pupils much lower than the more than 400 pupils attending schools of the second and third sort. Differences in the number of pupils attending a public school of the third or second sort were small. An exception to this statement is the 287 children attending the school in the Koningstraat in 1911, but this decline in pupils was caused by the founding of a similar school at the Puntenburg.¹²⁷ In general, schools of the second and third sort were more crowded than schools of the first sort.

The number of teachers in public schools differed between schools as well. Since the law of 1878 one teacher could teach no more than 40 children.¹²⁸ When the number of pupils per teacher is calculated, it is clear that public schools stuck to this regulation, but it is striking that again the public schools of the first sort are 'a little better off' than other public schools:

¹²² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0002.01, Stads-c.q. gemeentebestuur Amersfoort, 1811-1945, inventarisnummer 2111, Naamlijst van de Leerlingen ingeschreven aan de Openbare School 3^{de} soort Beekstraat 1910; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0002.01, Stads-c.q. gemeentebestuur Amersfoort, 1811-1945, inventarisnummer 2117, Naamlijst van de Leerlingen ingeschreven aan de Openbare School 3^{de} soort Koningstraat 1910; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0002.01, Stads-c.q. gemeentebestuur Amersfoort, 1811-1945, inventarisnummer 2121, Naamlijst van de Leerlingen ingeschreven aan de Openbare School 3^{de} soort Puntenburg 1910.

¹²³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0002.01, Stads-c.q. gemeentebestuur Amersfoort, 1811-1945, inventarisnummer 2133, Naamlijst van de Leerlingen ingeschreven aan de Openbare School 2^{de} soort 1910.

¹²⁴ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0002.01, Stads-c.q. gemeentebestuur Amersfoort, 1811-1945, inventarisnummer 1545, Naamlijst van de Leerlingen ingeschreven aan de Meisjesschool 1^{ste} soort 1910.

¹²⁵ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0002.01, Stads-c.q. gemeentebestuur Amersfoort, 1811-1945, inventarisnummer 2137, Naamlijst van de Leerlingen ingeschreven aan de Jongensschool 1^{ste} soort 1910.

¹²⁶ An overview of the numbers of pupils and teachers in all schools of Amersfoort and Baarn, as derived from the school reports, can be found in the appendix. See appendix A to D.

¹²⁷ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 84.

¹²⁸ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 152.

<u>Public schools:</u>	<u>Ratio 1911:</u>
Meisjesschool (1st sort)	16.6
Jongensschool (1st sort)	26.7
School of the 2nd sort, Hellestraat	30.9
School of the 3rd sort, Beekstraat	36.3
School of the 3rd sort, Koningstraat	26.1
School of the 3rd sort, Puntenburg	32.1

Teachers in schools of the first sort schooled an average of 16 or 26 children in 1911, whilst teachers of schools of the second and third sort taught to an average of more than 30 children. The school located at the Beekstraat had the highest pupil-teacher ratio; the school with the highest number of pupils did not have the most teachers employed. The school at the Koningstraat had a pupil-teacher ratio of 26 in 1911. This presents a distorted image, because the number of pupils attending this school dropped after the establishment of a similar school at the Puntenburg that year. In the years before 1911 the school at the Koningstraat had a ratio of over 40. Teachers educated an average of 36 children at the Beekstraat. Compared to the school with the least pupils, the *Meisjesschool* located at Plantsoen, where teachers educated an average of 16 pupils, this shows the difference between schools for which parents paid tuition and the schools of the second and third sort for which parents did not pay (much) tuition.¹²⁹

Both of the insights mentioned above show that teachers in schools of the first sort had the possibility to spend more time on individual pupils than teachers in schools of the second and third sort. This could have benefited the education given in those schools. Also, larger school classes might have been busier and discipline might have been lower. This did not benefit the education pupils received. Comments of school inspectors show that they recognized and addressed this problem. Especially for the school at the Koningstraat, where 'since the order and therefore the progress left much to be desired.'¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 107-109; Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 85.

¹³⁰ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0082, Brief secretaris uit Amsterdam.

It is remarkable that school inspectors only for schools of the first sort noted how many pupils of these schools did not live in the municipality of Amersfoort.¹³¹ Because the local authorities subsidized the public schools, it was important for them to know how many children from outside of the municipality attended their schools. These children had to pay more tuition than children from inside the municipality. The fact that 'outside pupils' were not mentioned in schools of the second and third sort in the reports thus indicates that only the schools of the first sort were visited by a certain number of children from further away. This might mean that the education received in these schools was of such a level that parents let their children travel for and wanted to pay more tuition for. Education in schools of the second and third sort was probably not at that level.

In the report of 1901 school inspectors noted changes in the salary of teachers. Heads of schools of the second and third sort received a salary between 1200 and 1400 guilders a year, teachers with '*hoofdakte*' received 950 guilders a year and teachers without this diploma earned 800 guilders.¹³² Earnings of the teachers of schools of the first sort are not mentioned. This could mean that teachers here earned a different salary than their colleagues. If their salary was higher, it is very well possible that more talented and better educated teachers worked in schools of the first sort. This might have benefit the quality of education children received in these schools.

Curriculums

The subjects taught in public schools in Amersfoort differed. Again, a division can be made between schools of the first sort and the schools of the second and third sort. The last taught subject A to K, as listed in the law on education at that time. This included

¹³¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0082, Buitenleerlingen Openbare Jongensschool.

¹³² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

only the basic subjects such as reading, writing, mathematics, drawing and gymnastics. In schools of the first sort more subjects, like French, English and arts, were taught.¹³³

Public schools in Amersfoort ¹³⁴				
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>	A-I	J	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
Meisjesschool	x	x	x	l/m/n/o/p/q/t
Jongensschool	x	x		l/m/n/o/p
School 2nd sort, Hellestraat	x	x	x	
School 3rd sort, Beekstraat	x	x	x	
School 3rd sort, Koningstraat	x	x	x	
School 3rd sort, Puntenburg	x	x	x	

School inspectors in Amersfoort occasionally mentioned the level of education of certain subjects the pupils received. In 1911 they noticed that writing and reading was on a sufficient level in all schools. Mathematics was not of the desired level everywhere. Unfortunately they did not mention in which schools the level of education was lacking.¹³⁵ Special attention is only paid to the level of education in needlework for girls in 1905. The letter of the school inspector that investigated five public schools in Amersfoort shows that differences existed. The *Meisjesschool* of the first sort was educating its pupils excellent, but all schools of the second and third sort did not improve their education in needlework compared to previous years. The school at the Koningstraat is the worst of all four.¹³⁶ This again shows a difference in education received in schools of the first sort and the rest. A difference between schools of the

¹³³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹³⁴ An overview of the subjects corresponding to the subject A to T, as derived from the school reports, can be found in the appendix. See appendix G.

¹³⁵ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹³⁶ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0082, Brief secretaris uit Amsterdam.

second and third sort is hardly found. This might be due to the fact that Amersfoort knew only a very small social elite and a large base of workers. A middle group is hardly found.¹³⁷

Buildings and materials

Local school inspectors paid attention to school buildings, classrooms and teaching materials when visiting the schools. The local authorities decided to renovate or improve schools after the advice of the inspectors. According to their notes on this subject, schools of the third sort were subsidized the most by the local authorities to invest in teaching materials such as books and shelves for the school library, maps and stuffed animals. This does not mean that schools of the first and second sort did not have access to such teaching materials. It is possible that those schools could afford extra materials themselves because of the earnings of higher tuition fees.

