
Neglected Women Historians: the case of Joan Simon

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ABSTRACT Joan Simon (née Peel, 1915-2005) was the life-long partner of Brian Simon who helped launch FORUM in September 1958. Like Brian, she embraced a Communist outlook and engagement in the area of education. Unlike Brian, she practised the historian's craft outside the male academic hierarchy. Based on newly available personal papers this study sprang from my interest in the role of gender in the formation and dissemination of British social science, which I take to include the beginnings of economic and social history. Here the author draws attention to the scholarship and social action of Joan Simon to show how the production of new social knowledge helped shape the development and organisation of comprehensive education. The article is part of a larger project exploring the historical connections between university-based research and reformist efforts in the expanding and partially overlapping worlds of social studies and social action in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This article is taken from Jane Martin's Presidential Address for the UK History of Education Society delivered in Exeter on 24 November 2013. This address set out to bring together a number of talented women historians whose scholarly work helped to shape modern historiography and historical practice, but who are little known in the accounts of history-writing in the period. This *FORUM* article is a revised version of the address with a detailed examination of the scholarship and social action of Joan Simon (née Peel, 1915-2005) who made a lasting contribution to the history of education and society in Tudor England and in the field of educational journalism.[1]

Introduction

Joan Simon (née Peel, 1915-2005) was the life-long partner of Brian Simon who helped launch *FORUM* in September 1958. In his autobiography, *A Life in Education*, published in 1998, Brian was anxious to stress the debt he owed to Joan, whom he had married in London in February 1941. He said they had worked in partnership for over 50 years and argued that she had shared, and

contributed, to all his interests and spheres of activity.[2] Like Brian, she embraced a Communist outlook and engagement in the field of education. Unlike Brian, she made the duties of wife and family come before a professional career. This article is a work of celebration intended to create historical memory not for the sake of nostalgia for the past, but going forward to offer a model for those who would do historiography right.

Newly available and under-utilised contemporary material permit me to fit the personal aspects of Joan Simon's life into an examination of her intellectual and scholarly development.[3] Besides educational journalism and without the academy, Joan Simon wrote detailed and systematic historical studies of education in the early modern period, the local history of schooling in Leicestershire from the sixteenth century, textbooks for university and college students, translated many articles in Russian psychology to promote the reorganisation of secondary schooling along comprehensive lines, and participated in the work of the History of Education Society, created in 1969. Her historical work thus spanned the range from the 'amateur' to the 'professional' and in this latter capacity she sometimes exercised her critical faculties on male-produced primary sources. My purpose here is to show how Joan's personal and intellectual life were deeply entwined, tracing the sequencing of connections located in time and space, social history and social geography and in so doing to restore her to her rightful place in educational history.

Historians make history through the production of knowledge, explanations and interpretations of what has gone before. As Carolyn Steedman puts it, 'The place where what is found maybe put, is History. It is in this way, and outside the walls of the Archive, that History has become the place where quite ordinarily and by remembering, we can find things where we have already put them'.[4] The problem is that the politics of history deny some voices the occasion to speak.

Bonnie G. Smith looked at what happened when the practice of scientific history took root in nineteenth century universities in Western Europe. In *The Gender of History* she argued that Enlightenment thinking influenced the making of a discipline in which empirically minded men defined themselves in opposition to an older, more popular history read for moral instruction and entertainment, which they deemed trivial. Despite foundational claims over the pursuit of 'objectivity', the making of the 'professional' historian involved Othering the scholarship, style and preferences of those without the ideological means to achieve disciplinary ascendancy. In such a context, history was no longer regarded as a branch of literature and a tradition of women's scholarship notably as authors of textbooks, biographies or memoirs, translators and editors of original documents virtually disappeared from view. Consequently 'when we envision a great historian, we instinctively imagine him as a male; we accept as natural such titles as *The History Men* ... because professionalization and historical science developed at a time of separate spheres, when middle-class women mostly stayed at home'.[5]

Joan Thirsk urged a recovery project to credit the contribution women made to the world of historical knowledge. 'The women's task must be to declare and proclaim that fact, for the record of the past teaches another lesson very plainly indeed, that if the history women do not do it, then the history men will not do it for them'.^[6] With this in mind, I have aimed to highlight the gender configuring of practice in the life-course and history-making as an intellectual enterprise.

Gendering the Work of History-making as an Intellectual Enterprise^[7]

Though I spend all my time with a crammer
I never can rise above gamma
While that girl over there
With the flaming red hair
Gets Alpha Plus easily, damn her!

The student, privileged among Victorian women, whose brains provided the inspiration for this limerick was Barbara Hammond (née Bradby, 1873-1961).^[8] The first woman in the history of Oxford University to attain a double first in classics and the first woman to cycle to lectures. Twenty-five years after higher education for women was created and established in England her outstanding academic success was transformed into part of the women's cause. Upon return home, Barbara took part in a distinct 'women's tradition' in urban social investigation that was also developing in the 1890s. She married historian and journalist Lawrence Hammond in 1901, but the turning point in her public life was the result of illness. She developed tuberculosis in 1905 and the couple moved to the country. The Hammond household ended up as a literary workshop and their public identities merged. 'One flesh and one author' as historian G.M. Trevelyan put it.^[9] But it was she who completed the work that formed the bedrock of their academic reputation. *The Town Labourer* ^[10] was the second of their volumes on the labourers that made the Hammonds famous as interpreters of the English Industrial Revolution. Remembered long after at Oxford first for her beautifully abundant red hair, then for her athletic prowess, third for her cycling, and last for her brains, Barbara contributed more to their intellectual collaboration than people have given her credit for.

Barbara Hammond's intellectualism owed much to her upbringing in a household steeped in the late-Victorian culture of altruism. The creed attracted followers because it met the spiritual needs of those brought up in some orthodox Christian faith who could no longer accept that faith without qualification. Its influence was apparent in the place held by the 'Religion of Humanity' forged by European sociologist Auguste Comte. Barbara's father was head of Haileybury College and in his retirement worked at Toynbee Hall, the first collegiate-style residential settlement house in London's East End (founded in 1884). At this point he asked his brilliant daughter and intellectual pride

what she wanted to do with her life. 'I mean, would you wish when all education is over, to take up teaching, either at Oxford or elsewhere, or possibly, philanthropic work (I hate the necessary adjective), or to stay at home and look after your poor old parents?'.[11] In the event his unexpected death brought Barbara an independent income and she was drawn to the Women's Industrial Council (a London-based social feminist pressure group) as a vehicle for improving the lives of working class girls and women.[12] Her former tutor, Leonard Hobhouse, thought Hammond's brilliance was thus wasted and recommended her to C.P. Scott (editor of the *Manchester Guardian*) as a parliamentary secretary, but Scott rejected the suggestion on the grounds of her sex.[13]

From 1939 to 1942 the Hammonds lived with their close friends the Simons of Manchester. Ernest Simon (1879-1960) was a wealthy Liberal industrialist. His wife, Shena Simon (née Potter, 1883-1972), was part of the London-Cambridge axis of early women economists whose friends included feminists Mary Stocks and Eva Hubback (who was an early advocate of birth control and eugenics). This was the family that Joan Simon married into.