The school inspectors noticed that some schools struggled with space for their pupils. Their concern goes out to 'the significant number of pupils in public schools'.¹³⁸ In particular the amount of children attending the school of the third sort at the Beekstraat worries the school inspectors during the first decade of the century. Education there was 'suffering from solidity', one school inspector notes in 1901, and the number of pupils in classrooms 'exerts an inhibiting influence on it'.¹³⁹ In other words: the classrooms were overcrowded and that did not improve the quality of education. The school located at the Beekstraat (third sort) is mentioned most when writing about the bad state of the school building and the lack of space in classrooms. Also the schools located at the Koningstraat (third sort) and Hellestraat (second sort) are mentioned.¹⁴⁰ One thus can argue that children attending a school of the first sort received their education in a better learning climate.

¹³⁷ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 195.

¹³⁸ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹³⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort

¹⁴⁰ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

Enrollment rates

In most of their investigations the school inspectors show that the majority of children attended school on a regular basis. Unauthorized absence did not occur in the two public schools of the first sort in Amersfoort. Nevertheless, in some schools enrollment rates could have been better.¹⁴¹ In 1901 school inspectors note for the school of the second sort 'absence, other than for legitimate or lawful reasons, did as well as not occur' and for the schools of the third sort they note that 'faithful attendance, although far from perfect, increased'. The impression is given that unauthorized absence occurred less every year during the decade studied here

In general, the law on compulsory education of 1901 had a positive effect on the enrollment rates of pupils in the two public schools of the third sort in that year. More children went to school, largely due to more children living in Amersfoort and increasing wealth.¹⁴² Still, in these schools 'faithful attendance was far from perfect.'¹⁴³ In the following years this kept getting better.¹⁴⁴ A reason for the few cases of unauthorized absence that did occur in schools of the third sort can be found in the fact that children of less wealthy families attended these schools. Their parents needed their help the most to bring in money for the family. It thus is no wonder that these children might not always have been able to attend school.¹⁴⁵ This is a decision made by parents and children though, not a decision the school could influence much. Local authorities could, by sending inspectors to families that did not send their children to school and rewarding families that did send children to school.¹⁴⁶ This happened in Amersfoort, but

¹⁴¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁴² Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 61-64.

¹⁴³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁴⁴ Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁴⁵ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 168-169.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 169.

the most positive influence on enrollment rates was the increasing wealth of all inhabitants.¹⁴⁷

Opinion of school inspectors

The tone of voice of the school inspectors is in general very optimistic.¹⁴⁸ Their notes on the behavior of pupils, teaching and school buildings seem to celebrate the state of education in Amersfoort in all years studied here. Any criticism that is exposed by the school inspector tells the readers of the reports that something really was a point of worry or attention and any word of discontent by the school inspectors thus weighs heavily. Words of discontent hardly can be found for the public schools of the first sort. Schools of the second and third sort are mentioned about almost as often. It thus seems that the education received in these schools did not differ much, despite the difference in tuition fees.¹⁴⁹

After analyzing the reports and notes from the school inspectors of Amersfoort one can argue that children received a better education in the public schools of the first sort. This is not surprising and, popular spoken, ‘what parents paid for’. Differences in the education given in schools of the second and third sort are not clear to identify. This is surprising, because parents paid less tuition for children attending a school of the third sort than when attending a school of the second sort.¹⁵⁰ For children attending public schools in Amersfoort it seems that children of wealthy families enjoyed a better experience in primary school.

4.1.2 Baarn

The school reports of the school inspectors of the municipality of Baarn are studied the same way the reports from Amersfoort just have been studied. Also the archives of the *Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn* are incomplete. Only the reports from the years

¹⁴⁷ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 64.

¹⁴⁸ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 48-49.

¹⁴⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁵⁰ Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 85-86.

1907 to 1911 are available. This makes the year 1911 the most important in the comparison of schools in Amersfoort and Baarn in this thesis.¹⁵¹

The school reports of the local committee supervising primary education in the municipality of Baarn show that five public schools existed in the years that are investigated in this study. Four of those were located in the town of Baarn, which was the most important town of the municipality. One of the public schools was located in the very small town of Lage Vuursche.¹⁵²

A division of public schools in first, second and third sorts did not exist in Baarn. Nevertheless, not all public schools were the same. Notes of the amount of tuition in school reports of 1908 and 1909 show that children visiting the M.U.L.O paid the highest fee for their education; between 30 and 60 guilders per year, depending on the wealth of their parents. Pupils of the *Prinses Julianaschool* at the Eemnesserweg paid between six to 18 guilders per year. Tuition for the *Oosterschool*, *Westerschool* and the school in Lage Vuursche was between three and 18 guilders per year. The last three schools were free for children from families that earned less than 400 guilders per year.¹⁵³ Primary education in general was more expensive in Baarn, compared to Amersfoort:

¹⁵¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1908, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1909, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1910, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁵² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁵³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1908, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1909, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

<u>Public schools Amersfoort:</u>	<u>Tuition 1910:</u>	<u>Public schools Baarn:</u>	<u>Tuition 1909:</u>
Meisjesschool, 1st sort	32-92 guilders a year	M.U.L.O.	30-60 guilders a year
Jongensschool, 1st sort	32-68 g/y		
School of the 2nd sort	5-7.5 g/y	Prinses Julianaschool	6-18 g/y
Schools of the 3rd sort Beekstraat, Koningstraat and Puntenburg	1.80-4.80 g/y or free	Oosterschool, Westerschool and Lage Vuursche	3-18 g/y or free

To compare the public schools in Baarn with the public schools in Amersfoort one can interpret the amount of tuition of these schools as a division in schools of the first, second and third sort. This makes the M.U.L.O a school of the first sort, the *Prinses Julianaschool* a school of the second sort and the other three schools schools of the third sort. This division is supported by the fact that the three last schools knew the highest numbers of not paying pupils.¹⁵⁴

The M.U.L.O. was a school between primary and higher education.¹⁵⁵ It thus can be argued that this type of school should not be included in this study on primary education. It has been decided to do so, because existing literature emphasizes that the M.U.L.O. was not a form of 'final education', but only a preparation for high school.¹⁵⁶ The committee supervising primary education incorporated the M.U.L.O. in their reports every year. It is the only school in Baarn that is comparable to schools of the first sort in Amersfoort and the *Meisjesschool* in Amersfoort was renamed as M.U.L.O. a decade after the time period this study spans.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁵⁵ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 177.

¹⁵⁶ Ibidem, 177.

¹⁵⁷ Archief Eemland, 'Een klas van de MULO voor Meisjes aan het Plantsoen' (versie 2016), <http://www.archiefeemland.nl/collectie/fotos/detail?id=1ec4d25a-dc46-11df-a9e7-7590f0316edd> (4 juni 2016).

Teachers and pupils

The number of pupils per school in Baarn is in general lower than in the public schools of Amersfoort.¹⁵⁸ The school in Lage Vuursche was attended by the least pupils, only 73.¹⁵⁹ This is remarkable, because this school was also attended by children from other adjacent municipalities like Soest, de Bilt and Zeist.¹⁶⁰ This shows even more that the school in Lage Vuursche was a small village school.

The ratio of pupils and teachers differed between schools, as showed in the table below. Based on the numbers available for 1911, it shows that the ratio of pupils and teachers was fourteen to one at the M.U.L.O. At the *Prinses Julianaschool* this ratio was 21 to one. At the other public schools in Baarn the ratio was 27 or 31 pupils to one teacher. The village school of Lage Vuursche had a ratio of 24.¹⁶¹ This shows that differences in the pupil-teachers ratio in public schools in Baarn was similar to the ratio at public schools in Amersfoort. However, differences between schools of the first sort and of the third sort were not as big as in the public schools in Amersfoort.