Ernest Simon's family had strong roots in the social, industrial and cultural life of Manchester dating back to 1860, when his father, Henry Simon, settled there from Zurich.[14] Born in Silesia and educated as an engineer, Henry Simon established two family firms and figured prominently in civic affairs, a generous and active benefactor of cultural life. Among other things he helped secure the future of the Hallé symphony orchestra, co-founded Withington Girls' School, and gave liberally to Owens College, Manchester, in the founding years. Ernest grew up in Didsbury, then a village five miles south of Manchester city centre and was educated at Rugby and Cambridge before taking over the family firm after his father's death.

Shena was the second of nine children of Janet Boyd Thompson and John Wilson Potter, ship-owner. Whereas Shena and her sisters were educated by private tutors, their brothers were sent to 'preparatory' and 'public' schools. This conventional pattern was broken when Shena was encouraged to attend Newnham College, Cambridge, to study economics. Being strongly influenced by Beatrice Webb, Shena followed her degree with postgraduate studies at the London School of Economics where she worked with Hammond's former tutor, Leonard Hobhouse, who had just accepted the newly created chair of sociology at London University, and the Fabian, Graham Wallas. But Shena never completed her doctorate on Labour Party philosophy. Instead she collected evidence for the National Anti-Sweating League to secure a minimum wage and the National Union of Women Workers which worked to implement wide-ranging reforms with its support for women's rights and social welfare provision.

Shena Simon encouraged others to share her strong sense of social responsibility. The educated woman has no excuse for 'not taking her part' she wrote; to fight injustice as a 'member of the city or town council' is 'better than playing golf or going to theatre matinees'.[15] During their courtship she wrote

Ernest: 'It is the cause of humanity that is behind my energies and enthusiasms, and, with you, I measure everything by the standard of the community'.[16] In 1935 she joined the Labour Party as a direct reaction to Conservative educational policy in that year. A member of the Manchester Education Committee 1924-33 and 1936-70, she succeeded her close friend R.H. Tawney as a representative of 'workers' education' on the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education. During a long and eventful political career she journeyed from educational administration at local to national level and back again. Her three main contributions to politics and policy-making in education lie in the fight against the ban on the employment of married women teachers, the fight for a single Code of Regulations for elementary and secondary education, and the fight for comprehensive schools.[17]

The Manchester society in which Shena came to reside formed a lively intellectual milieu. Early in their married life the couple moved into Broom Croft. Within easy reach were the staff of an expanding university and the personnel of the *Manchester Guardian*. As Mary Stocks recalled, 'It was a very pleasant house – with outbuildings and a gardener's cottage at its drive gate, sufficient room indoors for entertaining after an extra wing had been added to it, and sufficient acreage out of doors for tennis, archery, and the cultivation of flowers and vegetables'.[18] There was also a London flat and later another property in the English Lake District. All managed with domestic help. As historian and local politician Dame Mabel Tylecote commented in the 1974 Lady Simon of Wythenshawe Memorial Lecture: 'She had freedom to read and to write and she had secretarial help. Books could be bought that scholars must read in a library and a stream of blue books was delivered to order'.[19] Between 1913 and 1917, Shena gave birth to three children – two sons and one daughter, Antonia, who died in childhood.

Joan Simon's personal acquaintance with Shena Simon began when Shena learned she was to marry her younger son, Brian, then a member of the newly formed Labour Party education advisory committee and secretary of the National Union of Students branch at the University of London's Institute of Education. Shena knew Joan's grandmother through a web of connections to the business world, politics and the press. The circumstances of Joan and Shena's first meeting were recalled in Joan's unpublished biography of Shena:

Could I come at once to meet her and Ernest Simon at Blackpool, where she was stuck to address a Fabian meeting? She was delighted by the news but hoped the marriage ... would not be fixed for the 18th when there was a deputation to the Board of Education she was booked to accompany; though of course a wedding must come first – a concession to convention rather than conviction one felt.[20]

Joan had spent the spring of 1938 in Paris and Geneva helping to organise a delegation to the Second World Youth Congress in America. During this time she met Cambridge graduate Brian Simon. Joan and Brian were married on 12

February 1941. Presumably Shena accompanied her deputation to Westminster on 18 February.

The Contribution of Joan Simon

Joan Simon was the younger of two daughters of Captain Home Peel and his wife Gwen, (née Emmott, born 1888). Educated at Charterhouse and employed by the India Office prior to World War One, Joan's father joined the Post Office Rifles as 2nd Lieutenant in 1914 and was killed in action in March 1918. The German soldier who found her husband's body wrote to Gwen: 'Although enemy and sometimes deeply hurt by the ridiculous tone of your press, I feel it as a human duty to communicate you these [sic] sad news. Capt. Peel was killed in action near Longueval and died, as it seems by the wounds received, without suffering'.[21]

Joan's mother inherited a feminist tradition, mother to daughter. Joan's maternal grandmother, housing reformer and welfare campaigner Mary Gertrude Emmott (née Lees, 1866-1954), grew up in Oldham, Lancashire, where her father was a master cotton spinner. In common with Shena Simon, her early life coincided with one of the most vigorous periods of the women's movement. Before Emily Davies opened her College for Women in 1869 there had been no institution in England through which a woman could get a university education or receive a public qualification beyond secondary school level. By 1900 universities outside Oxbridge allowed women to take degrees mainly through use of the University of London examinations. At Oxford and Cambridge women attended lectures, took examinations and gained honours in these examinations, but they were not allowed to matriculate (that is to become full members of the University) or to graduate till 1920 and 1948 respectively. The struggle for access to secondary and higher education, to paid employment and the professions, to political participation, all offered hope to women of talent and determination.

Mary Emmott participated in the new opportunities for women as they developed. She was educated at Queen's College in London founded by Frederick Denison Maurice, professor of English Literature and History at King's College London and Christian Socialist thinker, in 1848. Queen's was the first institution in Britain where girls and young women could study for and gain academic qualifications. She married Alfred Emmott, Liberal politician and cotton manufacturer in 1887 and the couple had two daughters.[22] Mary Emmott found her vocation in the membership of philanthropic and civic reform associations. One of the original members of the Oldham branch of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Mary went on to become the Mayoress of Oldham (in 1891), the first woman elected to the Oldham Board of Guardians (in 1898), vice-chair of the Women's National Liberal Federation, president of the National Council of Women (as did her daughter) and the Fawcett Society.[23] Representing the Women's Industrial Council on the Council of the National Association of Women's Lodging

Houses in 1910, she belonged to a movement of women that included Barbara Hammond and Shena Simon. During the First World War she was involved in organising aid to Belgian refugees and in its aftermath she was appointed to the Chair of the Women's Subcommittee Advisory Council by the Ministry of Reconstruction. Her interest in housing (something she shared with Ernest Simon) was continued by her work as a member of the Housing Advisory Council overseen by the Ministry of Health, membership of the Advisory Council of the Local Government Board on Housing in 1919, membership of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, and presidency of the Women's Homes Association in the 1930s.

Lady Emmott sent her daughters to Roedean School, a Unitarian enterprise founded in 1885 by Penelope Lawrence and her two sisters, Dorothy and Millicent (who were so close they were known as 'the Firm'), to prepare girls for entrance to the newly opened women's colleges at Cambridge University. Roedean was one of the reformed boarding schools for girls that placed great emphasis on honour and duty. As a successor to a maternal feminism, Gwen's contribution to the women's movement included a long spell on the Executive of the National Council of Women and service as Honorary Secretary of the National Organisation of Girls Clubs. Joan Simon thus had ample opportunity to observe organised feminism at close quarters combined with an early awareness of international affairs. From 1925 to 1932 Joan attended Roedean before working in a Montessori nursery school in London's East End.[24]

It seems likely that Joan met Brian Simon through joint involvement in the international youth movement of the 1930s. On her return from Europe, in the general context of planned wartime work, Joan joined Harold Dent then 'acting' editor of the *Times Educational Supplement (TES)*. She said her appointment took place partly by chance.

There followed what has been described as 'a fierce letter "criticizing a continuing" lack of radical zeal' in the paper, to which Dent's response was a combined challenge and appeal. As he produced the *TES* single-handed by day, while regularly losing sleep firewatching in blitz conditions by night, it would be more useful to lend a hand than carp. In the circumstances any assistant was a bonus, even one whose personal educational experience was confined to a girls' 'public school' escaped from at 16.[25]

For Brian this was invaluable. 'My wife's position meant that although I was in the Army – and abroad for long periods – I was never out of touch with wartime educational developments, not least the battle to ensure a worthwhile Education Act, to settle the future organisation of the nation's schools'.[26] At this point Barbara Hammond guided Joan's reading through an introduction to the London library.[27] In 1942 Joan wrote a pamphlet *The Schools Today and Tomorrow* published by the Association for Education in Citizenship which Ernest co-founded with Eva Hubback in 1933 (Joan Simon, 1942).

After two very influential years on the *TES*, Joan retired to raise a family.[28] On 7 May 1943, when Brian was away on active service, she gave birth to a son, Alan. She wrote Brian from the maternity home:

Three weeks in this place certainly provides a liberal education seeing dozens of babies of different shapes and sizes gradually developing ... I have to express milk sometimes so that I don't bust & this is used for small new babies who have to be spoon fed because their mothers can't cope. Someone bobs in & says 'Any extra milk here? Can you let me have an ounce for the twins?' Can you imagine me in this role darling – it's really been rather strange for me. I feel quite a proprietary interest in some of the infants I've helped to nourish. I rather enjoyed having the baby and am quite prepared for the other five darlings – or was it seven more we decided on?[29]

In the event, Joan contracted tuberculosis and was admitted to Clwyd Sanatorium at Llandbedr Hall in North Wales. She found the enforced separation from her baby son heart wrenching but tried to remain positive. 'It takes a lot to bore me' she wrote Ernest Simon. 'I'm always interested in people & places & a T.B. sanatorium is something quite new. I shall maybe renew my studies of Russian grammar & learn the openings of chess in preparation for routing you'.[30]



Figure 1. Photograph of Joan and Alan aged 6 weeks. Source: Institute of Education Archives, London (Ref SIM/4/5/1/37).

To Joan's relief, her illness convinced her mother to leave war-torn London. Brian was also given brief leave. So, 'good has come out of evil ... In fact, we found life so good being together again & sharing our troubles that we were able to discuss with complete equanimity the possibility of our respective deaths', Joan confided to Ernest. 'I shall make a special proviso somewhere that on no account shall any offspring of mine attend a public school! Brian agrees'. The letter closed with the following lines:

It is very important this baby in hand should come out all right as I may not be allowed to have another, anyway for at least 5 years depending on how this clears up. I suspect Brian is slightly relieved as he was a little nervous of my insistence on having 8. Anyway Alan is almost as good as six with his good spirits & vitality. If he turns into half as good a husband as Brian for some girl she'll be as grateful to us as I am to you & Shena![31]

Joan went on to have another son, Martin, born on 29 November 1944. Alan and Martin both attended Gateway Grammar School for boys founded in 1928. Harold Dent, Joan's former editor at the *TES*, was its first headmaster and the curriculum showed a significant bias towards the arts and crafts. By the time the Simon boys went there, The Gateway (as it was known by locals) had a reputation for being progressive in its acceptance of 11-plus 'failures'.

Ernest Simon's admiration for Joan was unbounded. 'I do admire the effective way you tackle life: getting jobs, controlling editors, choosing husbands, buying houses, having babies! You do them all so easily & so well'. [32] In November 1945, Shena's friend, Eva Hubback, was writing in the *Sunday Times* on the theme of the sexual division of labour arguing that 'domestic work in a modern home will be a career for educated women'. [33] For Shena and Joan security of wealth reduced the constraints of domestic married motherhood. In Joan's case she had a modest independent income and Ernest put supports in place to offset the financial loss entailed by Brian's decision to teach. First, he asked Joan to provide details of her household expenses. [34] Then on 14 May 1945, exactly one week after VE Day, Ernest wrote Brian to say:

We have been thinking about your financial position during the early years after the war. We are very glad that you have chosen a profession in which pecuniary rewards are far from great, the salaries in the first few years are low, and you have been put back five years by the war, so that you are almost bound to be rather short of cash in the first few years. We are naturally more than anxious that you should be able to give your two sons (and soon, we hope, a few daughters!) everything that is necessary or useful to ensure for them the best possible opportunities of health and education. So we have come to the conclusion that the best thing to do is to give you another 2,000 ordinary shares in Henry Simon Ltd ... That means a gross income of £300 per annum. Apart from everything else, there

is a lot to be said for this from the family point of view; £300 on top of my income is worth very little after paying surtax; it will be worth much more to you.[35]

With demobilisation Brian taught in a Manchester elementary school, followed by a local secondary modern and finally Salford grammar school. In 1950 he was drawn to Leicester University School of Education where he stayed for the rest of his professional life. He held posts as lecturer, reader (1964), professor (1966) and emeritus professor (1980).

In the late 1940s Joan joined the Communist Party's historians' group. Although Eric Hobsbawm's autobiographical account and Bill Schwarz's piece written for the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, England, fail to consider her.[36] Schwarz sets out the position the cluster occupied as 'consciously *political* intellectuals' sharing three interconnected responses to history-making: history as lesson, history as exhortation and the study of history *as* politics.[37] Writing as 'Joan Peel' she described her vision for the people's schools in several articles written for party journals.[38] In the first she denounces state schools for being 'primarily concerned with indoctrination of ideas rather than encouragement of initiative and inquiry'. Concerned about education as a unifier for the nation she calls for a new type of secondary school, the common school:

We can and must see not only that the schools and universities are organised democratically ... that they encourage independent thought, that they make their proper contribution to the re-establishment of popular culture, and that they send out into the world young citizens with a broad knowledge, a continuing will to learn, and a burning desire to advance the cause of the people.[39]

Joan believed in the educability of all children. In the tercentenary of the execution of Charles I she looked to the legacy of the English Levellers who demanded free schools for all. 'Just as the fight of the seventeenth century reformers for a new educational system was inseparably linked with the establishment of the Commonwealth so is the fight for a new content, method and conduct of education today an integral part of the struggle for socialism'.[40]

In June 1947 Joan accompanied Shena Simon on a fact-finding visit to Scottish schools to build confidence in a common secondary school.[41] Published in 1948, Shena's pamphlet *Three Schools or One?* identified the illogicality of the division into grammar, secondary modern and sometimes technical schools:

But will not a school which alone leads eventually – if only for the few – to the highest educational institutions in the land, and for the many, to secure white-collar occupations, not carry a prestige higher than the school which leads to manual work, although skilled, and one which leads to nowhere in particular but will obviously include

all the children who are going into unskilled and perhaps blind-alley occupations?[42]

In collaboration with Brian, Joan worked on educational psychology to campaign against the 'intelligence testing' ideology that divided children in to 'grammar' and 'secondary modern' school types, making a hard-hitting but short-lived contribution to the Communist Party campaign against its use in British schools.[43]

Joan compared her method of historical investigation to that of English historian E.H. Carr who admitted in a 1961 Trevelyan Lecture that he never could resist the 'itch' to start writing once he had a few good sources. Reading records, filling notebooks with facts and ordering these into chapters, was not his way. For Carr, reading and writing were part of the same process – 'the more you write the more you know what you are looking for, the better you understand "the significance and relevance" of what is found' he said. 'If this is a respectable way to write history, in the course of learning and doing', observed Joan, 'then journalism may not be so bad a way in'.[44]

Joan said her own stimulus to study history of education came from the statement G.M. Trevelyan popularised; that social history is history with the politics left out:

The salient problem of social history is to contend with a thick web of interconnections. Here nothing is more important than a proper understanding of education as involving not merely passive conditioning by the social structure but active mastery of a social heritage of knowledge and achievement stored in a form that requires this activity on the part of each generation.[45]

Trevelyan's *English Social History*, published in the USA and Canada in 1942, and in Britain in 1944, in which he made the well-known statement, was dedicated to the memory of Eileen Power an early writer of women's and medieval history who died in 1940 and once ranked in fame alongside her friend and neighbour and fellow economic historian, R.H. Tawney.[46] Joan felt a connection with Power and consistently highlighted the work of early women historians. As she told the Leicester University Historical Studies Group in 1984:

I was brought up on Eileen Power's Boys and Girls of History in the 1920's and when working on the history of education in the 1950's – before social history became fashionable – found not a few studies by women historians bearing directly on upbringing. Including Joy Dunlop's book on apprenticeship and child labour down the centuries, encouraged by Beatrice Webb, published in 1912 and not yet – to the shame of historians brought up to date.[47]

Power held posts as lecturer, reader and then professor working with Tawney at the London School of Economics. In the interwar years she was particularly

influential in the development of economic history and a pioneer in introducing ideas from the social sciences.[48] By the time of her premature death of a heart attack at the age of 51, she was a public intellectual – the first woman to give the Ford lectures in Oxford University, a pioneer in radio talks and schools history broadcasting.

In her memoir *My Life in the History of Education*, Joan said hers was ‘nothing remotely like an ordered professional life’.[49] In common with the wives of other distinguished academics she provided extensive secretarial help to her husband. This is illustrated by correspondence with the Soviet scientist and educationist Alexander Luria whose work revolutionised neuropsychology.[50] It all began in the mid-1950s when Shena Simon accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Academy of Educational Sciences. Brian accompanied his mother, now in her seventies, and met Luria, a close colleague of Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky (Luria always referred to Vygotsky as his mentor) the originator of social development theory, who felt social learning preceded development. Luria’s work on the dynamics of child development and psychology of learning would help to further the comprehensive cause Brian, Joan and Shena championed.[51] In relation to this Joan identified two distinctive aspects of Soviet psychology. First, it placed ‘man squarely in his social setting and society in the realm of history’. Secondly, it thought that ‘psychology must be firmly grounded on the neurological findings relating to the reflexes of the brain and the localisation of functions’. Joan considered Luria’s work pre-eminent in the area of neuropsychology besides reaching out to developments in the field of linguistics.[52]

Luria made his first visit to this country in 1957 as Russia prepared to launch Sputnik, the first artificial earth satellite, that triggered the space race, a part of the larger Cold War. Luria stayed with the Simons at Leicester where he asked about the possibility of translating a small volume of his work based on research conducted at the Institute of Medical Genetics in Moscow in the early 1930s when he was working with pairs of identical twins who suffered from speech defects. Joan reported that Luria’s research was as different from the contemporaneous work of Sir Cyril Burt as it could be. Whereas Burt’s findings pointed to the heritability of intelligence (as measured in IQ tests), in Luria’s case ‘the research turned on planned educational intervention in the case of one, using the other as control’. The key finding being that ‘once language enters into the child’s activity, not only is the structure of mental acts modified but also the underlying relation between complex mental functions’. All of which points to two things. Firstly, ‘The dependence of development on environmental influences’, and, secondly, ‘That educational intervention can be so planned as to promote the process of change’.[53] This would help legitimate the growing criticisms of IQ testing (showing their fallibility) and the moves towards comprehensive schools.

As Clyde Chitty vividly recalls [54], Joan learned Russian in six months to translate and edit Luria’s book, *Speech and the Development of Mental Process in the Child* in 1959 which conveyed the essence of the Vygotskian approach to many

readers. When Luria failed to consult her over its reprint in the Penguin papers in education, she commenced a letter to him by saying:

I have recently written you several letters from Brian, because he hasn't had a secretary recently so I have been acting as his secretary! And I hope you get the psychology books that have been ordered from London safely ... Now I am writing to you myself because I am very angry with you! This is because of the way you have allowed Penguin to reproduce *Speech and the Development of Mental Processes in the Child* in paperback without so much as a word to me about it ... Yet the rights in this English translation are with me, who did it, so it would have been only polite to consult me. It is not, of course, about 'rights', or 'politeness' that I am concerned. What matters is that the book has not been done as well as it should have been ... there is a reprint of my old out of date piece from 1958 ... It really is too maddening of you! When this could have been the opportunity ... for a really good introductory essay placing your book in psychological research and educational theory, including relating to the key, and now again current question of intelligence testing.[55]

Having complained, Joan was ready to forgive. She continued to write and send Luria books that he could not get at home. In the years that followed, Luria's work conveyed the essence of what became known as the Vygotsky approach to thousands of readers in seven languages.[56] Nonetheless, in paying tribute to his legacy in *FORUM*, in 1977, Joan still dwelt on the road not taken. 'On the narrowest view *Speech and the Development of Mental Processes* could not have been more welcome. For the battle against "intelligence" testing was still in full swing, a mode of classifying children essentially unconcerned with the learning process which dominated school organisation and stifled educational thinking'. (Joan Simon, *FORUM*, 1978). But she remained critical of Penguin's failure to update the preface to the first edition by the professor of experimental psychology at Cambridge, Oliver Zangwill, which drew appropriate attention to the 'breaking of new ground ... Instead the publisher eliminated it ... So the opportunity was lost of introducing the many readers of this edition to a significantly new departure and its implications'.[57]

Throughout the 1960s and 70s, Joan practised her journalism as occasional reporter in the heady days of *FORUM*'s early history when Brian claimed it was at its 'most influential' because it 'meshed closely with the grain of the times'.[58] Between 1959 and 1983 she wrote 13 contributions (see the Appendix). Important sources for any historian of education they chart how, slowly but steadily, comprehensive secondary schools were created throughout the country, besides considering issues of examinations and assessment, youth training schemes and neoliberalism in 1980s Conservative social and education policy. Typically plain speaking, in 'An Agenda for Action' she notes:

The Young Workers' Scheme for under 18s is one of the latest to emerge from the DoE, reputedly the brainchild of the prime

minister's pet economist recruited at around £100,000 a year. 'If you pay them less than £40 a week', an advertisement advises employers, 'we'll give you £15 a week'. With the attitude epitomised here, and industrial backwardness, a low level of training is characteristic of British industry and this has further deteriorated during the recession. Over 50 per cent of young people get no training whatever or hardly any worth the name. Girls are the worse off, given frequent entry to service industries and the distributive trades which have the lowest level of provision, let alone the problems of ethnic minorities and the disabled.[59]

This is fighting talk. Joan also compiled a bibliographical guide covering relevant publications by the Manpower Services Commission whose activities were changing the nature of jobs, training and education, plus recent research reports pertinent to her subject. In 1973 Joan wrote the first *FORUM* pamphlet, *Indictment of Margaret Thatcher, Secretary of State 1970-1973*, which set out to expose a series of arbitrary actions on Thatcher's part in the spirit of the contemporary indictment of the President of the United States of America over Watergate.[60]

A lack of deference to the standard historical finding was something journalism nurtured, powerfully demonstrated in her rebuttal of A.F. Leach's claim that the Reformation hurt rather than established English schooling.[61] In the mid-1950s she published two substantial articles in the *British Journal of Educational Studies* informed by contemporary historians who disputed his findings and expressed concern over his 'faulty translation, mishandling of facts, and unsubstantiated conclusions'. Joan's research and writing showed how Leach's deep-rooted prejudice against the monastic order led him to overlook and/or misconstrue much of the relevant evidence for the early medieval period.[62] All of which undermined his claims regarding the origins of sixteenth-century grammar schools, particularly the assumption that the Tudors had not been great patrons of English education. At this time Joan's correspondents included reputed mediaevalists Dom David Knowles and Shena's friend and mentor R.H. Tawney. Knowles considered her study 'long overdue'. Tawney said 'The essential starting point is the facts. Your work contains the most thorough examination of these which I have seen, and your exposition of your deductions from them is lucid and effective'.[63]

Joan's first book, *Education and Society in Tudor England*, was published in 1966, when she was 50. In it, she discusses educational policy during a crucial period of English history in their social context, revising Leach's interpretation of the effect of Reformation legislation. It is worth quoting from at length to give a flavour of her writing style.

Educational change cannot be covered merely by invoking 'the renaissance' or the energetic efforts of gentlemen to equip themselves with learning and approximate to a set pattern ... the way ideas develop in practice is well illustrated by changes in the

prototype. During the Henrician Reformation there was the excellent prince, placed above all others by his command of learning, and the well-schooled governor who served under him. In the Elizabethan age the main prototype to emerge was the great statesman combining courtliness with learning, status with function ... with the dislocations of the early sixteenth century aggravated by the measures of the Reformation, the old doctrine of estates was revived and re-interpreted in the light of humanist ideas and current pressures; in the process emphasis was laid on the functions that fall to particular ranks in the social order and the need to prepare for those functions ... a concept corresponding to the growing specialisation of knowledge and the development of professions – leaving a non-specialised ‘liberal’ education to become the hallmark of gentility.[64]

‘An outstanding book ... a magisterial, organic study’ was one response to her landmark text, published in the *TES*. The former president of Radcliffe College in Boston, Massachusetts, W.K. Jordan, who specialised in sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain (his students included Natalie Zemon Davies, second woman president of the American Historical Association), congratulated Joan ‘on this thoughtful, wise and wholly impressive work. It will long stand as the most useful and thorough investigation of an educational system and of educational ideals that were to transform the English society during the course of the sixteenth century’ (Jordan, 1967). Sources and interpretation were evident in a review by historian W.H. Southgate: ‘Where dogmatic answers to the thorny and controversial question of social and religious history are normally the rule, she has reviewed the evidence carefully and presents conclusions that are moderate, even tentative and therefore the more convincing’ (Southgate, 1966).

Forty years on Joan re-entered the debate when she suspected her scholarship was being revised and the Simon contribution airbrushed from educational historiography and possibly from history itself. The brief analysis that follows is organised around Joan’s annotations on printed copies of two essays that examine the development of the history of education in England from 1945 to 1996.[66]

The crux of the argument is of a splitting between professional historians located in history departments who write ‘academic’ history and educationists who write history of education. The first essay makes much of ‘hostilities’ between these groups in the USA and its impact on British developments, something which troubled Kenneth Charlton (founder member of the History of Education Society in 1967, first editor of *History of Education* in 1972, and the Society’s chairman from 1980 until 1984) with whom Joan corresponded on the matter.[67] Brian Simon’s studies in the history of education are positioned as pivotal in determining the status of his specialised field. The fault line being Brian’s Marxism which breaches foundational claims to objectivity

while the decision of the Communist Party Historian's Group to 'assign' education to Joan is offered as 'a further reason for the separation of historians and educationists'.[68] A reliance on male annalists of the profession means the writing of a number of female historians is forgotten including Eileen Power who stood up for a more inclusive, integrated, world history as is the work of many good historians of education.

Joan marked all references to her and Brian's work, the formation of a learned society and specialist journal (founded 1972) and scribbled 'despite all' above the statement 'By 1970 the history of education in England was more prominent as a field of study than at any time since the First World War'.[69] Unsurprisingly, she objected to the characterisation of Leach as a professional historian knowing that she herself had demonstrated the shortcomings of his research and contributed vitality to debate on education in the early modern period.[70] She drew a solid line next to the summary of the 1950s writing. 'From the outside little of historiographical interest seemed to be going on. Joan Simon's sharp attack on the Reformation specialist A.F. Leach in 1955, although later described (by her husband) as "the first serious piece of iconoclasm" by a historian of English education in the postwar years, gave little hint of a major change of direction'.[71] She also notes a point relegated to a footnote telling readers Joan Simon was one of only two education historians whose work came in for praise from departments of history in the late 1960s.[72]

Joan was not afraid to tilt against the canon. Claims that Philippe Ariès was the first to consider children in history irritated her for the neglect of women scholars such as Olive Dunlop's 1912 historical study of apprenticeship and child labour (under the supervision of Lilian Knowles) and Margaret Spufford who took a first degree in local history and a PhD at Leicester University.[73] She argued that Ariès' claim that childhood, as a concept, was not 'discovered' until around the seventeenth century, concomitant with 'a bourgeois desire to retreat into comfortable houses and cultivate a family circle', was gender-blind. As usual, she said, 'girls do not easily fit into the theoretical edifice and so drop out of the picture'.[74] *Education and Society in Tudor England* includes males and females. Her detailed bibliography (covering 22 pages) asserts authority for women's voices and for what women have to say. Besides contemporary writings on the education of girls and women and *Tudor Economic Documents*, edited by R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power, Joan includes American and British women historians who were early advocates of the study of women and gender.[75]

Joan later produced a fine study of Shena's contribution to politics and policy-making as a member of the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education.[76] Writing a biography of Shena in the 1980s it seems likely that she brought her own experience to bear when analysing the familial gender regime. 'Considerable burdens fall on the woman's side of any partnership, however professedly equal', she wrote, 'especially when the other side is fully engaged in business and at large. If hospitality is a rule of the house – getting to

know people and enabling them to meet in a relaxed way being an important means of oiling the machinery of public life – then it must be organised’.[77]