<u>Public schools Amersfoort:</u>	<u>Ratio 1911:</u>	<u>Public schools Baarn:</u>	<u>Ratio 1911:</u>
Meisjesschool (1st sort)	16.6	M.U.L.O.	14.1
Jongensschool (1st sort)	26.7	Prinses Julianaschool	21.3
School 2nd sort, Hellestraat	30.9	Oosterschool	31.0
School 3rd sort, Beekstraat	36.3	Westerschool	27.5
School 3rd sort, Koningstraat	26.1	Lage Vuursche	24.3
School 3rd sort, Puntenburg	32.1		
<i>Average</i>	<i>28.1</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>23.6</i>

¹⁵⁸ An overview of the numbers of pupils and teachers in all schools of Amersfoort and Baarn, as derived from the school reports, can be found in the appendix. See appendix A to D.

¹⁵⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁶⁰ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁶¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

The school inspectors of Baarn do not mention which schools were attended by pupils from another municipality. It is possible that most of the few that did so attended the village school in Lage Vuursche and some of them visited the M.U.L.O.¹⁶² It can be argued that children from other municipalities visiting a school in Baarn did so because they were offered a more extended curriculum at the M.U.L.O. This was also the case in schools of the first sort in Amersfoort. Most children from outside the municipality that visited the village school in Lage Vuursche did so because this was the only school close to their home - a different reason than was found for schools in Amersfoort.

The earnings of teachers in public schools of Baarn are comparable to the salaries of teachers in Amersfoort. The head of the school at the Eemnesserweg and the M.U.L.O earned a same salary of 1600 guilders a year. The head of the *Oosterschool* earned 1450 guilders, the head of the *Westerschool* 1300 guilders and the head of the school in Lage Vuursche earned 1200 guilders. This is different than in Amersfoort, where all school heads and teachers of the second and third sort earned an equal salary. Differences between teacher salaries are due to their years of experience, but are comparable with the salaries of their colleagues in Amersfoort.¹⁶³ Thus, based on salaries, it is expected that teachers in Amersfoort and Baarn had received a similar education themselves and gave a comparable quality of education to their pupils.

Curriculum

The division of public schools in first, second and third sorts as seen in Amersfoort and the division of subjects taught in these schools can also be seen in the public schools in Baarn.

¹⁶² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁶³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1908, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

Public schools in Baarn				
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>	A-I	J	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
M.U.L.O.	x	x	x	l/m/p
Prinses Julianaschool	x	x	x	l
Oosterschool	x	x	x	
Westerschool	x	x	x	
Lage Vuursche	x	x	x	

Pupils received the basic subjects A to K in every school. The *Prinses Julianaschool*, which can be seen as a school of the second sort due to the tuition and amount of paying pupils, also offered French as a subject. The M.U.L.O., which can be seen as a school of the first sort, offered the basic subjects, French, German, English, history and advanced mathematics.¹⁶⁴

In general, the level of education in the basic subjects was good.¹⁶⁵ But when attention is paid to particular subjects differences in the level of education can be noticed. In 1909 the committee paid extra attention to the level of mathematics in four of the public schools existing. Pupils made three assignments that were all graded with a number from one to ten. It is remarkable that the average grades from the *Prinses Julianaschool*, *Westerschool* and *Oosterschool* were comparable and thus showed a similar level of knowledge. All schools were graded with a grade close to a five. Nevertheless, the school in Lage Vuursche showed a lower level of education and the

¹⁶⁴ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁶⁵ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

average grade was a 2.6.¹⁶⁶ In 1911 the school inspector noted once again that the level of education in Lage Vuursche was unsatisfactory. The knowledge and capability of the children in this school was not on an accurate level and the fact that they only had three teachers did not help to better this.¹⁶⁷

Local school inspectors also worried about the level of education pupils received in French as at the *Prinses Julianaschool*.¹⁶⁸ This is remarkable, because parents of pupils paid extra for this subject. However, it is less striking than the problems found in the school in Lage Vuursche, because the school inspectors did not worry about the level of education in basic subjects in this school.

Like in Amersfoort, the quality of education in public schools seems to have depended on the costs to attend the schools. Nevertheless, the differences between public schools of the first, second and third sort seem to have been smaller in Baarn. The only public schools that lacked behind in the level of education is the school in Lage Vuursche. This is interesting, because Lage Vuursche is the most rural town in this study. Pupils of this school did not choose to go to this school, it was the only school in their living area. This seems to illustrate that education in a rural area lacked in comparison to a more densely populated area. But when the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn are compared as a whole it seems that the public schools in Baarn showed smaller differences between each other.

Buildings and materials

The opinion of the school inspectors who paid attention to the state of the school buildings and teaching materials did not ever mention any deficiencies for the public schools in Baarn. Their opinion is very optimistic during the years studied here. In general, the state of the classrooms was deemed satisfactory.¹⁶⁹ The state of 'school

¹⁶⁶ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1909, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁶⁷ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁶⁸ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁶⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1909, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

needs, school libraries and school furniture were in good condition' and enough teaching materials were available.¹⁷⁰

Although all public schools were in a satisfactory state, according to the school reports, the M.U.L.O. stood out of the other four schools in the municipality.¹⁷¹ This is probably due to two reasons. First, to receive education in this school the most tuition had to be paid. Second, this school was founded in 1907, the first year in the time period studied here of which school reports are available, so the building was very new.¹⁷²

Enrollment rates

Surprisingly, the local school inspectors do not mention any unauthorized absence on public schools in Baarn.¹⁷³ Only in 1907 a committee that promoted regular school attendance was founded. This illustrates that before that year unauthorized absence did occur in schools in this municipality.¹⁷⁴ Still, the fact that the school inspectors did not mention it in their reports of that year shows that unauthorized absence was not a big problem in this region. In comparison to the public schools in Amersfoort this is different than assumed before studying the school reports.

Opinion of school inspectors

The school inspectors of Baarn are in general very content with the education given and received in public schools. Their only real worry went out to the school in Lage Vuursche.¹⁷⁵ This school was located in an area with no other schools nearby. The

¹⁷⁰ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁷¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁷² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁷³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁷⁴ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar

¹⁷⁵ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar

children living here thus had no choice of where to go to receive their education, unless their parents were willing to pay more for an education and could give their children the opportunity to travel to the town of Baarn to get to school. Education was of a sufficient level in the more densely populated village of Baarn, but not in the small town of Lage Vuursche. That seems to show that in the more rural areas the possibility and willingness of parents to send their children to school was limited. This might be due to the fact that most of these children were destined to work on a farm and thus did not need to go to school.

Analysis of the annual school reports written by the school inspectors of Baarn shows that the division in public schools of the first, second and third sort did not exist here officially, but this division can be made based on the tuition fees and the number of pupils that paid this tuition. It is remarkable that the differences between those schools seem to have been smaller than the differences in Amersfoort. One can cautiously conclude that children attending public schools in Baarn received a more stable education than children in Amersfoort. The pupil-teacher ratio was lower, all school buildings were satisfactory and enrollment rates do not seem to have been a big problem. Nevertheless, the school in Lage Vuursche shows that education in an area with no other schools nearby was of a lower level and thus shows, on a very small scale, that education offered in rural areas sometimes was 'worse' than in more urban areas.

4.2 Confessional schools

Confessional schools in Amersfoort and Baarn were in the years studied not subsidized by the local authorities and the government, but nevertheless were visited by local school inspectors in both municipalities.¹⁷⁶ A comparison between confessional schools will be made to find out how education differed between urban Amersfoort and rural Baarn.

¹⁷⁶ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 218-223; Meijer, *Onderwijs in Amersfoort 1850-1920*, 48-52.

4.2.1 Amersfoort

Catholic schools existed in Amersfoort from the beginning of the nineteenth century. At first, these schools were especially for the poorest children of the city.¹⁷⁷ Protestant schools were founded later in the century.

The annual reports of school inspectors show that four confessional schools existed in Amersfoort in 1901. Three of them were based on Catholic beliefs, one on Protestant beliefs.¹⁷⁸ In the years following, new schools were founded. The number of confessional schools in Amersfoort rose to eight in 1911.¹⁷⁹ All schools were located in or very close to the medieval city center of Amersfoort, just like the public schools. For this research one school is not taken into account. The *Roomsche Katholieke Pensionaat* was a boarding school with only 25 pupils and is thus not comparable with the more open primary schools that were attended by children from the municipality of Amersfoort.¹⁸⁰ Five of the remaining seven confessional schools that existed in 1911 were Catholic primary schools, from which one was divided in a part of the school for wealthy and poor pupils. One was a Protestant primary school and one was a reformed primary school.¹⁸¹

Because confessional schools were not subsidized in the years studied here, these schools must have been financed from other sources. One of these sources was tuition. Not much is mentioned about tuition in confessional schools in the reports of local school inspectors. Tuition fees differed between schools. The Catholic girls' school at the Paulus Borstraat offered education for free to the poorest children or asked 5 to 10 cents per week per pupil. The reformed *Gabrie Mehenschool* requested 10, 12.5 or 15 cents per family per week, depending on how many children of one family attended the school.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ G. Delahaye, *200 jaar katholiek lager onderwijs in Amersfoort. 1814-2014* (Amersfoort, 2014) 37-62.

¹⁷⁸ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁷⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁸⁰ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁸¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁸² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0083, Schoolgeld Groote Haag en Paulus Borstraat.

Compared to the public schools of the third sort, some parents had to pay more tuition when sending their children to confessional schools.

Unfortunately, the accounts of confessional schools in the school reports are less extensive and less systematic than those of public schools. For example, information about the salaries of teachers in these schools is not available. One reason could be that the local authorities did not subsidize the confessional schools and they thus were less interested in what was happening in these schools. Still, the school inspectors had to supervise if the education in confessional schools did meet the requirements of the government. Real problems or worries about confessional schools thus should be mentioned in the reports.

Teachers and pupils

The number of pupils attending confessional schools differed greatly between schools. In 1911 the Protestant *Christelijk Nationale School* welcomed most pupils: 469. The new founded Catholic girls' school at the Paulus Borstraat only had 82 pupils. The number of teachers differed, respectively, from 15 to 3 teachers per school.¹⁸³ Their salaries are unknown and not noted by the local school inspectors. This might be because these salaries were not paid by the local authorities.

The ratio of pupils and teachers differed in the confessional schools from one teacher per 26 pupils at the girls' school located at the Paulus Borstraat to one teacher per 58 pupils at the *Gabrie Mehenschool*. From only five of the eight schools, information on 1911 can be found in the archive of the *Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort*. The information that is present shows that the classrooms of the confessional schools in general were more crowded than the ones of the public schools. Based on this information one can argue that a public school in Amersfoort secured more attention from teachers for their pupils.

¹⁸³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

<u>Confessional schools:</u>	<u>Ratio 1911:</u>
R.C. Burger Meisjesschool	?
R.C. Meisjesschool	?
RC. Jongensschool	40.3
R.C. Jongensschool (indigent)	45.8
Christelijk Nationale School	31.3
R.K. Jongensschool	?
Gabrie Mehenschool	58.2
R.K. Meisjesschool	27.7

The fact that the highest number of children attended the Protestant school and the pupil-teacher ratio is highest at the reformed school can be explained by the fact that those schools were the only one based on these religious beliefs in this municipality. It also indicates that the financial situation of schools with the highest ratio was maybe not sufficient to reduce the number of pupils per teacher.

Curriculum

It is remarkable that half of all confessional schools taught more than the compulsory basic subjects. At four schools also one or more modern languages were taught.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

Confessional schools in Amersfoort				
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>	A-I	J (gymnastics)	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
R.C. Burger Meisjesschool (Herens.)	x	x	x	l
R.C. Meisjesschool (Muurhuizen)	x	x	x	l
R.C. Jongensschool (Breedestraat)	x			
R.C. Jongensschool (" , indigent)	x			
Christelijke Nationale School	x	x	x	l/m/n/o/p
R.K. Jongensschool (Schimmel.kade)	x			l/n/p
Gabrie Mehenschool	x		x	
R.K. Meisjesschool (Paulus Borstr.)	x		x	

Keep in mind that confessional schools were not subsidized by the local authorities. Parents paid tuition fees, mostly a few cents per week per child. Only the Catholic schools made exceptions for poor children.¹⁸⁵ The confessional schools that only taught the basic subjects offered free education to poor children. This shows that, just like the public schools, children of whom the parents could afford to pay for education could attend schools that offered a comprehensive curriculum. Poor parents that wanted to send their children to a Catholic school had this option, but poor parents that wanted to send their children to a Protestant or reformed school could not do so; the *Christelijke Nationale School* and the *Gabrie Mehenschool* did not offer education for free.

Buildings and materials

The local school inspectors do not mention any deficiencies in buildings of confessional schools.¹⁸⁶ There could have been two reasons for that. It could have been because

¹⁸⁵ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0083, Brief directeur Grote Haag en Paulus Borstraat.

¹⁸⁶ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057,

confessional schools had excellent school buildings and teaching materials. It could also have been because it was not necessary to report to the local authorities. They did not subsidize these schools, so they also did not pay to rebuild or better the conditions in these schools. Still, the committee in Amersfoort oversaw the state of primary education and was responsible for complying with all the requirements on primary education imposed by the government. If something was really wrong in the confessional schools, the school inspectors would probably have mentioned that. The city council had the possibility to subsidize these schools on a single basis if this was needed.¹⁸⁷

Enrollment rates

The school inspectors did not discuss enrollment rates of the confessional schools in length. Only in the report of 1901 enrollment rates are noted. In all existing four confessional schools the enrollment rates are very high and 'school absenteeism was rare'.¹⁸⁸

Because education was mandatory for every child from 1901 on, one can argue that the school inspectors would mention any unauthorized absence. Also in confessional schools. They did not for any confessional school in Amersfoort. Readers can thus conclude that absenteeism did not occur on a meaningful basis in these schools. Once again, parents of most pupils of confessional schools had to pay an amount of tuition. If parents could not afford this, their children could attend a free school like the public schools of the third sort. It is likely that most pupils in confessional schools did not live in the poorest families and did thus not have to work to help their families. They could therefore attend school regularly.

Opinion of school inspectors

The overall opinion of school inspectors on the daily practice of education in the confessional schools is very positive. They praised the teachers extensively on their attitude and the way they kept order in classrooms. The school inspectors seem to have worried less about the state of confessional primary schools than the state of the public

Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁸⁷ Boekholt, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*, 153.

¹⁸⁸ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort

primary schools.¹⁸⁹ This might be due to the fact that their reports gave advice to the local authorities, whom did not subsidize the confessional schools. It thus might have been more important to focus on the public schools.