Brian recognised her accomplishments. In 1991 he dedicated the fourth and final volume in his series *Studies in the History of Education* to ‘Joan Simon fellow educational historian. In celebration of a fifty-year partnership’. Seven years later he wrote of his good fortune ‘in being able to work in partnership with Joan Simon who has shared and contributed to all these interests and spheres of activity’.[78] In a *Guardian* obituary Anne Corbett characterised Brian as a ‘gently elegant man’ while describing Joan as a ‘vigorous half of the partnership’.[79] That Brian often left matters to his plain-speaking wife he himself made clear in his 1998 autobiography. Covering the 1970s he regretted the revival of the classic IQ theories at this point and the emergence of new forms of sociological inquiry, noting the malign effect they had on the whole comprehensive reform. The standpoint of the latter was heavily criticised in *FORUM* by Olive Banks, Professor of Sociology at Leicester and author of an authoritative and critical study of secondary schools, *Parity and Prestige in Secondary Education* [80], and by Joan Simon, whose ‘penetrating points drew a telephone call from Basil Bernstein, of the London Institute, to join a discussion of the issues in a seminar’.[81] According to a 2010 *FORUM* editorial which took up the story, Joan told Bernstein ‘exactly what she thought of the 1971 Open University Reader Knowledge and Control (edited by Michael F.D. Young and to which Bernstein was a contributor) and of the new forms of sociological enquiry that became known as “the New Sociology of Education”’.[82]

Interpreting partnerships is messy. Susan Groag Bell lived with Barbara Hammond for a while after Lawrence Hammond’s death in 1949. Ten years later she entered Stanford University in California and entertained hopes of postgraduate study. Having been told she was too old (she was 39), Groag Bell set out to find cases of older people who began a worthwhile career. Going through the *Encyclopaedia Americana* and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* most of those fitting her category were women and she found ‘the place of women in history depends upon the attitude of the historian ... the *Americana* had included many more women than the *Britannica* ... many of these additions were British women’. All of which made her ‘begin to appreciate how remarkable a man Lawrence Hammond must have been to have shared the title pages and spines of their books with his wife’.[83] Brian and Joan’s names appear on the spine of her translation of papers from a symposia on Soviet educational psychology published in 1963. Five years later, Brian edited a collection on education in Leicestershire over four centuries for which Joan completed the majority of the research and writing.[84]

In the 1980s a new generation of university teachers responsible for the teaching of education studies rediscovered Joan’s textbook *The Social Origins of English Education* published in 1972.[85] In a review essay historian Rosemary O’Day praised her innovation and contribution saying,

Mrs Simon has gone a long way towards giving students a new and invigorating insight into the nature of the history of education, in any period, which should make this short book a must for university and college reading lists and should make the history of education meaningful to those for whom it was previously dull.[86]

Joan and Brian Simon were Communist Party educationalists and historians who assigned education a major role in challenging the status quo and building a new social order. They both lacked historical training and Joan was typically frank when explaining her inability to appreciate her mother's exercise of parental choice in terms of what she thought best for her daughter's education:

The chief founder once wrote to a parent: 'It seems to me that once knowing the blessing of intellectual freedom that it is too precious a possession to give up for any consideration'. I have not recognised this before, since the school which set up my mother up for life in the first decade of the century was less appreciated by her daughter in the 1930s, but I think the atmosphere carried over – I entered only the year after the founder retired. So, besides thankfulness for not having been shaped by a discipline in higher education, I have to offer positive thanks for a key aspect of my formal schooling, that it was in the tradition of dissent. Here, perhaps is the next matter calling for fresh investigation![87]

Like Barbara Hammond, Joan practised the historian's craft outside the male academic hierarchy. In her lifetime she was recognised as an authority on Soviet psychology though her role in bringing Vygotskian sociocultural theory to the West has slipped from notice. Her scholarship attracted attention across the Atlantic, as the reviews of her book on Tudor education, of which she was justly proud, indicate. She once told Lawrence Cremin that she wished 'the academic career structure were not such as positively to encourage "reactionary" revisionism, since over-reaction is normal and only heavily underlined when the way to make a mark is to be startlingly "new"'. We can only speculate as to whether these words came back to haunt her when, deeply hurt by Richardson's revisionist historiography, she revisited her scholarship on Leach with the encouragement of urban historian David Reeder and others.[88]

My argument here is that Joan's considerable legacy of critical work, as biographer, translator, historian and journalist, which calls out for new evaluation, made a crucial contribution to social and cultural history and the politics of education. She may not have been identified as a militant for women's rights, but she showed recognition for gender inequality in her writing. She also recognised the prior place women had created for themselves in economic history and medieval history was in danger of being written out of the chronicles of the historical profession. As a biographer, she tried to articulate there *are* connections between generations of women that matter. Joan Simon is part of a tradition of women's scholarship and social action that has

disappeared from view. In Joan's case, doing the work of researching, filing, translating, editing, and writing as an autodidact in terms of higher education and without the academy.



Figure 2. Photograph of Shena, Joan and Alan aged 5 months. Source: Institute of Education Archives, London (Ref SIM/4/5/1/37).

Acknowledgements

To Clyde Chitty and Ruth Watts for encouraging me to develop this piece and to Rebecca Webster, the archivist at the Institute of Education, University of London, who gave me so much support and information.

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- Joan Simon (1942) *The Schools Today and Tomorrow*. London: E.U.P. for Association for Education in Citizenship.
- W.H. Southgate (1966) Joan Simon: Education and Society in Tudor England, *The American Historical Review*, 72(1), 178.