4.2.2 Baarn

The founding of confessional schools was allowed from 1806 on, but it took a while before a confessional school was established in Baarn. In 1881 the *School met den Bijbel*, a reformed school, was founded.¹⁹⁰ In 1907 three confessional schools existed in the municipality of Baarn.¹⁹¹ By 1911 this number doubled and six confessional schools were located in the town of Baarn. The local authorities did not subsidize them, so there are no signs of elite self interest.

In this research only four of the six confessional schools are taken into account. *Instituut Middenbosch* and *De Nieuwe Baarnsche School* are not taken into account, as explained in the previous chapter. Both schools were more private schools at the time and were not visited by many inhabitants of Baarn. Two of the other four were Catholic schools, two were reformed schools.¹⁹²

Teachers and pupils

The number of pupils in confessional schools in Baarn shows greater differences than the number of pupils in public schools. The smallest school, the *Koningin Wilhelminaschool*, was attended by 63 pupils in 1911. They received their education from four teachers. The biggest school, the *School met den Bijbel*, was attended by even more pupils than the biggest public school. 274 pupils were taught by seven teachers.

¹⁸⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1901 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1902 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, Verslag 1911 Commissie van Toezicht op het Lager Onderwijs te Amersfoort.

¹⁹⁰ Booy, 'Leren en studeren in Baarn', 159.

¹⁹¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁹² Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

The salaries of the teachers in confessional schools are not listed in the reports of the school inspectors, probably because these salaries were not paid by local authorities.¹⁹³

The pupil-teacher ratio differed more between confessional schools than between public schools. Nevertheless, this difference corresponds to the difference in the number of pupils mentioned above. The two biggest schools had a ratio of 39 (*School met den Bijbel*) and 42 (*Roomsche Catholieke School*) to one teacher. The *Hervormde School* had one teacher for 33 pupils. The smallest school, the *Koningin Wilhelminaschool*, had a ratio of 15 to one.¹⁹⁴

<u>Confessional schools Amersfoort:</u>	<u>Ratio 1911:</u>	<u>Confessional schools Baarn:</u>	<u>Ratio 1911:</u>
R.C. Burger Meisjesschool	?	School met den Bijbel	39.1
R.C. Meisjesschool	?	R.C. School	42.2
RC. Jongensschool	40.3	Koningin Wilhelminaschool	15.8
R.C. Jongensschool (indigent)	45.8	Hervormde School	33.3
Christelijk Nationale School	31.3		
R.K. Jongensschool	?		
Gabrie Mehenschool	58.2		
R.K. Meisjesschool	27.7		
Average	40.7	Average	32.6

The confessional schools in Baarn were less crowded than the confessional schools in Amersfoort. The difference of an average of 40 pupils per teacher in Amersfoort to an average of 33 pupils per teacher in Baarn should not be underestimated. The average pupil-teacher ratio was higher for public schools in Amersfoort as well, as showed before.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁹⁴ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁹⁵ See appendix E.

Curriculum

Unlike the public schools in Baarn and all schools in Amersfoort, the confessional schools in Baarn did not all offer the subjects A to K to their pupils. Three confessional schools did offer the subjects A to I and K, but subject J (gymnastics) was not part of the curriculum in most confessional schools in Baarn. The *Koningin Wilhelminaschool*, on the contrary, offered more than the basic subjects. Although gymnastics was not part of the curriculum of this school as well, French, German, English, general history and mathematics were so.¹⁹⁶

Confessional schools in Baarn				
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>	A-I	J (gymnastics)	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
School met den Bijbel	x		x	
R.C. School	x		x	
Koningin Wilhelminaschool	x		x	l/m/n/o/p
Hervormde School	x		x	

This is remarkable, because in Amersfoort most of the confessional schools did offer more than the basic subjects to their pupils. All parents paid tuition for their children that attended confessional schools in Baarn, but the curriculum in most confessional schools in Baarn was less comprehensive than in most public schools.

The level of education was, according to the more detailed notes of school inspectors on specific subjects, good and in most confessional schools more or less the same. In 1909, the local school inspectors focused on the level of education in national

¹⁹⁶ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

history. Although they noticed room for improvement in all confessional schools, they did not notice differences in the level of education between schools.¹⁹⁷

Only two of the confessional schools were part of the test in mathematics the school inspectors provided in 1909. The *School met den Bijbel* and the Catholic school both scored a little lower than the public schools located in the town of Baarn, but scored much higher than the public school located in Lage Vuursche.¹⁹⁸ This shows that the level of education in this specific subject was lower in confessional schools in the municipality in Baarn. This might partially have been due to the fact that some confessional schools had to place pupils of different grades in one classroom due to absence of teachers, one local school inspector suggests, so some pupils received their education on a lower level.¹⁹⁹

Buildings and materials

The school inspectors of Baarn did not mention any deficiencies in school buildings or teaching materials of confessional schools during the years studied here, alike the school inspectors of Amersfoort.²⁰⁰ This also might be due to the fact that the local authorities did not subsidize these schools and this information thus was not important to report to the mayor and his councilmembers. On the other hand, it is possible that there were no deficiencies in buildings and materials in the confessional schools of the municipality of Baarn. The public schools were, according to the school reports, all in good conditions as well. This makes it more likely that there were no deficiencies in primary schools in Baarn than was the case in Amersfoort.

¹⁹⁷ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1909, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁹⁸ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1909, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

¹⁹⁹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

²⁰⁰ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1907, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar; Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

Enrollment rates

As well as goes for the public schools, the school inspectors of Baarn did not mention any unauthorized absence in confessional schools in the municipality.²⁰¹ It is very well possible to argue that unauthorized absence did not occur in these schools in Baarn. Contrary to the confessional schools in Amersfoort, the confessional schools in Baarn were not founded as schools for the poor, so poor children that had to work and help their family out did probably attend a free public school.²⁰²

Opinion of school inspectors

The opinion of the local school inspectors in the municipality of Baarn on the confessional schools was, as far as possible, even more optimistic than their opinion on the public schools. They did not ever express any real point of worry in their school reports. It occurs as the education children received in the confessional schools was up to level the government wished it to be. Once again, smaller points of worry might not have been expressed because the local authorities did not subsidize the confessional schools in Baarn and this information thus was not very useful to write down in a report.

In conclusion, the education in the four confessional schools in Baarn studied here was very similar. Different than in Amersfoort, most of the schools did not offer and extended curriculum compared to the public schools in Baarn. The pupil-teacher ratio in confessional schools was in general higher than in public schools. But the level of education was up to the standard the local school inspector wished to see. The education in confessional schools in Baarn occurs to have been very stable, according to the local school reports available.

4.3 Differences in education in Amersfoort and Baarn

When comparing the local school reports of Amersfoort and Baarn it is remarkable how much alike the findings of these reports are. It was expected to find a difference in the level of education children received in rural and urban areas. The exception of the

²⁰¹ Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021, Verslag van den toestand van het lager onderwijs in de gemeente Baarn over het jaar 1911, uitgebracht door de Plaatselijke Commissie van Schooltoezicht aldaar.

²⁰² Booy, 'Leren en studeren in Baarn', 159.

disappointing level of education in the public school in Lage Vuursche, the most rural village considered in this study, does support this hypothesis. However, according to the reports by local school inspectors, in both Amersfoort and Baarn teaching and most schools were up to the levels set by the local authorities and government.

Local school inspectors of both municipalities were very content with one or a few public schools, found most confessional schools sufficient, and worried most about one or a few other public schools. The differences between the 'best', 'good' and 'worst' schools seem to have been greater in the urban municipality of Amersfoort. It occurs as if education in Baarn was more stable. The differences between different public and confessional schools were not as obvious, according to the school reports, as they were in Amersfoort. There the public schools of the first sort were clearly the best of their kind, whereas the public schools of the third sort were a constant worry for the school inspectors. In Baarn this was also the case, but to a lesser extent. Nevertheless, in both municipalities children of worker and farmer families attended the 'worst' schools.

This observation is supported by the fact that, in general, the average pupil-teacher ratio was lower in the primary schools in the municipality of Baarn than in Amersfoort.²⁰³ This was the case in both public and confessional schools. On the other hand, in Amersfoort were more (confessional) schools, that offered a more comprehensive curriculum and taught their pupils more subjects than the compulsory basic subjects. Added thereto, more children from other municipalities visited schools in Amersfoort. This suggests that some schools in this municipality were worth travelling for and paying more tuition for. This was only the case for the, according to the opinion of the local school inspectors, 'outstanding' public schools of the first sort.

4.4 Differences in education in public and confessional schools

The comparison between public and confessional primary schools in both municipalities is harder to make than the comparison between schools in a rural and urban area. This is partially due to the less detailed information available about the confessional schools

²⁰³ See appendix E.

in both municipalities. This information was probably less relevant to the local authorities, because they did not subsidize the confessional schools.

The local school inspectors did seem to consider the education children received in confessional schools as sufficient. As for the public schools goes; some stood out from the rest in a positive way and some stood out as a constant point of worry. The division of public schools of the first, second and third sort was based on the amount of tuition parents had to pay, to which extent the school was subsidized and which subjects were part of the curriculum. In general, the school inspectors of Amersfoort and Baarn were very content with schools of the first sort. Schools of the second and third sort were mostly sufficient in Baarn as well, but the schools of the second and third sort in Amersfoort were not always satisfactory.

In both municipalities the average pupil-teacher ratio was lower in public schools than in confessional schools.²⁰⁴ This means that classrooms were less crowded in public schools and teachers had more time for individual pupils. But the confessional schools, especially in Amersfoort, offered a more extensive curriculum than most public schools. Most parents paid for these confessional schools and thus paid for these extra subjects.

It is not easy to say if education children received in public schools was of a higher level than children received in confessional schools. They absolutely received a better education in public schools of the first sort. Classes were smaller, school buildings and teaching materials were better and more subjects were taught. However, not every family could afford their children attending these schools. The education received in confessional schools in general was up to the level set out by the local authorities and the government, but classrooms were more crowded than in most public schools and less teachers were available in these schools. Concluding; although differences between confessional schools existed, the education received here was sufficient in general. Differences between public schools were bigger. This means that children in public schools of the first sort received a better education than children in most confessional schools. For children in public schools of the second and third sort, this was not always the case. This shows that the underfinancing of confessional schools during the

²⁰⁴ See appendix E.

schoolstrijd was not as problematic as literature makes believe and did not influence the quality of education in these schools to a great extent.

V: Differences in primary education in Amersfoort and Baarn explained

The analysis of the reports by local school inspectors of Amersfoort and Baarn presented in the last chapter answered the 'how'-part in the research question of this study. The variables derived from the reports show differences between education received in different schools. These differences must have been caused by something. Now it is tried to find this cause by searching for the underlying differences between the schools that were studied. The schools studied here differed from each other in the way they were funded, in their location and in the tuition their pupils paid. These variables will be investigated to find out which of them did influence the difference of the education they offered the most.

5.1 Funding

The funding of primary schools by the Dutch government and local authorities was not equal until 1920. Confessional schools were allowed to exist, but had to finance their school buildings, teachers and materials themselves. Although municipalities had the opportunity to subsidize confessional schools in times of need, this was never done in Amersfoort and Baarn in the time studied here. This means that confessional schools were financed by other, private, sources and these sources must have been enough to let the underfinancing of confessional schools not influence the quality of education. One of these sources was the church the schools belonged to. Also donations of wealthy, religious families will have supported the schools and partially the tuition of the pupils must have been a source. This did not mean that poor children were never able to attend confessional schools; in Amersfoort the confessional schools were historically founded to educate the poorest. The absence of subsidy by the government also did not mean that confessional schools had less money to spend on the education they offered. Although the pupil-teacher ratio in confessional schools in both Amersfoort and Baarn was higher than in public schools, it is very well possible that confessional schools received as much or even more money from other sources than public schools received from the local authorities.

Contrary to confessional schools, public schools were subsidized by the government and local authorities. However, as shown in the last chapters, these schools

were not free for all pupils. As an addition to the money received from the government and local authorities, tuition fees had to be paid by most pupils. Both in Amersfoort and Baarn different public schools requested different tuition fees. The amount differed between schools of the first, second or third sort. Only in schools of the third sort, and to a lesser extent in schools of the second sort, children of the poorest families could attend for free.

Do the findings of differences in education in public and confessional schools show any evidence that the funding of schools had an influence on the education children received in those schools? No, it is not easy to grasp if the difference in the funding of schools was an important reason for the difference in education children received. Some subsidized public schools achieved clearly better results in their education than confessional schools, but other public schools appeared to be a constant factor of worry for the local school inspectors. In general, subsidized public schools, did not achieve much better results than the confessional schools. Researching if this is due to the fact that confessional schools received as much money, or even more money, from other sources would require a different study, but the fact that the education offered in confessional schools was in general not inferior to that of public schools shows that funding of schooling was not the most important variable that caused differences in education between public and confessional schools. This is a cautious statement, because as long as there is no insight in the total budget of each school it is hard to support this statement.

5.2 Location

Could the location of primary schools in the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn explain why some schools seem to have offered a better education to their pupils than others? In this study public and confessional schools in a more urban and a more rural area are investigated. It was expected to see a lower level of education offered in the more rural areas, because there were less schools in the countryside and there was less choice in schooling. This hypothesis does not seem to be right after analyzing the reports of school inspectors from Amersfoort and Baarn.

The schools in urban Amersfoort did not all offer better education to their pupils than schools in rural Baarn. It seems that the schools located in an urban area showed bigger differences in pupil-teacher ratio, curriculums and the condition of school buildings than the schools located in more rural areas. Therefore, it can be argued that the education received in schools in rural areas was more stable than education received in a city. In this case study this means that one was more sure of a decent education in Baarn, where in Amersfoort it depended more on which school was attended if the education received was 'good' or 'bad'.

Contrary to this insight, the school located in Lage Vuursche, which was a very small village in the municipality of Baarn, lacked in the education it offered to its pupils. According to the local school inspectors, the level of education did not reach the standards whereas other schools in the municipality, that were all located in the town of Baarn, did reach these standards. This shows that schools located in a very remote and isolated rural area offered a lower level of education. To support this averment, however, more research should be done.

For now, based on the findings of the analysis on the reports by school inspectors of Amersfoort and Baarn, one can only argue that differences in education are not so clearly to trace back to the location of those schools. It is only clear that differences in education received in schools in an urban municipality like Amersfoort were bigger than the differences between schools in a rural municipality like Baarn. The location of schools is thus not the most important cause of the differences between education received in different schools.

5.3 Tuition

The most important difference that could explain differences in education children received in different investigated primary schools seems to be the tuition requested. The clearest division that can be made between schools is the trichotomy of outstanding schools, average schools and schools that worried school inspectors. This division applies to both Amersfoort and Baarn.