Notes

- [1] Jane Martin (2013) Losing Women from the Canon: politics, profession and identity. History of Education Society Presidential Address, 24 November, in Exeter.
- [2] Brian Simon (1998) *A Life in Education*, pp. 5-6. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- [3] With grateful acknowledgements to Professor Ruth Watts for giving me access to the personal papers that Joan Simon deposited with her before she died.
- [4] Carolyn Steedman (2001) *Dust*, p. 83. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- [5] Bonnie G. Smith, (1998) *The Gender of History: men, women, and historical practice*, pp. 2-3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- [6] Joan Thirsk (1995) The History Women, in Mary O'Dowd & Sabine Wichert (Eds) *Chattel, Servant or Citizen. Women's Status in Church, State and Society*, pp. 1-11. Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies.
- [7] With grateful acknowledgements to Professor Alison Prentice for reminding me of a book that she co-edited with Beverley Boutilier in 1997 entitled *Creating Historical Memory: English-Canadian women and the work of history*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- [8] Barbara's success was commemorated in a picture postcard obtainable in Oxford shops showing a dishevelled and distraught male, coping with an examination paper, along with a young woman shown writing with easy nonchalance above the rhyme which is remembered in slightly varying forms. This version is from: Anne Ridler (1988) *A Victorian Family Postbag*, p. 121. Oxford: The Perpetua Press.
- [9] Quoted in Arnold J. Toynbee (1967) *Acquaintances*, p. 95. London: Oxford University Press.
- [10] J.L. & Barbara Hammond (1917) *The Town Labourer, 1716-1837: the new civilization*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.
- [11] A. Ridler (1988) *A Victorian Family Postbag*, p. 15. Oxford: The Perpetua Press.
- [12] Ellen Mappen (1985) *Helping Women At Work: the Women's Industrial Council 1889-1914*. London: Hutchinson.
- [13] Stewart A. Weaver (1997) *The Hammonds: a marriage in history*, pp. 26, 68. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- [14] Brian Simon (1997) *In Search of a Grandfather: Henry Simon of Manchester, 1835-1899*. Leicester: Pendene Press.
- [15] *Daily Despatch*, July 30, 1922.
- [16] Quoted in Joan Simon (1986) *Shena Simon: feminist and educationist. Based on the Correspondence and Writings of Lady Simon of Wythenshawe*, p. 17. Privately printed.
- [17] See Jane Martin (2003) Shena D. Simon and English Education Policy: inside/out?, *History of Education*, 32(5), 477-494.
- [18] Mary Stocks (1963) *Ernest Simon of Manchester*, p. 79. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- [19] Mabel Tylecote (1974) *The Lady Simon of Wythenshawe Memorial Lectures. The Work of Lady Simon of Wythenshawe for Education in Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester Education Committee.
- [20] Quoted in Joan Simon (1986) *Shena Simon: feminist and educationist. Based on the Correspondence and Writings of Lady Simon of Wythenshawe*, p. 14.
- [21] www.postalheritage.org.uk (accessed August 24, 2014). The Post Office rifles saw active service from March 1915. Peel, who was killed in action during the retreat from Cambrai won a Distinguished Service Order. He was also awarded a Military Cross medal for leading an attack on German trenches at Festubert in 1915. His sister Helen Maud Peel was killed on 13 December 1917, aged 22. Helen was a member of a voluntary aid detachment (or 'VAD') trained in first aid and nursing. Their grieving parents paid for a commemorative plaque in Holy Trinity Church, Sunningdale. Brian Simon lost three uncles, two with young families which Ernest then had to look after.
- [22] Alfred, first and last Baron Emmott (1858-1926) was educated at Grove House School, a Quaker school in Tottenham established in 1828 and a graduate of the non-conformist London University. He became a partner and managing director of Emmott & Walshall, cotton spinners. Joan deposited his papers in the library of Nuffield College, Oxford, in 1968.
- [23] Cheryl Law (2000) *Women, A Modern Political Dictionary*, p. 58. London: I.B. Tauris.
- [24] Roedean School Archive, with grateful acknowledgement to Jackie Sullivan.
- [25] Joan Simon (1989) Promoting Educational Reform on the Home Front: the *TES* and the *Times* 1940-1944, *History of Education*, 18(3), 200.
- [26] Brian Simon (1998) *A Life in Education*, p. 45. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- [27] Joan Simon (1994) My Life in the History of Education, *History of Education Society Bulletin*, 54 (Autumn), 30.
- [28] Ruth Watts (2006) Joan Simon (1915-2005), *History of Education*, 35(1), 5-9.
- [29] Joan Simon to Brian Simon, May 27, Brian Simon papers, SIM/4/5.
- [30] Personal letters, mostly undated, see Brian Simon papers, SIM4/5. Joan Simon to Ernest Simon, Monday, Broomcroft.
- [31] Personal letters, mostly undated, see Brian Simon papers, SIM4/5. Joan Simon to Ernest Simon, marked Monday evening, Broomcroft veranda.
- [32] Personal letters, mostly undated, see Brian Simon papers, SIM/4/5.
- [33] Cited in Elizabeth Wilson (1980) *Only Halfway to Paradise Women in Postwar Britain: 1945-1968*, p. 22. London: Tavistock Publications.
- [34] In May 1945 Joan provided Ernest with details of finances. Expenses included a cook-nurse, untrained girl, weekly cleaner, weekly gardener, 40 cigarettes a day, 6 pints of beer a week, and a pound a week for amusements and travel. Brian and Joan Income, 15 May 1945, Brian Simon papers, SIM/4/5/1/36.
- [35] Ernest Simon to Brian Simon, May 14 1945. Brian Simon papers, SIM/4/5/1/36.

- [36] Eric Hobsbawm (1978) The Historians' Group of the Communist Party, in M. Cornforth (Ed.) *Rebels and their Causes: essays in honour of A.L. Morton*, pp. 21-47. London: Lawrence and Wishart; Bill Schwarz (1982) The People in History: the Communist Party Historians' Group, 1946-56, in R. Johnson, G. McLennan, B. Schwarz & D. Sutton (Eds) *Making Histories: studies in history writing and politics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- [37] Bill Schwarz (1982) The People in History: the Communist Party Historians' Group, 1946-56, in R. Johnson, G. McLennan, B. Schwarz & D. Sutton (Eds) *Making Histories: studies in history writing and politics*, p. 66. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- [38] Joan Peel (1946) Education and Social Progress, *Communist Review*, June, 15-23; Joan Peel (1946) Education and Social Solidarity, *Communist Review*, July, 26-30; Joan Peel (1947) Principles of Higher Education, *Communist Review*, May, 145-151.
- [39] Joan Peel (1946) Education and Social Progress, *Communist Review*, June, 20.
- [40] Joan Simon (1949) Educational Policies and Programmes, *Modern Quarterly*, Special No. 1640-60, 168.
- [41] Brian Simon (1998) *A Life in Education*, p. 84. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- [42] Shena Simon (1947) *Three Schools or One? Secondary Education in England, Scotland and the USA* (Questions of the Day no. 1). London: Frederick Muller.
- [43] Deborah Thom (2004) Politics and the People: Brian Simon and the campaign against intelligence tests in British schools, *History of Education*, 33(5), 522-5.
- [44] Joan Simon (1994) My Life in the History of Education, *History of Education Society Bulletin*, 54 (Autumn), 29.
- [45] Joan Simon (1983) The History of Education and the 'New Social History', *History of Education Review*, 12, 11-12. Though the publisher coined the controversial catchphrase, see L. Howsam (2009) *Past into Print*, p. 5. London: British Library Press and University of Toronto Press.
- [46] Maxine Berg (1996) *A Woman in History: Eileen Power 1889-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [47] Joan Simon (1984) Can there be a History of Childhood?, 4. Unpublished seminar paper, January 1984, Leicester University Historical Studies Group. JSP, file marked 'Seminar Papers'.
- [48] See Jane Martin (forthcoming) Intellectual Portraits: politics, professions and identity, *History of Education*.
- [49] Joan Simon (1994) My Life in the History of Education, *History of Education Society Bulletin*, 54 (Autumn), 29.
- [50] Joan Simon (1978) Scientist and Educationist A.R. Luria, *Forum*, 20(3), 95-98.
- [51] In a review essay entitled 'Vygotsky and the Vygotskians' Joan described Vygotsky, who died after a long battle with tuberculosis at only 38, as a 'young man in a hurry'. A practicing teacher for six years with a special interest in what we now call special educational needs, he gravitated toward psychological research after astounding a specialist conference with ideas that had never