In Amersfoort the schools of the first sort were, according to the notes of the local school inspectors in that municipality, superior to the other public schools and all the confessional schools. As showed in the last chapter, those schools offered an extended curriculum and schooling in smaller classes in school buildings without any deficiencies. The pupils were never absent without a reason and school inspectors were unanimously positive about these schools. The confessional schools in general did not seem to worry the school inspectors, as well as some public schools. However, public schools of the third sort did seem to worry the inspectors in many aspects. The same division applied to the schools in the municipalities of Baarn, in which public schools of the first, second and third sort did not exist, but based on the amounts of tuition still can be distinct. In public schools of the first sort tuition was higher than in schools of the second sort. In public schools of the third sort poor children could attend for free. As mentioned before, the confessional schools requested tuition for most of the children.

This observation shows that a better education was offered in schools that requested higher tuition fees. Pupils received, in popular words, what they paid for. Thus, the wealth of their family determined to a great extent what education they received. Poor children could, no matter how intelligent they were, not easily receive an education in a school that offered an extended curriculum in smaller classes with better teaching materials in better school buildings. No matter whether they attended public or confessional schools in an urban or rural area. Therefore, poor children did not get a equal change in their further life. Equal education for all children between seven and thirteen years old was, despite all legislation promoting it, not reached in the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn in the first decade after installing compulsory education.

Conclusion

In this study reports of local school inspectors of the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn were analyzed to answer the question how and why education received in primary schools differed between public and confessional schools in urban and rural areas in the first decade of the twentieth century. This question needs and deserves a comprehensive response.

The nineteenth century can be seen as an era in which the Dutch educational system extended, modernized and became 'national'.²⁰⁵ Legislation that was formed in the last half of the nineteenth century made primary education step by step more uniform. The law on compulsory education of 1900 can be seen as the last step towards a modern educational system in the Netherlands. The uniform education now became mandatory for all children in public and confessional schools. Nevertheless, funding differed between the two types of schools, local differences were very common in Dutch society and national legislation was implemented by local authorities. That is why there are reasons to believe that this was not as uniform as assumed.

Analyzing the reports shows that differences existed between all schools in the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn. In both municipalities a trichotomy can be discovered in education offered in the primary schools. Public schools of the first sort in Amersfoort and the comparable M.U.L.O. in Baarn stood out, according to the local school inspectors. Pupils were taught an extended curriculum in smaller classes in the most modern school buildings. Enrollment rates were optimal in these schools; unauthorized absence did practically not occur, according to the annual school reports. The school inspectors of both Amersfoort and Baarn were entirely positive about those schools in all the years investigated. Following the outstanding public school of the first sort were the confessional schools. According to the school inspectors, all these schools were meeting the standards of the government and did not seem to raise any worry. This can be partially due to the fact that the local school inspectors did not feel the need to really investigate these schools, while they did not receive any subsidy of the local authorities to whom they reported. Nevertheless, if the school inspectors discovered serious shortcomings in the education children received in the confessional schools it is

²⁰⁵ Veld, *Volksonderwijs en leerplicht*, 18.

expected that they would address these shortcomings, while subsidy could have been given to these schools in times of need. In the municipality of Baarn, the education offered in public schools that can be seen as schools of the second sort was similar to the education offered in confessional schools. In the municipality of Amersfoort, public schools of the second sort were more comparable to schools of the third sort. In both municipalities, schools of the third sort were a constant worry for the school inspectors. The pupil-teacher ratio was higher than in other public and confessional schools, enrollment rates were lower and school buildings were not always meeting the requirements. In both municipalities, school inspectors constantly suggested that more teachers, better materials and renovated school buildings would improve the education children received in these schools. However, differences between primary schools in Amersfoort were much bigger than between schools in Baarn. It seems that children receiving an education in the municipality of Baarn were more sure to receive a good education. These schools appear to have been more stable.

To find out why those differences in the practice of primary education between public and confessional schools and both municipalities existed, underlying differences were investigated by looking into differences in funding, location and tuition. These three variables were not part of the practice of education, but could have underlay the differences that derived from the analysis of school reports. The difference in funding of the primary schools investigated does not explain the differences in the practice of schools, while all public schools, and none of the confessional schools, were subsidized, but not all of the public schools offered a higher quality education to their pupils. And while the trichotomy applied for both Amersfoort and Baarn, the location of schools closer to a city center also cannot be an explanation of the differences the school reports show.

The differences in the education children received in schools in Amersfoort and Baarn seem to have been caused by the differences in social background of their parents. Theoretically, it was possible to offer equal education in all schools, but by requesting different tuition fees social differentiation emerged. Public schools of the first sort, that requested the most tuition seem to have been the schools that offered their pupils the best education. The confessional schools, that were not subsidized and often requested tuition, offered an education that met all requirements set out by the government. The

public schools that offered an education for free to the poorest children of the municipality worried the school inspectors the most. This shows that parents and their children 'got what they paid for'. A logic, but yet sad, answer to the research question of this study. This means that not all children received an equal education and this was due to the wealth of their family.

The general assumption of historians of Dutch educational history on the emergence of uniform and mandatory primary education from 1901 on thus is not totally supported by the outcomes of this study. Although almost all schools in Amersfoort and Baarn did meet the standards set out by the government, differences in the quality of education can be discovered between public and confessional schools in the more urban and rural municipalities. The assumption that the experience of children in primary schools in rural areas was less than that of children in urban areas is also not supported by the findings of this study. Historians of Dutch educational history did not pay enough attention to the fact that national legislation was implemented differently on local levels. The macro-view they handled, did not focus on the local differences and the effect of national legislation at the local level has not been tested.

This study shows that greater differences existed between public schools of different sorts than between public and confessional schools. Literature on the *schoolstrijd* sees not subsidizing confessional schools as the most important difference between public and confessional schools, but maybe this public financing of schools did not influence the quality of education as much. At least in Amersfoort and Baarn enough private sources were available to finance confessional schools and guarantee the quality of education.

The outcomes of this study apply only to the municipalities of Amersfoort and Baarn. Although those municipalities were representative to a larger part of the Netherlands, it is very well possible that a study on other municipalities shows other results. This thus brings historians of educational history a start for more research. It would be very interesting to see what differences in education existed in the very north or south of the Netherlands and what happens when one investigated comparable municipalities which are not adjacent. It is also possible to research differences in the practice of education in different time periods to see if education became more similar in every school later in the twentieth century. More attention could be paid to local and

national policies concerning sources available for financing public and confessional schools. The existing literature does not focus on this point and archives are not easily accessible when finding information about financial situations of primary schools. More research can be done to explain the differences found in this study and support or undermine if the social background of children was the most important variable that determined the quality of education they received.

A difficulty to investigate more municipalities might be that primary sources are not always present or hard to find. Also, like in this study, gaps in local school reports might make proper research harder. Nevertheless, studying the practice of education on a local level can give great insights to test existing and conventional theories. For example, this study shows that the conventional theory that with the implementing of compulsory education from 1901 the educational system in the Netherlands uniform education was received by all children in a school-going age seems to be untrue. Despite legislation securing it, differences in the education children received existed and these difference were for the biggest part due to the family a child grew up in. This cautious adjustment of the literature can be made stronger with more research on other parts of the nation.

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Appendix

Here, data can be found on the:

- A. Pupils and teachers in public schools in Amersfoort,
- B. Pupils and teachers in confessional schools in Amersfoort,
- C. Pupils and teachers in public schools in Baarn,
- D. Pupils and teachers in confessional schools in Baarn,
- E. Pupil-teacher ratio in public and confessional schools in Amersfoort and Baarn,
- F. Curriculums public and confessional schools in Amersfoort and Baarn,
- G. Subjects by letter, as used in reports by local school inspectors and government,
- H. Tuition fees of public schools in Amersfoort and Baarn.

All of this data derived from the archives of the local school inspectors of both municipalities:

Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0402, Archief Commissie voor schooltoezicht te Baarn, inventarisnummer 0021.

Archief Eemland, Amersfoort, 0057, Archief van de commissie van toezicht op het lager onderwijs, inventarisnummer 0080, 0081, 0082 en 0083.

A. Pupils and teachers in public schools in Amersfoort

	1901		1902		1903		1911	
	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers
Meisjesschool (Plantsoen)	160	8	162	9	143	?	166	10
Jongenschool (Herenstraat)	124	8	139	8	150	?	187	7
School 2 nd sort (Hellestraat)	283	7	306	9	205	?	432	14
School 3 rd sort (Beekstraat)	600	12	592	13	522	?	472	13
School 3 rd sort (Koningstraat)	470	10	577	13	433	?	287	11
School 3 rd sort (Puntenburg)	-	-	-	-	-	-	417	13

B. Pupils and teachers in confessional schools in Amersfoort

	1901		1902		1903		1911	
	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers	Pupils	Teachers
Rooms-ch-Catholieke Buger Meisjesschool (Herenstraat)	191	12	190	8	?	?	198	?
Rooms-ch-Catholieke Meisjesschool (Muurhuizen)	300	?	309	?	?	?	352	?
Rooms-ch-Catholieke Jongensschool (Breedestraat)	472	10	?	10	?	?	161	4
Indigent	-	-	-	-	-	-	229	5
Christelijk Nationale School (Kortegracht)	345	8	372	8	?	?	469	15
R.K. Jongensschool (Schimmelpennink- kade)	-	-	-	-	-	-	154	?
Gabrie Mehenschool (Groote Haag)	-	-	-	-	-	-	291	5
R.K. Meisjesschool (Paulus Borstraat)	-	-	-	-	-	-	82	3

- The *Rooms Katholiek Pensionaat* is not taken into account.

C. Pupils and teachers in public schools in Baarn

	1907		1908		1909		1910		1911	
	Pupils	Teachers	P.	T.	P.	T.	P.	T.	P.	T.
M.U.L.O.	138	9	163	9	157	9	157	10	155	11
Eemnesserweg or Prinses Julianaschool	208 (1 not paying)	8	203 (1)	7	199	7	157	7	149	7
Oosterschool	240 (204)	8	221 (194)	8	242	7	218	7	217	7
Westerschool	130 (95)	5	145 (108)	5	144	4	150	4	165	6
Lage Vuursche	94 (32)	4	86 (29)	4	76	3	74	3	73	3

D. Pupils and teachers in confessional schools in Baarn

	1907		1908		1909		1910		1911	
	Pupils	Teachers	P.	T.	P.	T.	P.	T.	P.	T.
School met den Bijbel	232	9	292	?	318	7	318	7	274	7
Roomsche Catholieke School	254	6	256	?	260	6	255	6	253	6
Nieuwe bijzonder M.U.L.O. or Koningin Wilhelminaschool	-	-	53	?	49	3	47	4	63	4
Hervormde School	-	-	-	-	-	-	73	3	100	3

- *Instituut Middenbosch* and *De Nieuwe Baarnsche School* are not taken into account.

E. Pupil-teacher ratio in public and confessional schools in Amersfoort and Baarn

Amersfoort				Baarn			
Public schools	Ratio 1911	Conf. schools	Ratio 1911	Public schools	Ratio 1911	Conf. schools	Ratio 1911
Meisjesschool	16.6	R.C. Burger Meisjesschool	?	M.U.L.O.	14.1	School m/d Bijbel	39.1
Jongensschool	26.7	R.C. Meisjesschool	?	Prinses Julianaschool	21.3	R.C. School	42.2
School 2nd sort Hellestraat	30.9	R.C. Jongensschool	40.3	Oosterschool	31.0	Koningin Wilhelminaschool	15.8
School 3rd sort Beekstraat	36.3	R.C. Jongensschool (indigent)	45.8	Westerschool	27.5	Hervormde School	33.3
School 3rd sort Koningstraat	26.1	Christelijk Nationale School	31.3	Lage Vuursche	24.3		
School 3rd sort Puntenburg	32.1	R.K. Jongensschool	?				
		Gabrie Mehenschool	58.2				
		R.K. Meisjesschool	27.7				
Average	28.1	Average	40.7	Average	23.6	Average	32.6

F. Curriculum public and confessional schools in Amersfoort and Baarn

Public schools in Amersfoort				
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>	A-I	J (gymnastics)	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
Meisjesschool	x	x	x	l/m/n/o/p/q/t
Jongensschool	x	x		l/m/n/o/p
School 2nd sort, Hellestraat	x	x	x	
School 3rd sort, Beekstraat	x	x	x	
School 3rd sort, Koningstraat	x	x	x	
School 3rd sort, Puntenburg	x	x	x	

Public schools in Baarn				
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>	A-I	J (gymnastics)	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
M.U.L.O.	x	x	x	l/m/p
Prinses Julianaschool	x	x	x	l
Oosterschool	x	x	x	
Westerschool	x	x	x	
Lage Vuursche	x	x	x	

Confessional schools in Amersfoort

	A-I	J (gymnastics)	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>				
R.C. Burger Meisjesschool	x	x	x	l
R.C. Meisjesschool	x	x	x	l
R.C. Jongensschool	x			
R.C. Jongensschool (indigent)	x			
Christelijke Nationale School	x	x	x	l/m/n/o/p
R.K. Jongensschool	x			l/n/p
Gabrie Mehenschool	x		x	
R.K. Meisjesschool	x		x	

Confessional schools in Baarn

	A-I	J (gymnastics)	K (needlework, only for girls)	Extra
<u>Subjects 1911:</u>				
School met den Bijbel	x		x	
R.C. School	x		x	
Koningin Wilhelminaschool	x		x	l/m/n/o/p
Hervormde School	x		x	

G. Subjects by letter, as used in reports by local school inspectors and government

A: reading

B: writing

C: mathematics (*rekenen*)

D: principles of the Dutch language

E: principles of Dutch history

F: principles of geography

G: principles of nature

H: singing

I: principles of drawing

J: gymnastics

K: useful needlework for girls

L: principles of the French language

M: principles of the high German (*Hoogduitsche*) language

N: principles of the English language

O: principles of general history

P: principles of mathematics (*wiskunde*)

Q: advanced drawing

R: principles of agriculture

S: sports

T: crafts and needlework for girls

H. Tuition fees of public schools in Amersfoort and Baarn

<u>Public schools Amersfoort:</u>	<u>Tuition 1910:</u>	<u>Public schools Baarn:</u>	<u>Tuition 1909:</u>
Meisjesschool, 1st sort	32-92 guilders a year	M.U.L.O.	30-60 guilders a year
Jongensschool, 1st sort	32-68 g/y		
School of the 2nd sort	5-7.5 g/y	Prinses Julianaschool	6-18 g/y
Schools of the 3rd sort Beekstraat, Koningstraat and Puntenburg	1.80-4.80 g/y or free	Oosterschool, Westerschool and Lage Vuursche	3-18 g/y or free