- occurred to them. The following points were particularly important in Joan's estimation: (1) The claim that development should not be conceived of as merely individual, independent, or inner. There must be recognition of what the child achieves in cooperative activity, by imitation; (2) The contention that school learning brings something altogether new into the course of child development, making it necessary to define the relation between learning and development; and (3) His departure from the usual advice that teaching be adjusted to IQ level to allow for a formula which directly contradicts the traditional approach: the only good teaching is that which outpaces development. See Joan Simon (1987) Vygotsky and the Vygotskians, *American Journal of Education*, 95(4), 609-613.
- [52] Joan Simon (1978) Scientist and Educationist A.R. Luria, *Forum*, 20(3), 97.
- [53] Joan Simon (1978) Scientist and Educationist A.R. Luria, *Forum*, 20(3), 96.
- [54] Clyde Chitty to Jane Martin, June 17, 2014.
- [55] Joan Simon to Alix Luria, March 3, 1972, Brian Simon papers.
- [56] Joan Simon (1987) Vygotsky and the Vygotskians, *American Journal of Education*, 95(4), 610.
- [57] Joan Simon (1978) Scientist and Educationist A.R. Luria, *Forum*, 20(3), 96.
- [58] Brian Simon (1998) *A Life in Education*, p. 88. London: Lawrence and Wishart. See Clyde Chitty (2008) The Story of *FORUM*, 1958-2008, *FORUM*, 50(3), 281-293.
- [59] Joan Simon (1982) An Agenda for Action: what price the new training initiative?, *FORUM*, 25(1), 7.
- [60] Her *FORUM* reports are among her personal papers.
- [61] A.F. Leach (1851-1915) trained as a barrister and held various public offices mostly associated with education working as a Charity Commissioner. Contemporaries criticised both his selection of documents in his history-writing and his interpretations. See John N. Miner (1990) *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England. A.F. Leach in Historiographical Perspective*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University.
- [62] Joan Simon (1955) A.F. Leach on the Reformation: I, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 3(2), 128-43; Joan Simon (1955) A.F. Leach on the Reformation: II, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 4(1), 32-48; Joan Simon (1963) A.F. Leach: a reply', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 12(1), 41-50.
- [63] Joan Simon papers in the possession of Professor Ruth Watts.
- [64] Joan Simon (1965) *Education and Society in Tudor England*, pp. 401-2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [65] The paperback edition, published in 1979, is still available. See <http://www.cambridge.org/gb/academic/subjects/history/european-history-general-interest/contributions-history-education>.
- [66] William Richardson (1999) Historians and Educationists: the history of education as a field of study in post-war England Part1: 1945-1972, *History of Education*, 28(1), 1-30; William Richardson (1999) Historians and Educationists:

- the history of education as a field of study in post-war England Part 2: 1972-1996, *History of Education*, 28(2), 109-141); Joan Simon papers in the possession of Professor Ruth Watts.
- [67] Kenneth Charlton to Joan Simon, April 2000; Richard Aldrich (2009) Kenneth Charlton: 1925-2008, *History of Education*, 38(5), 601-603.
- [68] William Richardson (1999) Historians and Educationists: the history of education as a field of study in post-war England Part 1: 1945-1972, *History of Education*, 28(1), 14.
- [69] Op cit, 25.
- [70] William Richardson (1999) Historians and Educationists: the history of education as a field of study in post-war England Part 1: 1945-1972, *History of Education*, 28(1), 25. The construction of Leach as a leading historian in England (see footnote 147) provokes exclamation and question marks.
- [71] Op cit, 14.
- [72] Op cit, 21, fn. 121.
- [73] Joan Simon (1984) Can there be a History of Childhood?, 4. Unpublished seminar paper, January 1984, Leicester University Historical Studies Group. JSP, file marked 'Seminar Papers'. Dunlop gave up research and became an organising voluntary worker. See Maxine Berg (1996) *A Woman in History: Eileen Power 1889-1940*, pp. 223-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Among other things, Spufford demonstrated how Cambridgeshire peasant communities acted to provide formal schooling for their children in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
- [74] Ibid.
- [75] Including Mildred Campbell (Vassar), Alice Clark (independent scholar, author of the *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*), Pearl Kibre (Hunter College/City University, New York, commemorated in a Medieval Study Centre), Beryl Smalley (St Hilda's College, Oxford), Doris Stenton (independent scholar, author of *English Society in the Middle Ages* for the Pelican History of England), and Sylvia Thrupp (Michigan University, founded *Comparative Studies in Society and History*).
- [76] Joan Simon (1977) The Shaping of the Spens Report on Secondary Education 1933-38: an Inside View: Part 1, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 25(1), 63-80; Joan Simon (1977) The Shaping of the Spens Report on Secondary Education 1933-38: an Inside View: Part 2, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 25(2), 170-85.
- [77] *Shena Simon: feminist and educationist. Based on the Correspondence and Writings of Lady Simon of Wythenshawe*, p. 11. Privately printed. Joan donated copies of Shena's papers plus a copy of her biography to the Women's Library in October 1987.
- [78] Brian Simon (1998) *A Life in Education*, p. 5. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- [79] Anne Corbett (2002) Obituary: Brian Simon, *Guardian*, January 22.
- [80] O. Banks (1955) *Parity and Prestige in Secondary Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- [81] Brian Simon (1998) *A Life in Education*, p. 123. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- [82] C. Chitty (2010) Editorial, *Forum*, 52(1), 3.
- [83] Susan Groag Bell (1991) *Between Worlds in Czechoslovakia, England, and America*, p. 200. New York: Dutton.
- [84] Brian and Joan Simon (Eds) (1963) *Educational Psychology in the USSR*. London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul; Brian Simon (Ed.) (1968) *Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- [85] See David Hamilton (1990) *Learning about Education: an unfinished curriculum*. Buckingham: Open University Press. Hamilton was keen to use her book with his undergraduate students at Glasgow University. Only to discover it was out of print.
- [86] Rosemary O'Day (1976) Education in Early Modern England Review Essay, *History of Education Quarterly*, 16(1), 103.
- [87] Joan Simon (1994) My Life in the History of Education, *History of Education Society Bulletin*, 54 (Autumn), 33.
- [88] Joan Simon (2007) An Energetic and Controversial Historian of Education Yesterday and Today: A.F. Leach 1851-1915, *History of Education*, 36(3), 367-380.

APPENDIX

Joan Simon *FORUM* publications

- Joan Simon (1959) Reports from South Wales, *FORUM*, 1(2), 42-49.
- Joan Simon (1964) The Swing Towards Comprehensive Education: Bradford and Sheffield, *FORUM*, 6(3), 92-5.
- Joan Simon (1965) The Swing Towards Comprehensive Education, 2: Lancashire, *FORUM*, 7(2), 62-7.
- Joan Simon (1965) The Swing Towards Comprehensive Education, 3: Staffordshire, *FORUM*, 7(3), 90-3.
- Joan Simon (1972) Local Authorities and Innovation: a city and a county, *FORUM*, 14(2), 50-1.
- Joan Simon (1973) Examinations Policy in Comprehensive Schooling, *FORUM*, 16(1), 2-7.
- Joan Simon (1974) New Direction: sociology and comprehensive schooling, *FORUM*, 17(1), 8-14.
- Joan Simon (1976) With Apologies to Matthew Arnold, *FORUM*, 19(1), 20-2.
- Joan Simon (1978) Scientist and Educationist A.R. Luria, *FORUM*, 20(3), 95-98.
- Joan Simon (1979) What and Who is the APU?, *FORUM*, 22(1), 7-13.
- Joan Simon (1982) Agenda for Action, *FORUM*, 25(1), 4-9.
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